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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 1d.]



CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

MY FRIENDS, *London, 2. April, 1835.*

AFTER a residence of twelve days in the country in order to get rid of a hoarseness, the consequence of a cold which I caught in the north, the relics of which hoarseness still stick to me, and will for about ten days longer, I am here for the purpose of giving my *vote* at least, and if possible my *reasons* for that vote, in support of the motion of my Lord John Russell. I have not yet been able to get an opportunity of stating these reasons to the House; and it is quite probable, that as the debate will close this evening I may not find that opportunity even to-day; for three nights I have sitten from half after four o'clock till past twelve, to listen to a debate on this most important subject; namely, *whether the Parliament have the rightful power to take the proceeds of tithes from the Church and all its clergy, and to dispose of those proceeds unto any other purpose that it may choose.*

This is the real question upon which the House of Commons has been debating. The RESOLUTION INDEED of Lord John Russell goes on to express, that it would be right to dispose of the surplus, if there be any, of the Irish tithes for the purpose of general education of persons of all religions in Ireland. But, if the Parliament can dispose of tithes in this way, it can dispose of them in any other way; so that the only question is as to the right of Parliament to take

away, or alienate, what is called church property. Now, you know well that it is my opinion that this right in the Parliament is undoubted. In my "*Legacy to Parsons*," which will be published in a few days, I have proved this in a manner so complete that I never can receive an answer from any body. I have proved also that it is *right and expedient for the Parliament to do it, both with regard to the church in Ireland and in England.*

During this debate I have heard more *fine speaking*, and the promulgation of more error, than I ever before listened to in my life; and I cannot refrain from expressing, with some degree of gratitude, the very great pleasure which I enjoyed during the delivery of the speeches of Lord Howick on the one side, and of Mr. Gladstone and the Solicitor-General on the other side. Lord John Russell's speech was good, but with those of the other three gentlemen I was delighted beyond measure. They made me forget the suffocation which I was enduring from the crowded state of the House.

It is right that I make you acquainted with some circumstances relative to this motion, which, without this explanation from me, you would not clearly understand.

You will please to remember, that when Mr. Ward, last year, made a similar motion, the then Ministry opposed it, upon the ground that they did not know whether there were any surplus or not; that they had appointed a commission to inquire into the facts; and that it would be improper to pass any such resolution until that commission had made its report.

Now, that commission has not yet made its report, though it is upon the point of making it. Therefore, the Minister says, Why do you press this resolution now? Why not wait until the report be made? To this Lord John Russell very frankly answers: We tender this resolution to you, in order that we may ascertain, at once, whether your intended mode of governing Ireland be such as the House of Commons approve of; because

is a great deal better able to bear it than I am.

With regard to this book (which is to be sold, bound in leather, for eighteen pence): I seldom do things by halves; very seldom half love, half hate, or half any thing; and, if any man in his senses, can read this book *through*, without being satisfied that true religion, as well as justice and sound policy, demand a separation of the church from the state, in England as well as Ireland, I should like to see that man, and to hear him tell me that he is not satisfied upon the subject. Talk of "*church reform*"! nobody disputes the great intellectual endowments of Sir R. Peel; but there is no disparagement of those endowments to say, that he does not perceive a thousandth part of the natural drift and tendency of the thing which he calls "*church reform*"; and it is not at all presumption in me, who, when the act 43 of Geo. III. was passed, foretold that the parsons, who had obtained that act by their pressing petitions, had, therein, laid the foundation of the certain ruin of their church; not at all presumption in me, to believe that I understand this matter better than Sir R. Peel. I have always seen the vast weight and importance of this great establishment; I have always seen the great perils that must arise from its being put down; I see them still; but I see the possibility of putting it down, without pulling other things down along with it; and I see no possibility of supporting it much longer without pulling every thing down. I am well aware of the effect of my promulgating these opinions, and, especially, of my publishing the book of which I have been speaking; but I deem it my duty thus to promulgate and to publish; and every one must be convinced, whatever he may say to the contrary, that I am actuated by no censurable motive. Every one must know, that I cannot tarnish a life of such disinterestedness, by any desire to share in that scramble, which exists in the imagi-

nations of those who impute such motives to every one who makes a stand for the liberty and happiness of the country; every one must know, and be certain, that I can no more grasp any portion of public money, than I can grasp a piece of red hot iron; every one must know now, at any rate, that I never had any ambition that is not now more than glutted; every one must now see me drawing close to the spot whence I first started; see me returning to those very pursuits with which my life began; must see me sidling up to the graves of my father and mother; and it must be almost a devil to believe that I can be actuated by any other motive than that of a desire to see my country restored to the state in which I found it. This has always been my creed, that it is my duty to endeavour to leave England as good as I found it. Up to this creed I have always acted; and up to it I shall act as long as there is life in my body or senses in my mind.

In the Press.

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO PARSONS;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

WITH

A Dedication to **BLOMFIELD**, Bishop of London.

By **WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.**

LONDON:

Price 1s. 6d., handsomely bound in leather.

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2. How came there to be people called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to reform it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separation of them?

DEDICATION.

TO JAMES BLOMFIELD, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Normandy Farm, 9. March, 1835.

BISHOP,

About six and twenty years ago, you drank tea at my house at BOTLEY, when you were a curate of some place in Norfolk; or a teacher to the offspring of some hereditary legislator. How rugged has my course been since that time! how thickly has my path been strewn with thorns! How smooth, how flowery, how pleasant, your career! Yet, here we are; you with a mitre on your head, indeed, and a crosier in your holy hands; I, at the end of my rugged and thorny path in a situation to have a right, in the name of the millions of this nation, to inquire, not only into your conduct, but into the utility of the very office that you fill.

It is now become a question, seriously, publicly, and practically entertained, whether you and your brethren of the established church should be legally deprived of all your enormous temporal possessions; and also, whether your whole order should not, as a thing supported by the law, be put an end to for ever. These questions must now be discussed. They are not to be shuffled off by Commissions

of Inquiry, or any other commissions: the people demand a discussion of these questions, and a decision upon them: the Parliament must discuss them; and this little book, which I now dedicate to you, is written for the purpose of aiding us all in the discussion; so that we may come at last to a just decision.

I select you to dedicate my book to: first, because you were a zealous defender of the DEAD-BODY BILL, which consigns the corpses of the most unfortunate of the poor to be cut up by surgeons, instead of being consigned, with double and treble solicitude, to the care of a really Christian clergy, and provided with all the means and circumstances of the most respectful Christian burial.

Another reason is, that you were a *poor-law commissioner*; one of the authors of that book, which was stily laid upon the table of the House of Commons, by the Whigs, in 1833; and one of the authors of that voluminous report and appendix, laid upon the table of the same House last year; on which report and appendix the *poor-law food bill* was passed; and in which report and appendix, you have communicated to the House of Commons the most infamous libels against me by name.

Another reason is, that you are a *church-reform commissioner*, under the present set of Ministers, and that I find, that, while you were Bishop of CHESTER, you made a G. B. BLOMFIELD, a prebendary of CHESTER, and that he now holds in addition to that prebend, two great church livings; namely, the rectory of CANNINGTON, and the rectory of TATTENHALL, each worth, probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a year. Now, bishop, this is a very good reason for addressing my little book to you, for if you can talk of "church-reform," and about seeking for the means of providing for the care of souls, while this BLOMFIELD has a prebend and two great rectories, it is pretty clear that you want a great deal of *enlightening* on the subject. If you do not, however, many other people do; and therefore, it is, that I write and publish this little book, which is my LEGACY TO PARSONS, and which I most earnestly hope

rage, not merely among the lawless and ill-regulated part of the community, but among all, or nearly all classes of the community. This state of things arises from an opinion that the law is not fairly and equally administered. Dreadful scenes of murder have been acted in various parts of Ireland. A murder was perpetrated, at one time, on a clergyman of a most unoffending character, and at another time a Roman Catholic fell a victim to the animosity of those whom he had never intended to injure. It not unfrequently has happened that an individual, wishing to preserve the safety of his own reason, has had more reason to fear the combination of those who set up against the law than the ministers who execute the law. It has too often happened that when justice has raised her head, a stronger power has resisted her efforts, her balance has been destroyed, and her sword turned aside from its purpose by the intervention of a multitude. Every relation of life, in Ireland, as Lord Melbourne said in the House of Lords last year, has been, and still is, liable to be disturbed by this lawless condition of affairs. The payment of rent, the settlement of wages between employer and servant, in short the conclusion of every bargain has been too frequently impeded by threats on the part of those who make the engagement, that to complete them would be attended with danger. If we look to the causes, although no doubt many might be named, yet we cannot help being struck by the fact, that there has been no time in the history of Ireland since this country obtained footing and dominion there, in which there was not some dreadful contest, something amounting to a civil war, and a state of law which induced the people to consider themselves rather as the objects of tyranny than the subjects of just government. It has happened by a kind of fatality, that these periods most remarkable, and most glorious in English history, have been marked by indications of some new distinction, some new calamity in Ireland. (Here) While we justly boast of the statutes passed in the reign of our first Edward, the inhabitants of Ireland were separated by difference of

place, and petitioned in vain for the benefit of English laws. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, when the Reformation was so prosperously completed, and when the glory of England was so resplendent, not only in arms, but in arts and literature, the Irish suffered the most grievous oppressions, and a new distinction was introduced, viz., that distinction of which I shall have so much to say to-day, changing the faith of the great body of the clergy, without the faith of the people undergoing the same change. (Cheers). Passing over the period of the Commonwealth, the great event of the Revolution, to which we look back with such proud and just satisfaction, when a new family was placed upon the throne, which led to the establishment of the house of Brunswick in these realms, was attended with new calamities to Ireland. New distinctions were made to the disadvantage of that unhappy people; and, on the score of religion, they were suspected of an attachment to the monarch whom England had banished. They were accordingly visited by laws which Mr. Burke truly designated as a barbarous collection: they were proscribed, humiliated, and degraded, and treated as enemies both to the throne and to the altar. At the same time, ingenuity was tormented to discover modes of restricting the trade of Ireland with our colonies, and the progress of internal improvement was industriously impeded. Such were the circumstances which in Ireland corresponded with the most glorious events of English history. In the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century, a better era seemed promised to Ireland: many odious restrictions were removed, and she freed herself from bonds which had previously most unjustly confined her. The power of legislation was restored to her, and about this period some religious distinctions were removed, and she approached nearer to the enjoyment of equal laws and to the possession of civil rights. The conviction of a long course of injustice and suffering, which naturally impressed the minds of the people, induced them even in this dawn of a happier day, to look a little into the cause of improvement in their

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prospects and condition. It was said by a statesman, of no democratic turn, no lover of popular innovation, the late Lord Grenville, that concession to Ireland was always the result, not of kindness, but of necessity. Such was the case, when in the midst of the American war, with 80,000 volunteers in arms, England was obliged to make an appeal to Ireland. Such was the case in 1792, when the elective franchise, first obstinately denied, was at length conceded, because a French war was impending. Such was the case, I am sorry to add, since the period when Lord Grenville spoke, when Catholic Emancipation was reluctantly granted. That concession arose out of no admission of the justice of the claim on the part of those who proposed it, but proceeded merely and avowedly from the fear of civil war. (Cheers). The point having been yielded in this manner, it cannot be expected that the minds of the people of Ireland should be so changed, as to be reconciled to their remaining disadvantages; ancient hatred, and former animosities still necessarily prevail, and it seems to have been too often thought by them, that what force once extorted, force could again compel. I now come to you, and ask you to legislate in a different and a liberal spirit. (Cheers). I come to ask you, although the Reformation and the revolution were periods of calamity and not of gratulation to Ireland, to make this era (when a Parliament has been assembled representing, I believe fairly, the opinions of the united people), celebrated in her annals for its justice and impartiality, inspiring her inhabitants with better hopes, and laying the foundation of a lasting settlement. (Much cheering). "In considering the state of the church of Ireland, I am obliged to look back and consider a question that has been of late a good deal mooted, viz., the utility and object of a church establishment. I am one of those fully concurring in the defence set up last year by one of our prelates, that an establishment tends to promote religion, to maintain good order, and I farther agree with him as to the fact that it is agreeable to the sentiments of the majority of the people of this part of the empire. But as a friend of the

United Kingdom, I call upon you to consider whether with respect to the church of Ireland you can set up the same defence? Does it tend to promote religion, or to maintain good order? (Hear). On this part of the subject I will take the liberty of reading a passage from Archdeacon Paley, where he speaks of a church establishment: "The authority of a church establishment is founded in its utility; and whenever, upon this principle, we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellency of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider any of them is that of a scheme of instruction, the single end we ought to propose by them is, the preservation and communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea, and every other end, that have been mixed with this, as the making of the church an engine, or even an ally of the state; converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence; or regarding it as a support of reputation in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous abuses and corruptions." I agree also with a right rev. Prelate who stated in one of his charges last year, that "the avowed object for which the church is established is the spiritual instruction of all classes of the people." I add elsewhere that the whole controversy is reduced to this, "whether the religious instruction of a nation is not more effectually carried on by means of an endowed and an established church?" That is precisely the question I propose to apply to the state of Ireland, and I ask, whether this great object has been advanced by the mode in which the church revenues are at present appropriated in Ireland; whether the religious instruction of the people has been promoted by the establishment of the Protestant church? I will first consider what are now the revenues of the Irish church as compared with its revenues in former times. Upon this point I beg to read a passage from a letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake, after the death of the Archbishop of Tuam, dated March 29, 1716, where he says, "We have but about six hun-

dred beneficed clergymen in Ireland, and perhaps of these hardly two hundred have 100*l.* per annum; and for you to send your supernumeraries to be provided out of the least of these does look too like the rich man in Nathan's parable." At this period the total revenue was not more than 110,000*l.* Now, my hon. friend (Mr. Ward) in his speech of last year made a statement of the present revenues of the church of Ireland, which has not been disputed, and the exactness of which I believe there is no reason to doubt: "The total number of benefices is 1,456, of which 74 range from 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year; 75 from 1,000*l.* to 1,500*l.*; 17 from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.*; and 10 from 2,000*l.* to 2,800*l.*, which is the *maximum*. There are 407 livings, varying from 400*l.* to 800*l.* per annum; and 386 livings exceeding 200*l.*" I have before mentioned that the total revenue of the church of Ireland in 1716 was 110,000*l.*, being made up of the sums of 60,000*l.* for benefices, and about 50,000*l.* for lay impropriations. Now let us see what is its amount at present. I find it thus stated:

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Tithe Composition | £534,433 |
| Episcopal revenues exclusive of tithe | 141,896 |
| Dean and Chapters and Eccle- siastical Estates | 5,399 |
| Minor Canons & Vicars Choral Dignitaries, Prebendaries, and Canons | 5,183 |
| 6,560 | |
| Glebe lands (at 16 <i>s.</i>) | 68,250 |
| Perpetuity Purchase Fund . . . | 30,000 |
| Total | £791,721 |

These are the present revenues of the Church of Ireland, so that in the whole they amount to a little less than 800,000*l.* We therefore at once come to the question, whether this large sum has really been applied to the religious instruction of the people, or to whose benefit it has been applied?—whether, while during the last century there has been this enormous increase in the revenues of the church, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of conversions to the Protestant religion? (Cheering). Whether the activity and zeal of the

clergy have been such, and whether such has been their success, that the greater portion of the inhabitants of Ireland have become attached to the Protestant church, and whether this beneficial change has been owing to the instructions of its ministers? I am sorry to say that the result has been too much the reverse. I am afraid that in the last century, although it is not so now, it was considered rather an advantage that there were but two Protestant clergymen residing on their benefices: as they had no glebe-houses and no churches, they had a very fair plea for neglecting their spiritual duties. It is mentioned by more than one traveller that such was the ordinary case, and even at a late date many of the clergy considered themselves rather part of a large political body than as persons appointed for the spiritual instruction of the people. (Cheers.) It has been stated to me by a reverend gentleman who has addressed me, and who once held a benefice in Ireland, that when first he went there he considered the character of the clergy of that church very different from the character of the clergy of the church of England. They had many very small flocks; they had difficulty in collecting their tithes; their attention was therefore too much absorbed by the means of collecting their tithes, and they did not partake of the character which does so much honour to the clergy of the Church of England. This is the statement of a highly respected gentleman, who held a benefice in Ireland for many years, and afterwards gave it up and returned to this country; and he adds an instance of a clergyman who thought himself aggrieved in being deprived of his benefice, because he would persist in holding a commission in a yeomanry corps. All the information that we have, and it is abundant, tends to show that such was the actual condition. By Tighe's History of Kilkenny, it appears that the number of Protestant families in 1731 was 1,035, but in 1800 they had been reduced to 941. The total number of Protestants at the former period was 5,238, while the population of the county, which in 1800 was 108,000, in 1731 was only 42,108 souls. From

Stewart's History of Armagh, we find that sixty years ago the Protestants in that county were as two to one; now they are as one to three. In 1733, the Roman Catholics in Kerry were twelve to one Protestant, and now the former are much more numerous than even that proportion. In Tullamore, in 1731, there were 64 Protestants to 613 Roman Catholics; but according to Mason's Parochial Survey, in 1818, the Protestants had diminished to only five, while the Roman Catholics had augmented to 2,455. On the whole, from the best computation I have seen, and I believe it is not exaggerated one way or the other, the entire number of Protestants belonging to the established church in Ireland can hardly be stated higher than 750,000; and of those 400,000 are resident in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. Without going into particulars, for which indeed I do not pretend to be prepared, it may be said that in Armagh the numbers are seven or eight to one, and in other parts of Ireland the disproportion is larger. I have, however, an account relating to different dioceses, which I believe to be very accurate, and which I will state to the House.

| Diocese. | Members of the Established Church. | Roman Catholics. | Presbyterians. | Other Protestant Dissenters. | Total. |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Ardfert | 7,529 | 297,181 | ..... | 27 | 304,687 |
| Down | 30,583 | 61,465 | 401,627 | 3,557 | 197,232 |
| Dromore | 35,677 | 58,516 | 59,385 | 831 | 154,409 |
| Kildare | 13,986 | 122,577 | 9 | 384 | 136,956 |
| Kilfenora | 235 | 34,606 | 4 | .. | 34,845 |
| Killaloe | 19,149 | 359,585 | 16 | 326 | 379,076 |
| Leighlin | 20,404 | 170,063 | 198 | 281 | 190,966 |
| Lismore | 8,002 | 207,688 | 164 | 382 | 216,236 |
| Meath | 25,626 | 377,430 | 671 | 199 | 403,926 |
| Waterford | 5,301 | 43,371 | 110 | 443 | 49,225 |
| | 166,492 | 1,732,452 | 162,184 | 6,430 | 2,067,558 |

Thus, sir, it will be seen, that while in some parts of Ireland the members of the established church form a considerable portion of the population, and it is therefore held that they require a considerable number of clergymen, in other parts they form but a small proportion; so small that it cannot be necessary or right that there should be so large an establishment as is in those parts maintained. (Cheers). Having shown that these are the general results with respect to the proportions of the population,—and every one knows that by no computation can the members of the established church be made to form more than one-ninth of the whole population,—I may venture, with the less fear, to give some particular instances of the proportion which the members of the Church of England bear to the amount of money drawn from tithes, as applied to the spiritual instruction of the people. The instances which I will state to the House are taken at random from are turn furnished by my right hon. Friend. They are as follows:—

| Parishes. | Value. | Established Church. | Roman Catholic. |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Taghmon | £644 Glebe £50. | 133 | 2920 |
| Ballycormack | 95 | 10 | 501 |
| Ballynilty | 82 | 21 | 390 |
| Dunleer | 153 G. 6 | 159 | 1460 |
| Drumcar | 53 | 120 | 1528 |
| Monachabone | 107 | 9 | 737 |
| Moyleary | 173 G. 30 | 13 | 1148 |
| Cuppog | 120 | 1 | 530 |
| Rathdrummin | 82 G. 20 | 7 | 662 |
| Carrickbogget | 67 | .. | 332 |
| Port | 142 G. 5 | 5 | 800 |
| Ullard | 280 G. 45 | 50 | 2213 |
| Graig | 440 | 63 | 4779 |
| Ossory | 62 | 4 | 107 |
| Balsoon | 69 | 7 | 312 |

This, sir, will be sufficient for my present purpose. I believe that similar instances, without end, might be produced from the knowledge, and I may say, the personal acquaintance, of persons residing in Ireland. (Hear, hear). Their tendency is to show that there is a very large mass of the 800,000. raised for the spiritual instruction of a small class of the people, while all the rest of the people derive no benefit whatever from that expenditure. (Hear). I believe that more care and more attention have been given of late years (hear), particularly during the last seven years, to the spiritual cure of members of the church of England, than have been afforded at a former period. I believe that, in this respect, the church of Ireland now stands high, and that there are clergymen belonging to that church, who exert themselves to the utmost to afford spiritual instruction to the people. But we must not fall into the error of supposing that it is only necessary to build churches and glebe-houses in order to convert men to the religion which our- selves profess. There are instances, per- haps, I know not whether it is or not, when, by kindness and care, the English church might have obtained a much more extensive footing in Ireland than it pur- poses now to obtain.

gards a people so much attached to their own faith as the Roman Catholics are, you cannot hope, by merely placing a clergyman in a glebe-house, and advising him to preach every Sunday; you cannot hope that, by such means, any real advances will be made in their conversion. Every thing contradicts such a suppo- sition. (Hear). And, if it were not con- tradicted, merely by the present state of the facts, I am sorry to say, that what has occurred of late years would tend to dimi- nish very much any such hopes that might have been entertained. It was thought fit, some years ago, to call together public meetings in Ireland, and to endeavour by controversy and dispute to bring over members of the Catholic church to the Protestant church. Now, sir I must say, that those who took this course acted in defiance of all history and all experience. (Hear, hear, hear) I can well conceive, that in the case of a rich church estab- lished in a country in which it was en- joying large benefits, without attending properly to the cure of souls, individuals, even though themselves were in error, might hope, by pointing out the corrup- tions and defects of such a church, to ob- tain many converts; but that persons belonging to a church like the church of England, that they, belonging to a church

so large, and maintained by tithes paid by the people generally who dissent from it, that they should attempt a sort of crusade against the voluntary leaders of men who support their own church, and hope to gain the supremacy in the controversy, does show, I think, greater zeal and rashness than prudence or wisdom. (Cheers). What, sir, was the consequence? It might have happened that things might have gone on in their usual course; but this controversy being commenced, the Catholic clergy considered themselves attacked, and raised a spirit of resistance to the legal payment of that clergy to whom they were, religiously and theologically opposed. I am far from thinking that that resistance was justified; still less do I think that encouragement ought to have been given to it. But I feel it to be my duty to place before you the facts, to acquaint you with the state of things which naturally resulted from what was attempted, in order that you may see that the effect was to throw an additional obstacle in the way of the success of the church of England in its endeavours to win over a large class of the Roman Catholics to its spiritual doctrines. In the parish of Grape a system of violence was commenced, and it was said that the Roman Catholic priests advised the people not to pay tithes. If they did so, all parties must blame them. A Protestant clergyman, on the other hand, seized a horse from a tithe-payer, and equal blame must be given to him for taking that course. (Hear, hear). I do think it most lamentable, that instead of the clergy of the different persuasions recommending mild pursuits, they should have been the originators of a dispute and contest; it is surely most lamentable, I say, that such differences should have been commenced by those who ought to be the ministers of peace. Unfortunately there has prevailed throughout Ireland, for several years, a spirit of resistance to the payment of tithes, so inveterate that no exertions of the clergy, and no efforts of the Government have succeeded in enforcing their collection. The extent of the evil is admitted by all parties. The laws passed during the late administration having proved ineffectual, the right

honourable Gentleman opposite, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the other night came down to the House, and, in his introduction of a measure relating to this subject, earnestly deprecated the use of military force for the collection of tithes. What, then, is the state of the church of Ireland? (Hear, hear) You, in the first place, are unable to diffuse its spiritual and religious doctrines amongst the great mass of the people; and you have, in the second place, by your system of tithes, been constantly brought into collision with them. (Hear, hear). You have been constantly producing a state of things which, while it has led to the disturbance of this country, was irreconcilable with those spiritual objects for which the Bishop of London had said a church establishment alone ought to exist. Allow me, sir, to call the attention of the House to the principle which the great authority I have quoted lays down. That authority states that church establishment should be considered as the means of moral and spiritual instruction, and nothing else; their great objects are to be essentially useful. Bearing in mind what has been said at Craig and Rathcorragh, I would ask whether the great and permanent objects of a church establishment can ever be secured by your determining that funds shall be demanded for the purpose of enforcing the doctrines of the church of England, and for no other purpose whatever? (Hear, hear). Well, then, what do I propose to do in this case? I propose that there should be instituted such a reform in the Church of Ireland as would enable us to adapt the establishment to the spiritual instruction of those who belong to the church, and that there should be no unnecessary addition. (Cheers). If you adopt this principle, you cannot do otherwise than greatly reduce the Church of Ireland. (Cheers). I propose, therefore, that you should undertake this object, and that you should apply what shall appear to be the surplus in some way by which the moral and religious improvement of the people of Ireland may be advanced, by which their interests may be considered, and in which they may hereafter believe that the funds, which are

raised nominally for their benefit are used for their benefit in reality. It is with this view, then, that I mean to propose this resolution to the House, of which I have given notice. The resolution is as follows: "That this House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." The House having resolved itself into a committee, I shall move, "That it is the opinion of this committee that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the established church in Ireland, ought to be applied locally to the general education of all classes of Christians." In proposing this course I feel that I am not doing more than the case requires. A similar course was taken in 1828, with respect to the Catholic claims, on the proposition of my honourable friend the Member for Westminster. I beg leave to explain the view I take, because I shall answer the honourable gentleman opposite who asked me in what manner I intended to proceed. The motion to which I have alluded, that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the state of the Roman Catholics, was carried by a majority of six. The committee then did resolve that it was expedient to consider the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to their final adjustment. It was then moved that the resolution be sent to the Lords, in order that their concurrence might be asked. The Commons and the Lords held a conference on the subject, after which the latter fixed a day for the debate, the result being, that the motion for their concurrence to the resolution that had been adopted by the House of Commons was lost. I now propose this House shall resolve to go into committee; and having gone into committee, I shall propose a resolution which will embody the spirit and substance of my present motion. On that resolution being reported, I shall move an Address to the Crown. I shall move that the resolution be presented to the Crown, with a humble entreaty to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be most graciously pleased to enable the House to carry it into effect.

(Cheering). I think that this is the course which we took on the question of the Church Temporalities' Act. After that bill had been read a first time, the question was raised whether we could dispose of the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown without the special approval of his Majesty; and it was decided, sir, by your predecessor, that the question having been brought under the consideration of the House by the King's Speech, the bill might be read a second time, but that afterwards it would be proper that a special message should be received. I call the attention of the House to that question, because I think the manner of proceeding which I recommend is the best, not only in point of form, but because I do also think that the only manner in which a satisfactory measure can be proposed to the House, is by the concurrence of the Crown. In proposing this, I know not whether the right hon. Gentleman opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) will think it proper to follow what he did in 1829. After that resolution had been carried by a majority of six, the right hon. Gentleman went down to the King, and informed his Majesty that the House of Commons had decided by a majority in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, and that the state of Ireland being such as to induce well-founded alarm, it was his duty to change his course, and to propose a measure of relief. Whether the right hon. Gentleman opposite will follow that precedent or not, I know not; but I do think that it is as competent to him to adopt such a course on the present occasion as it was for him to adopt the course he took on the Roman Catholic question. (Hear). The right hon. Gentleman has, I know, stated his opinion on the subject, and that is an opinion which is against this proposition; but he has spoken in no more decided terms against it than he did with respect to the Roman Catholic question—a measure which he afterwards introduced. (Hear). The right hon. Baronet, in his address to his constituents, which he professed to be a declaration of the principles on which he intended to act, stated, with respect to Church Reform:—"That, as to the great question of Church Re-

form, on that head I have no new professions to make. I cannot give my consent to the alienation of church property, in any part of the United Kingdom, from strictly ecclesiastical purposes. (Cheers). But I repeat now the opinion that I have already expressed in Parliament, in regard to the church establishment in Ireland, that if by an improved distribution of the revenues of the church its just influence can be extended, and the true interest of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be made subordinate to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance." The right hon. Gentleman stated his opinion in this very emphatic manner very soon after he took office. When subsequently the right hon. Gentleman was asked a question in this House, as to what he proposed to do in regard to measures resulting from the commission now making inquiries in Ireland, he answered, that he was not averse to any new distribution of the revenues of the church, which would promote the interest and extend the influence of the church; but any measure to which he consented must be confined in its object to the promotion of the doctrines of the church. In some observations upon the Tithe Bill lately brought before the House, in which the question of the appropriation of church revenues was involved, the right hon. Baronet said that he would consent to their application to their present purposes, spiritual and ecclesiastical, viz. those purposes, for which the church of England at present exists. (Hear). Now I do say, sir, that the right hon. Bart. having stated his opinions thus broadly on this question, it is quite clear, that whatever may be the result of the inquiries which the commission is yet to pursue, it is necessary that the House of Commons should come to some decision on that point (cheers), and either adopt or reject the principles adopted by the right hon. Baronet. (Cheers). If the House be determined to confine the revenues of the church to purposes strictly ecclesiastical, it is better for that determination to be declared; but if the House is not of that opinion, it is certainly of no use for us to be passing through the

different stages of the bill for the commutation of tithes. We ought, in my opinion, to proceed with that bill while this great question is unsettled—while it is yet unknown whether the Ministers and the House of Commons agree as to the question, or are at variance upon it. (Cheers). I think, sir, that this consideration is a full justification of the course I take in proposing this resolution to the House. (Cheers). It is quite clear that the late Ministry, or any similar Ministry, on the report of the church commissioners becoming known, would have been disposed to act on the spirit of that report, and, if necessary, would have proposed to reduce the church establishment in Ireland. (Cheers). But the right hon. Baronet tells us at once, immediately on his resuming office, again on appearing in this House, and also in proposing the Tithe Bill—three separate times he tells us—that the commission may go on prosecuting its inquiries, but he should care for its report no otherwise than as it would enable him to effect a better distribution of church property among the members of the church; and whatever the nature of the report, whatever the surplus, however extensive the reduction which the Protestant church might bear consistently with the preservation of its stability and the extension of its really beneficial influence, he has made up his mind already not to consent to forego the principle of maintaining the property of the church to its present purposes. That being the case, it is quite necessary, as it appears to me, to come to some distinct resolution on the question. It is for the advantage of every one, for the advantage of this country, for the advantage of Ireland, and, indeed, for the general advantage of the empire (hear, hear), that there should be on this great and vital question an administration in harmony with the House of Commons, acting according to its sense. (Loud cheers). And if the right hon. Gentleman has the confidence of the House, or if his opinions and the opinions of those acting with him being adverse, he is prepared to take the course he took on a former occasion; in either case, it is far better that at once we

should come to some decision; and not be voting supplies, and not going on night after night, week after week, without knowing whether the Ministers of the crown do enjoy the confidence of the House on this great question, or do not. (Cheers). Well, then, sir, I think that what I have said will be considered a sufficient answer to any argument that may be drawn from the fact of the Report of the Commission not being yet on the table of the House. The hon. Gentlemen opposite may say that it is inconsistent thus to bring forward a motion on this subject without the report being before us, and they are quite welcome if they please to throw those taunts upon us; but I think it sufficient to state in reply that the state of the question has been entertained, that it is a question no longer open: on the contrary, it is one on which a decided opinion has been formed by the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House (cheers); and that decided opinion having been pronounced, it is quite necessary that we should ask whether or no the principle which we propose, whether the appropriation of the revenue of the church of Ireland, or any part of it, to uses by which the people of Ireland generally can be benefited, will secure the sanction of the House. I come now to the question with respect to the purposes to which I would apply the surplus. (Hear, hear). The other night an hon. Gentleman asked me whether I proposed that any part of the money should go for the purpose of affording religious education to the Roman Catholics on the principle of the Roman Catholic religion. My answer is this, that I propose to adopt the principle acted on by the National Board of Education for Ireland. The measure constituting that Board, was proposed by my noble Friend the Member for Lancashire; and, according to that measure, members of all creeds children of all persuasions, can receive religious and moral instruction, and are brought up in harmony. I have considered that, in the present state of Ireland, no measure would tend so much to its future peace, as the expending of large funds for the purpose of promoting education. From the earliest times, it will be

found that the Protestants have been desirous of improving the condition of the people of Ireland by means of education. It was the object of the 12th Elizabeth, chap. 1. The preamble of that Act actually states, that much good is expected to result from the establishment of a good system of education in Ireland. But in later times, and in times much later, there have been those who considered that it was of the utmost importance that instruction should be given to the people of Ireland in such a manner as would not interfere with their religious faith. (Hear). In support of this statement, I beg the attention of the House while I read to them the copy of a letter from the Lord Bishop of Clonfert to the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Boughton Blean, near Canterbury:—"Though I had not the pleasure of receiving your very informing discourse on Sunday schools at the time you intended, I have since got it, and read it with the greatest satisfaction. It is an admirable defence and recommendation of this new institution, which I hope will daily become more general, and produce the best moral effects, by impressing the children of the poor with a sense of duty and religion, at the only time and age when they are capable of impressions. A poor man's creed need not be long, but it should be struck in early, and a true and right one. If he believes, as the common proverb says, that he is to die like a dog, he will undoubtedly live like one. The communication of education is certainly a very great blessing to the poor; and had Mandeville, and they who, to serve political purposes, are for denying all instruction to the lower classes, only pushed their argument far enough, they might have proved, that they had a right to maim or put out the eyes of the common people, in order to make them more manageable and more in the power of their superiors. Having never seen the paragraph in the English papers concerning me to which you allude in your appendix, I can say nothing to it; but what I have endeavoured to do in my diocese, ever since my appointment, is this: there are twenty Catholics to one Protestant in it. To attempt their conversion, or to think of making them read Protestant

books, would be in vain; I have, therefore, circulated amongst them some of the best of their own authors, particularly one Gother, whose writings contain much pure Christianity, useful knowledge, and benevolent sentiments. He wrote eighteen volumes of religious extracts, and died about the year 1696. Unable to make the peasants about me good Protestants, I wish to make them good Catholics, good citizens, and good anything. I have established, too, a Sunday school, open to both Protestants and Catholics, at my residence in the country, have recommended the scheme to my clergy, and hope to have several on foot in the summer. Pastoral works, however, of this nature, go on very heavily in a kingdom so unsettled, and so intoxicated with politics as this is. I return you my best thanks for your obliging present." I cannot conceive, sir, that funds intended for the religious instruction of the people can be misapplied when devoted to objects likely to make them good subjects of the state, and religious and moral. Objects of a similar kind were in view, when, in 1806, a commission was appointed, which consisted of the Archbishop of Armagh, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Edgeworth. After several years spent in inquiry, they agreed to a report, in which they carefully laid down the principle that any new system of education ought to be such as would not interfere with the religious tenets of any particular party. In an appendix to the report there is a letter from Mr. Grattan, who, in speaking of the sort of schools that should be formed, says that they ought to be founded on more extensive and comprehensive principles. The board for promoting Irish education was composed of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster and others. I am sure that all must have heard that the schools of the kind established by the recommendation of that board have been conducted with the utmost harmony, and attended with the most beneficial effects, moral and religious instruction has been conveyed generally to the people without reference to one particular and exclusive creed. I come now to meet one or two objections which have been urged, but which I do not think well founded.

The first is the assertion of that principle, that the property of the church ought not to be directed from the uses of the church to which it belongs. With respect to that principle, I am not so far disposed as to go at large into the general question as to church property being considered private or not. I am disposed to consider that question as Burke was disposed to consider it, as expressed in his speech on the right of taxation over a colony, made on the motion for the conciliation of America. I think and believe that if I were to enter fully into that question, I should run the risk of having the question immediately before the House altogether lost and sunk. (Laughter). I will read the passage of Burke I have alluded to. "From the earliest considerations of religion and constitutional policy, from their opinion of a duty to make a sure provision for the consolation of the feeble and the instruction of the ignorant, they have incorporated and identified the estate of the church with the mass of private property of which the state is not the proprietor, either for use or dominion, but the guardian only and the regulator." I will submit, with all respect, that the discussion of the general question would lead to inconvenience in this particular case. The hon. Gentlemen opposite do not hold that opinion, or that the interference with the revenue of bishops is an appropriation of the revenue of the church, such is not their doctrine. They hold that they may distribute church property in taking from the bishop and giving to the curate. Is there in this interference and appropriation any resemblance to an interference with private property? There are one or two hundred cases of the distribution of large church incomes among smaller ones. Now if the property were private, and that only, they could not act in that way. If they were satisfied with it being private property, on what principle could they make a distribution, on what principle could they diminish the number of bishops? By an act of the Parliament they had interfered with the bishops. The number of bishops has been considered too great, they have been diminished, their funds have been con-

sidered too great; they have distributed them to deans and chapters; if the deans and chapters have possessed enough, then to rectors and others. If they determined that there were too many bishops, or that there were too unequal revenues, how is it possible to say, "We will diminish the numbers, we will distribute the revenues," and not carry out the principle and regulate the property in a most useful manner to the country? Upon what principle did they interfere with church property? No other than this, that it is useful for religion, and the distribution is useful for the people. They came then to the principle, that what regulates church property is totally different and distinct from that which regulates private property; and I say again, that if it be right on grounds of public expediency, public right, and public advantage, then I say on those grounds of expediency, right, and advantage, apply the property to works of religion, of education, and of charity; what distribution can be more sacred? (Loud cheers). If you stand on the question of private property, that ecclesiastical property shall not be disposed of otherwise than as originally distributed, that I can understand; but the hon. Gentlemen on the other side admit the right of Parliament to interfere; yet they say that such interference shall only be to redistribute the church property for Protestant purposes. This is making the proposition, and I may almost call it an absurdity. In the former discussion on this question, the hon. Member for Oxford (Sir Robert Inglis) said, that Parliament had no right to interfere with church property. I do maintain that it can. I will not enter into the great theoretical question, but I will stand on the intelligible principle of the right of interfering so far in regard to church property as may be for the advantage of the State. We are told that the revenues of the church are applied usefully; now, how are they applied? The number of Catholics in Ireland, compared to Protestants, is about 15 to 1. Is it claimed that the property of the church is only to be used for the benefit of the rich, who are Protestants? Has no one but a Pro-

holder a right to the consolations of religion? An establishment is meant for all classes of the community, for the consolation and education of the poor, and we are to look to it as it may affect the poor. Of the persons affected by the church establishment of Ireland, the great majority are Catholics; day by day money is collected from them; and, in many instances, in sums as low as 6d. and 4d. All these persons are paying for the support of a religion from which they derive no benefit, though it is said that these persons ought not to object to their proportion, as the payments fall ultimately on the land, and that on these grounds they are not affected. The motion I now make is, what will, in my opinion, put an end to the ill-feeling that subsists; and I think, until it is adopted, though you may pass the Tithe Bill as now drawn up, you will not obtain peace in Ireland; and in adopting what I now propose, you will act in such a way as will secure ultimately the harmony and the advantage of Ireland: I believe the people of that country are warmly attached to this, and their disposition is kind and humane. While acts of violence take place in reference to the public dissensions of that country, no traveller who has been there will deny that he has been well received by the poorest and meanest of the inhabitants, who exercise the most unbounded hospitality; and are not only hospitable in disposition, but open their doors to all who approach them. To those who have not lived in that country it would be quite singular to know how great their gratitude is for any kindness shown; they are indeed overflowing with gratitude to all who show them the least kindness. When such is their feeling and conduct to individuals, there is now an opportunity, by adopting this motion, of directing that gratitude to the Imperial Parliament. You have now the power of acting free from any compulsion, not having before you the fear of any foreign war, without any civil commotion; you have the power to begin at length to effect a settlement of this great question, which once accomplished, the question of the repeal of the union will cease to operate, or disturb the public mind; and a nation

so eminent in men panting to be loyal will give full tribute for the benefit bestowed, and will acknowledge that at last justice has been done to Ireland; and your satisfaction will be great in having granted that justice. By this, more than by any means, you will confirm our strength, render us unconquerable by our enemies, and make us an example of religious liberty. (Long-continued cheering.)

The motion was then put.

SIR E. KNATCHBULL commenced with remarking upon the importance of the question, and he hoped they would give him that attention which he never withheld from others when they addressed the House on questions of an important nature. He would at once come to the question, which had been put before the House by the noble Lord, and state his reasons why he could not accede to it. He might have complained that until he entered the House that evening he had not been made acquainted with the precise nature of the measure of the noble Lord. The noble Lord had certainly given some general expression of his intention; but he had said he would not be bound by his word (cheers from the Ministerial side); but he (Sir E. K.) thought the noble Lord would find, and that every public man would find, that it was important public men should be bound by their word (cheers from the Ministerial benches, and louder cheering from the opposition); and that they should be guided by public opinion. He needed not to have been ashamed of declaring what were his intentions. In opposing the resolution of the noble Lord he might move a counter resolution, or he might adopt another course by moving the previous question; but he would not adopt either of these courses; he would oppose the resolution on its own merits, and he was sure it would meet with real opposition, not only within the walls of the House, but from one end of the country to the other. He would at once boldly express his opinion to be to negative the motion of the noble Lord. He would ask the noble Lord and the honourable House what was the real tenour of the measure? Was it to have

for its end the safe settlement of the question of the Irish Church; or was it not rather for the purpose of trying the relative strength of the parties in that House? (Loud cheers from both sides of the House). It might have been doubted at the early part of the noble Lord's speech that this was his motive, but the expressions he used in the latter part of his speech left no doubt as to his object. He had selected extracts from opinions expressed by others, and in particular had cited what had been said by the right hon. Baronet in an address to his constituents, and contrasted these with the measure he had proposed. Now, what was the course which the noble Lord meant to pursue if he succeeded in carrying forward his resolution? If he succeeded in carrying his resolution, he meant to frame upon that address by which he would tell to the Crown that the opinion of that House was diametrically opposed to the opinion of the right hon. Baronet on this question. This, perhaps, might be the easiest course; but it would have been far more manly to have come forward at once and declared that the House had no confidence in the present Government. (Loud cheering). With regard to the proposition itself, notwithstanding all that had been said on the subject, he (Sir E. Knatchbull) was not prepared to apply Protestant Church property to any other than the Protestant Church clergy. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). The noble Lord might talk as long as he pleased, and might give it what complexion he pleased, but it amounted to neither more nor less than this, namely, a desire to take from the Protestant Church their property, and to give it to the Catholics and all other sects. The noble Lord had, in alluding to the sentiments expressed by the right hon. Baronet on the subject of equalizing the incomes of bishops, contended that he had admitted the principle of legislative interference with the church revenue; but the noble Lord had mistaken the position entirely; in this there was no violation of principle. To take from one bishop in the church, and to give to another bishop, was not taking it away from one church and giving it to another church; on this rested the whole question

—that they were to take from the Protestant Church of Ireland their property, and give it to other churches. He regretted that the noble Lord should have taken the present time for introducing his measure, and he deeply regretted that the noble Lord should have selected a religious question to try the strength of parties. He must repeat his regret that such a question should have been introduced for any such purpose, a question of so vast importance, which ought to have been discussed with the most perfect deliberation, and totally divested of party feeling in any degree. With regard to the situation in which he (Sir E. Knatchbull) stood as to the question, he thought himself very much in the same situation as the noble Lord had been when the honourable Member for St. Albans and the honourable and learned Member for Dublin had moved resolutions on the same subject. The course which the noble Lord then pursued was to oppose the motions, and now he had so far changed in his opinion that he had introduced a motion very similar himself. The noble Lord on these occasions had stated there were two courses which they might pursue, they might pass a resolution confining themselves to a general opinion, but he disapproved of the House applying a general resolution to an abstract principle. The other course they might pursue was, that they could appoint a commission, and act upon the report of that commission. Now he would ask the noble Lord if he was right in his information in the statements he had made? He would ask him where he had obtained his information? because he could assure the House the Government were not in possession of that information. (Loud cheers). He would ask if the commissioners of the Irish church had made their report to the noble Lord? (Cheers). His Lordship, on these occasions, had stated that he considered the first course of passing a resolution as being better (cheers); and he had said that he had had sufficient experience in this matter to show him that it was a very improper mode of proceeding. The honourable Baronet alluded to other authorities on the same subject, and expressed his dis-

nishment that the noble Lord should have thus declared his opinion when in office upon this principle, and now to come forward and propose the present resolution. He must once more repeat what he had stated in his outset, that he deeply regretted this question had ever been brought forward. He knew the course that the Government would pursue—they would do their duty to the Crown and to the House. They had had sufficient evidence of what were the feelings of the noble Lord. The noble Lord was desirous for the formation of a new Government. (Cheers and laughter). But he would ask the House and the noble Lord if they were prepared to meet the change? He would ask the noble Lord where he could look for support? If he meant to trust for support to the members of the sister kingdom, he would find himself disappointed. The noble Lord had alluded to the repeal of the Union; he had spoken of it only in general terms; but he had said that, unless justice was done to Ireland, there was danger to be apprehended from it. And this was what he called justice to Ireland. He saw the coalition that had taken place between that party and the Whig party, or rather a section of the Whig party, and he deeply regretted to see the closeness of that union. (Cheers and laughter). He made some allusion to the peculiar mode in which the hon. Member for Dublin discharged his public duties, and repeated his expression of astonishment that the noble Lord should act with him, and which he designated as a most extraordinary coalition. He alluded to the hon. Member for Dublin, who, when he wanted relief for the people of Ireland, had called upon them to strike off one per cent. from the national debt. (Hear, hear). Yet, this was the party, with whom the noble Lord had associated himself. (Cheers). He would ask them as the Bank of this opinion? He would ask them if there was any special objection to any one member of the Government, or to his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any one else, that had been stated? Take as a criterion the measures they had brought forward—there had been no objection to

them. The Irish Tithe Bill (hear, hear), and which he would contend was infinitely a better measure than had ever been proposed by the noble Lord and his friends. (Laughter). Take the Dissenters' Marriage Bill—there had been no objection to that. But his right hon. Friend was taunted with bringing in measures that had been concocted by others. The difference, however, was, that as he introduced them they were perfected; as they were before they had been found impracticable. He was sure that every member of the Government was as desirous as the noble Lord, or any one else, to remove every blemish in the church, whether they might be in office or out of office. Did the noble lord suppose that he (Sir E. K.), or those who acted with him, were less sensible than he was to the misery of the people, or that they did not hear with sorrow of their calamities—or would not be as willing as he would be to remove the cause of their suffering? They ought to remove, in the first place, that system of agitation which existed, before they could proceed with benefit to administer to the country. He would give his most unqualified opposition to the motion, because he conceived that the appropriation of the Protestant church property to any other than the Protestant church must lead to the separation of Church and State, and the church would be subjected to desecration. The noble lord seemed to have forgotten that there were Protestants as well as Catholics, and it was for the House to do justice. (The right hon. baronet sat down amidst loud cheers from the Treasury benches.)

“Government, I here declare for myself, and also for my colleagues, that it is my determined resolution, wherever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to suppress them with ‘SEVERITY AND VIGOUR.’ On the very same day that Lord Grey made this declaration, there was a proclamation issued, in the name of the King, offering a reward of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS to any person causing another to be convicted of any act of violence, and of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for causing any one to be convicted of setting fire to property. The Dorsetshire magistrates had just agreed to the allowance of TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE A WEEK for a man to work on and to live on, when Lord Grey made the declaration above named, and when the King’s proclamation above alluded to was issued, containing such an enormous inducement to injure any one of the poor labourers, as would give him for the committing of a single offence, so large a sum of money that the interest alone of it would be nearly four times as much as he could get for labouring work, according to the scale of allowance agreed to by the Dorsetshire magistrates.”

Dec. 14, 1830. A special commission was appointed to try the agricultural labourers who had been taken up for rioting, of whom, in Hampshire alone, there were:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Transported, mostly for life | 135 |
| Hanged, one of them for rioting, and the other for striking Bingham Baring, without doing him any harm | 2 |
| Wives bereft of their husbands.... | 73 |
| Children bereft of their fathers.... | 243 |
| Parents to bewail the loss of their sons | 210 |

Total.. 663

DEEDS OF THE WHIGS.

AND

PARALLEL OF THE TWO FALLOUTS.

Nov. 22, 1830. Lord Grey, alluding to the riots amongst the labourers in the South and West of England, said, “It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our seats as members of the House of Commons, and these men were thus protected and thus punished, although it was general evidence on the trials, that as the labouring men went to work with no potatoes in their bags, and were set to draw

carts like cattle, and that OLD MEN and WOMEN were thus compelled to work; and in one case a WOMAN WHO WAS AN IDIOT!

Dec. 6, 1830. The Whigs voted TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS for the repairs of Windsor Castle. The original estimate was 150,000*l.*, and sums of money had been voted from time to time, to the amount of NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, to which the Whigs added the above 25,000*l.*

Dec. 16, 1830. Lord Althorp announced to the House of Commons, in answer to a question put to him, that SIX THOUSAND men were added to the army; but his Lordship said that it was done in the *cheapest possible manner*. At this time there were more than sixteen THOUSAND MILITARY OFFICERS IN PAY.

Feb. 4, 1831. Lord Grey said, on taking office, "*We will cut off with an unsparing hand, all that is demanded for the honour, the honour, and the welfare of the country.*" But Lord Althorp said, this day, in the House of Commons, "*I doubt if we have any equitable right to abolish any of the pensions on the civil list*" although he well knew that Mrs. Arbuthnot's name was put on that list by the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, on the day that he went out of office, to the tune of nearly 1,000*l.* a year, and ANTEDATED TEN YEARS; so that, the moment her name was written on the list, the nation was her debtor nearly TEN THOUSAND POUNDS, and that for services known to no person in the kingdom, except, perhaps, the Duke himself, who might have been able, himself, to pay for her services out of his own purse, instead of out of that of the nation, seeing that he is in the enjoyment of more than 40,000*l.* per annum, granted to him by the Government for an "*accidental victory*," for which we are told that we cannot be "*sufficiently grateful*"!!

May 23, 1831. The Whigs made Wellington Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, and a judge, to sit on the bench, in that "*special commission*" that was appointed to try persons charged with rioting in the agricultural districts.

1831. They voted an additional 12,000*l.* a year to the Duchess of Kent; 100,000*l.* a year, as a dowry for the Queen; 14,000*l.* for the expense of the British Museum; 100,000*l.* to half-pay officers at Hanover, and other parts abroad; and 50,000*l.* for the expenses of the coronation of William IV.; amounting in the whole to more than the whole of the poor-rates for the nine counties of Bedford, Berkshire, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Hereford, Monmouth, Northumberland, Rutland, and Westmoreland!

Nov. 21, 1831. The Whigs caused to be issued a royal proclamation against political unions, although they had accepted addresses from such unions, and had written gracious answers to those very political unions; and had, as was proved by Mr. Maurice O'Connell, even given "*OFFICE FRANKS*" to Mr. "*Pisaller*" Parkes, by which papers of a pound weight may be sent by the post, in order that he might, by that means, circulate papers to rouse the political unions in favour of Lord Grey and the Whigs!

The Whigs caused prosecutions of the press under one of the "*Six Acts*," which acts they so furiously railed against when out of office. These prosecutions were carried on with such "*vigour*" that, in seven months, in London alone, there were 336 individuals prosecuted and imprisoned for selling cheap publications, whilst the Lord Chancellor Brougham was sending the cheap publications of a society to which he belonged, all over the country, by means of "*office franks*"; and whilst we were, by this same Government, stunned with the cry of "*education*" and "*cheap knowledge*"!!

1831. The Whig "*Reform*" Government allowed a statue of Canning to be erected on a piece of land belonging to the public; of that Canning who had always been the most strenuous opponent of reform, both when in and when out of place; of that Canning who, in the House of Commons, made a cruel jest of the sufferings of the "*REVERED AND RUPTURED OGDEN*," whose sufferings were caused by the brutal treatment that he received at the hands of the Government of which Canning was a member: of that Canning who, in May,

1827, a few days after he had become *Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, on being asked what he would do with the question of parliamentary reform, said, "I will oppose *parliamentary reform*, in whatever *SHAPE IT MAY APPEAR, to the last hour of my life.*" And at that very moment he had BURDETT, BROUGHAM ("*avocat et homme de lettres*"), LORD JOHN RUSSELL, and other "*reformers*," sitting at his back; all of whom had the incomparable meanness to remain on the ministerial benches without saying a word in favour of reform; and, indeed, those three above-named *worthies*, called Canning their RIGHT HONOURABLE FRIEND; and had the indescribable baseness to state broadly that "*the public*, now, "*cared little or nothing about reform*;" that the government was now carried "on in such a *satisfactory* manner, that "*the people were grown quite lukewarm*" in the cause of reform." Finally, of that Canning who had spoken and voted in favour of the "*GAGGING AND DUNGEONING BILLS*" for silencing the reformers in 1817; who had impudently declared that *he would preserve Gatton and Old Sarum*; and who, though the bastard son of a play actress himself, had saucily declared that HE would "*MAKE A STAND AGAINST DEMOCRATICAL ENCROACHMENT*," and who had contemptuously called the advocates of parliamentary reform, "*A LOW, DEGRADED CREW.*"

January 26, 1832. Lord Althorp informed the House that it was the intention of the Government to appoint a FAST-DAY. Into this stupid intention they had been badgered by the incessant and awful denunciations of two or three furious fanatics, members of that House; but more particularly by one Percival, a pious pensioner, and a most bigoted and crazy disciple of the bigoted and crazy parson Irving.

The fast-day was held on the 21st of March, 1832, and on that day there was a procession of the different bodies of the productive classes through the streets of the metropolis, who went peacefully along; but, when almost at the end of

fell upon them with their bludgeons, and dispersed them, without any attempt at opposition on their parts, they not having even a *walking-stick* amongst them, being determined not to give rise to any suspicion of their being likely to cause a breach of the peace. Throughout the remainder of the day large bodies of these POLICE SOLDIERS were to be seen prowling about, as if watching for their victims, ARMED WITH BROAD-SWORDS BY THE WHIG GOVERNMENT!!

April 13, 1832. The Whig Premier, Lord Grey, who had declared that a less measure of reform than that contained in the bill which was brought forward by him, for parliamentary reform, never should have his support, and that he would not suffer the principles of the bill to be altered, yet on this day he said, "Although I think 56 boroughs ought to be disfranchised, and although I think the ten-pound franchise is not too great an extension of the qualification, still THESE PROVISIONS ARE NO PART OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BILL, AND THESE PROVISIONS MAY BE ALTERED IN PERFECT CONSISTENCY WITH ITS PRINCIPLES"!!

August 1, 1832. The Government proposed to the Parliament to give a life pension to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Tory Sir C. Manners Sutton, of 4,000*l.* a year for his life; to which proposition the Parliament agreed; and also to give his son a reversion of 3,000*l.* a year for his life, although that son has a sinecure place already, as Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, for which he has 3,000*l.* a year, which he is to hold in addition to the reversion of his father's pension. Mr. Hunt, the representative *par excellence* of the people of Preston and of "all the unrepresented people of England," supported this measure by saying that "*if the vote had been for 5,000*l.* a year he would have agreed to it.*"

March 29, 1833. The Whigs carried the "*Iarns Correction Bill*," a bill which was known by the title of "*the brutal and bloody bill*," which subjected the people of Ireland to BE TRIED BY COURTS MARTIAL. In opposition to this bill Mr. O'Connell moved the following

resolution: "Resolved, That this House, seeing in this bill the substitution of military courts for courts consisting of judges and juries, seeing in it the abrogation of all the most precious institutions of the country, seeing clearly that its main purpose is to keep in the hands of the present aristocracy the plunder of the ancient church and the poor, which the ancestors of that aristocracy obtained by apostacy, and which has been retained by the cruel penal laws and by the shedding of innocent blood; and suspecting, moreover, that this bill is intended as a prelude to the adoption of similar measures in Great Britain, this House will read this bill this day six months." This resolution was negatived, and the bill was passed; Mr. Stanley, the then Secretary for Ireland, declaring that "THE GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE BEEN AWARE IT CAN BE LOVED."

April 26, 1833. The House of Commons agreed to a resolution for taking off half the malt duty, and on the following Tuesday, April 30, they on the motion of Lord Althorp, the *Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer*, resolved that 180,000 by a large majority 1:1.

April, 1833. The Whig Ministry opposed Mr. Grote's motion for voting by ballot at elections. Lord Althorp, who had spoken in favour of the ballot at Northampton, where before his constituents, opposed it in the House of Commons, as became a genuine Whig Minister. As did also, the Right Honourable Edward Elliot, Secretary at War, although he had solemnly pledged himself to his constituents at Coventry, that he would vote for that motion in a ballot.

May 2, 1833. Lord Althorp, on the subject of the renewal of the Bank charter, proposed to the House of Commons to make Bank-of-England notes a LEGAL TENDER, and that, in PARITY; although he had, only one short month before, objected to Mr. Matthias Attwood's motion for inquiring into the state of the nation (and proof was offered his lordship, that the distress amongst tradesmen was so great, that within five years the proportion of bankrupts for Regent-street alone, was more than one

IN THREE; and that, mind, independent of compositions, of which three, at least, take place for each bankruptcy), principally, because one part of that honourable Member's plan was, an issue of paper-money and the MAKING SUCH PAPER-MONEY A LEGAL TENDER!!

May 3, 1833. Mr. Cobbett brought forward his motion in the House of Commons, for the equalization of the stamp-duties, and complained that under the law as it now stands "the various duties on legacies, and on property coming by intestate succession, are imposed applicable to different degrees of relationship between the legatees and the successors and the deceased, beginning at one per cent., and going on to ten per cent.; but that freehold property is wholly exempt from this tax, and that, of course, the large estates of the nobility and landed gentry (including advowsons and lay-tithes) are exempted; while if a deceased leave a thousand pounds to a distant relation, that relation will have to pay ONE HUNDRED POUNDS."

The honourable Member said that "If a man leave property above the value of twenty pounds, his successors have to pay a stamp-duty of two per cent.; but if a person leave from thirty thousand to half a million pounds the duty is but one-and-a-half per cent."

He complained that "In conveyances the duty on any thing of five pounds value is ten shillings (or ten per cent.), whilst if the property conveyed be of five hundred thousand pounds value, the duty will be only one thousand pounds (only $\frac{2}{100}$ per cent.), and in such a case the POOR MAN would have to pay MORE THAN FORTY TIMES AS MUCH AS THE RICH MAN on the same sort of property."

After showing that the POOR MAN is made, under the present stamp-duties, to pay, in some cases, SEVEN TIMES MORE than the RICH MAN, and in some cases a THOUSAND TIMES MORE, the honourable Gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution: "That this House will, with as little delay as possible, make such an alteration in the several acts imposing duties on

"stamps and on sales at auctions, as shall cause the Peers, Nobles, Bachelors, and other great landowners to pay, in proportion to the amount of their property, as great an amount in those duties as is paid by the fundholders, annuitants, tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and the rest of the industrious classes of the kingdom: and shall cause, in all cases, the rich to pay the said duties in the same proportion as the poor." The WHIG MINISTER, true to the breed of the first Whig that the devil spawned, opposed this resolution, and it was, consequently, lost. But Mr. Spring Rice, a member of the administration, declared that he had a bill ready to lay before the House to remedy these evils; which bill, although he was repeatedly called upon to lay it before the House, never was produced, and the evils have not been remedied.

May 13, 1833. Near Calthorpe-street a meeting was held, for the purpose of discussing the question of the "propiety of forming a national convention in the present crisis of the affairs of the nation." A few days prior to the meeting bills were posted about the metropolis, cautioning the public not to go to the meeting; but these bills were not signed by any body, nor had they any appearance of being issued by any of the public authorities. The meeting therefore took place; and scarcely had the business for which they met commenced, when about thirteen hundred of the POLICE SOLDIERS, armed with bludgeons, who had been secreted in some extensive livery-stables in the neighbourhood, and who, it was proved, had been supplied largely with beer and spirits, were let loose upon the assembled multitude, when a dreadful scene took place, the policemen knocking down men, women, and children indiscriminately, and, in their fury, absolutely knocking down casual passers by. The whole of the particulars were deposited before a coroner's jury, which was called together to ascertain the cause of the death of one of the Policemen, who was killed in the fight, which jury returned the following verdict: "We find a ver-

dict of JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE, on these grounds, that NO Riot ACT WAS READ, nor any proclamation advising the people to disperse; that the Government did not take the proper precautions to prevent the meeting from assembling; AND THAT THE CONDUCT OF THE POLICE WAS FEROCIOUS, BRUTAL, AND UNPROVOKED BY THE PEOPLE; and we moreover express our anxious hope that the Government will, in future, take better precautions to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful TRANSACTIONS in this metropolis."

Notwithstanding this verdict, which was published in all the papers on a Tuesday morning, the Government had the decency to offer, in the Gazette of the Tuesday evening, a reward of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS to "any person giving information so that the perpetrator of the MURDER may be apprehended and convicted thereof," which was signed "M. G. M.," who was then Home Secretary. And, in addition to this, the WHIG Government caused the Attorney-General to move, in the Court of King's Bench, for the quashing of the above verdict, which the independent judges of that court actually did, on the 30th of that same month!!!

June 10, 1833. Mr. Cobbett presented a petition to the House of Commons, from the Freemen and electors of Sandwich, complaining that Sir E. T. Troubridge, M.P. for that borough, had fraudulently obtained his commission as lieutenant in the navy; and that there were more than two hundred other officers in that service, who had also fraudulently obtained their rank, by producing FALSIFIED CERTIFICATES OF THEIR AGES.

Sir James Graham, the first Lord of the Admiralty, did not attempt to deny the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. He, himself, produced a list of thirty-nine officers, who had obtained their commissions in a similar way, at the head of whom was Lord Nelson (the Hero of the Bay of Naples). Elton, the Secretary of the Admiralty, declared that he himself had obtained his promotion in the same manner, and said that he was "PROUD TO BELONG TO A

"LIST OF PERSONS WHOM THESE UN-MANNERLY PETITIONERS had thought proper to accuse" Sir Edward Codrington stated as the apology "the great DEARTH of lieutenants at the time the practices complained of were carried on"; although there were, according to returns then on the table of the House, at that very time, no less than ELEVEN HUNDRED lieutenants who were not afloat; yet this gallant admiral had the confidence to say, that there was a "dearth of lieutenants," and seconded the motion for the rejection of the petition, which rejection had been moved by Sir J. Graham, a Whig Minister; and the petition was rejected accordingly!

July 1, 1833. A select committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Cobbett, to inquire into the allegations of a petition presented by him to the House of Commons, from Frederick Young, James Price, and others, inhabitants of Camberwell and Walworth; which committee ascertained the following facts: namely, that the Whig Government used the new police as spies at public meetings, whether they were sent, dressed in plain clothes, and distributed amongst the crowd; they were even sent to parochial meetings as spies, and one of them whose name was POPAY, used to be sent to the meetings of the "Political Union of the Working Classes," whose society he joined under a feigned name, it not having been dreamed of that he belonged to the "police force," and he having represented himself to them as being a person in great distress, and who picked up his living by miniature and landscape painting.

This fellow, during nearly a whole year, belonged to the "Political Union of the Working Classes," but was never seen in the uniform of the police during the whole of that time. He was, of course, a constant attendant at their meetings, and constantly urged the members of the Union to use stronger language than they did in their resolutions and papers; he sometimes altered them with his own hand, in order to introduce stronger language. He suggested to one of the petitioners the establishing a shooting-

gallery, and for them to learn the use of the broad-sword. He railed against the Ministers and Government, damned them for villains, and said that he would expel them from the earth. He said to some of the members of the Union that "IT WOULD BE A DAMNED GOOD THING IF SOME ONE WOULD TAKE AND ASSASSINATE THAT BLOODY VILLAIN STANLEY" (one of the Ministers). He attended the Calthorpe-street meeting in plain clothes. He urged the Union to purchase fire-arms, and did every thing he possibly could to incite the members to some violent and unlawful act; and used, after every meeting of the Union, to forward an account of every thing that took place at such meeting, to the COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE, and these accounts were regularly forwarded to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT, from whose department money was paid to POPAY for the spy-services performed by him; and as soon as the Unions discovered that they had a spy amongst them, and had exposed him, the Police Commissioners RAISED HIM IN RANK, AND AUGMENTED HIS PAY!

On the select committee making their report to the House of Commons, confirming the statements in the petition, POPAY was removed from the situation that he held in the "force," but went unpunished, and his employers unreprieved.

July 23, 1833. The Whig Government successfully opposed Mr. Tennyson's motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments. In the course of the debate, Lord Althorp stated that he "had FORMERLY supported a proposition for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and should now do so were PARLIAMENT IN THE SAME STATE in which it was when he had so supported the proposition."

Lord John Russell (a Whig of the first water) objected to the motion, because it "SEEMED TO INTIMATE A DISTRUST OF PUBLIC MEN."

Mr. Stanley said that it was an "impracticable question," and said that he had "on the hustings, at Lancaster, made a statement from which he was

"not disposed to depart." The statement, to which this right honourable Whig alluded, was the following: "If, therefore, it should be attempted in another Parliament, to bring forward any of those sweeping motions for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and extending yet further the elective franchise; or of introducing that which I believe is falsely styled the protection of the ballot; to those measures we, as individuals and as members of the Government, are bound (and I announce it at once and openly) to give our determined and decided opposition."

July 31, 1833. The Whigs passed a vote for TWENTY MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING to be given to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss that they may sustain in consequence of a PARTIAL ABOLITION of slavery; in consequence of a partial abolition of that sort of traffic which, they said, was "A VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF GOD AND MAN." The Minister, at first, proposed lending the proprietors of slaves ten millions of pounds: after a while he said that he should propose the lending of fifteen millions (and, mind, this was a proposition to lend money to the slave-owners to compensate them for the loss of slave-labour, whilst the Government had endeavoured to prove, to the owners of slaves, that free-labour was more productive than slave-labour); but, after the presentation of a petition signed by 278,000 females, he boldly proposed the GIVING OF TWENTY MILLIONS; and that proposition was carried by a great majority, and must be paid; in part, by poor labourers of Dorsetshire out of their TWO SHILLINGS AND SEVENPENCE a week!

July, 1833. The Whigs proposed and carried a vote for 1,000,000*l.* out of the taxes to be paid to the Protestant clergy in Ireland, in lieu of arrears of tithes which they were unable to collect, although they had the assistance of a large army and courts martial for the trial of criminals, both of which were provided for their aid by the Whigs.

August, 1833. They passed the "ANATOMY BILL," giving to overseers and

parochial officers the power, in some cases, of selling to the surgeons, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSECTION, the bodies of persons who die in poor-houses; but were cunning enough not to insert in that bill any clause consigning the carcasses to state-papers to the dissecting-knife.

1835. The Whigs refused to abolish flogging in the army, and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, who had always professed the principles of radical reform, and had most loudly declaimed against flogging, but who had become a member of the Whig Ministry as SECRETARY AT WAR, now strongly opposed the abolishing of that disgusting and horrible practice, and supported, in their opposition to the putting an end to it, that very Whig party whom he had formerly described, both in speaking and in writing, as a party always "pernicious to England," and always "actuated by selfish motives;" as always having been "arrogant," "overbearing," "selfish," "false," "boasting," "interested," "tricky," "mean," "shallow," "deceitful," "jealous," and "impotent." How true is all this! Yet he joined this party, became renegade to his principles and voted against the motion for abolishing flogging in the army.

March, 1834. The Whig Government prosecuted six agricultural labourers at Dorchester, for having administered oaths of secrecy to persons on becoming members of a society called the "Trades' Union," which society was formed for the protection of the class to which they belonged, against the arbitrary reduction of the price of their labour by their employers.

These poor fellows were found guilty of the charge alleged against them, and; to the astonishment of the whole kingdom, were sentenced by Williams (a new-made judge) to SEVEN YEARS TRANSPORTATION!!! The nation wondered where the judge found law for his purpose; but faith he did find it, and that too in an act passed in the 37th year of George the Third, being chap. 123. of the year 1797, the whole of which act relates to oaths administered, or taken, for the purpose of seducing persons serving his Majesty by sea or by land; and which was passed

in consequence of the meeting in the fleet. And yet under this verdict it was that this judge sentenced these men, whose only crime was contributing to maintain the wages; and it was proved on their trial that one of them had but *five shillings a week to live upon*; and that another of them had but *seven shillings a week to live upon and to support a WIFE AND SIX CHILDREN*; neither of whom had the smallest notion of doing any thing illegal, nor of having any thing to do with politics.

Petitions for the pardon of these poor men were signed by upwards of *five hundred thousand* of their fellow countrymen; the *Whigs* would not listen to the prayers of these just and humane petitioners, but immediately ordered these *six hapless victims to be transported beyond the seas*, where they now are working as *felons and mingling with felons*; and their consolation is, that they have the sympathy of *millions of their countrymen*, and that *those countrymen will not suffer want to approach the widows and helpless children that were dependent on the daily labour of their emigrated husbands and fathers*—*quid ergo?*

Mr. Hutt, M.P., representing a petition for the pardon of these men, from Kingston-upon-Hull, deplored the conduct of Government towards them, and said that it was clear that *they were not punished for taking or administering a secret oath, but for being a peaceable member of the ("Trades") Union*.

(To be continued);

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

3. April, 3 o'clock, Morning.

THE division on Lord John Russell's motion relative to the appropriation of the Irish tithes has just taken place; there has appeared,

For the Motion . . . 322
Against it 289.

Leaving the Minister in a minority of thirty-three. Sir R. Peel concluded his speech about half after one, and Lord

John Russell, his reply, something approaching half after two. After this the House went into a committee on the resolution; progress was reported, and it was determined that the House should meet again and go into a committee to-day at five o'clock.

It would be impossible, with the little time that I have before me, to convey even a faint idea of the interest excited by the proceedings of the night. A very fine speech from Mr Sergeant Wilde during the evening. Mr. O'Connell, in not a very long, but very interesting speech, preceded Sir R. Peel. At last came he, with those talents of which a nation might be proud; and, in the course of two hours did every thing which it appeared possible for man to do to resist the resolution. He felt that he was defeated; and that feeling was manifest throughout the whole of his long, most ingenious, and most eloquent speech. There was not himself every thing which could merit success; but the circumstances were too hostilely powerful for him to control. Like the Rhodian sailors, in the storm, so beautifully described by Dryden, "From the first he laboured in despair." Under such circumstances it is beyond the power of mortal man to retain the fair use of all his talents; but, he did retain them to a very extraordinary degree even to the end. When he concluded his speech by telling us, explicitly: "If you carry your resolution, I will oppose you in going into a committee; if you go into a committee, I will oppose you there: if you persevere in proposing your address to the King, I will oppose you there; I will oppose you at every stage, in this proceeding; and if my opposition be unavailing, I will quit the situation in which his Majesty has done me the honour to place me; for I will not be the instrument for the carrying the principle of your resolution into effect."

For my own part, while it was impossible for me not to hear this with great approbation; not to admire this part of the conduct of the Minister, I cannot say that I did not hear these words with pleasure, as the announcement of the approaching end of his power; for, I had

constantly in my mind the recollection of his attempt to enforce the Poor-law bill, and of his most injurious opposition to the repeal of the malt-tax: and now, are not my words already come true? If he had given way with regard to those most unpopular and odious measures, not only would he not have been defeated upon this occasion, but *the motion of Lord J. Russell never would have been made.* He seemed to think that he had "*public opinion*" with him; and that the feeling out of the House did not correspond with the feeling within the House; and thus it is to be surrounded by flatterers. Never was error more gross in this world: the country is suffering in every limb and every fibre. Two hundred thousand insolvent farmers, and, perhaps, five hundred thousand insolvent tradesmen, will suffer no Minister to be popular; will suffer no man to sit upon that bench for any length of time without passing some measure to relieve their distresses. I told Sir R. Peel, in answer to his manifesto, that if he would take off the malt-tax, and at least suspend the operation of the horrible Poor law bill, the people would be patient; that they, who are never unjust or unreasonable, would give time for the consideration of all matters relative to church reform, and every other reform; but that if he obstinately refused to yield upon these two points, and especially with regard to the malt-tax, that the millions would leave him to be dealt with by the ten-pounders; and that the mercy that they would have for him, and for the establishments to which he is attached, would very much resemble the mercy that a mouse receives at the hands of a cat. From the first I told him that he had no strength, except in those vulgar millions which he seems so much to despise. "If all the church bells had been set a-ringing on account of the repeal of the malt-tax, which they would have been; if his health had been drunk, by all the men with hard hands, never would he have heard of the motion of Lord John Russell. I am for a *thorough* church reform. My friends did not deem it prudent that I should say how much I wanted; but, if I had seen all the hard-handed fellows

with pots of beer drinking his health, I should have taken especial care to propose ~~some~~ *any* thing that I had to propose about church reform, or Irish tithes, or any thing of the sort. Now, this will be called very vulgar politics: it is common sense, and that is a great deal better than any other thing that you can resort to in such a case. The people are sulky; and very justly sulky: they see no hope of any relief of any sort: they naturally associate the Minister and the Ministry with the causes of their discontent. Placed in this state the attack upon him was sure to prevail; for, I repeat for the thousandth time, I verily believe, that, under heaven this church of England and this aristocracy have nothing to rest any hope upon but the good will of the millions of the people of England.

Now, then, will the Whigs come again? One would think that they had now seen enough to convince them that fifty millions of oats, barley and wheat at four shillings and six pence a bushel, cannot be pushed through. However, the chances are, that any prediction of 1817, will be fulfilled; that there will be an everlasting chopping and changing of the ministry; that the whole system, military, civil, and fiscal, will be attempted to be carried on with unabated vigour and unabated suffering on the part of the people, till at last, amidst the war of opinions and of projects, of interests and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

SEED BAGS.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the Bag. A copy of it will be found in each Bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are no *large bags*; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of LARGE GARDENS, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for *different sowings*. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The number on the bag tells the *sort* that is within.

Owing to an accident, the list is not quite alphabetical; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Brocoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Kale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.
31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27.

INSOLVENTS.

MACKAY, B., jun., Sturt Farm, Gloucestershire, cattle-dealer.
NICHOLS, R., Wakefield, bookseller.
SMITH, T., jun., East Grinstead, Sussex, chemist.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

HAYERS, H., Hadleigh, Suffolk, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLISON, T., Manchester, warehouseman.
ANDREWS, H., Bristol, paper-hanger.
CAMPBELL, C., Arundel-street, Strand, lodging-house-keeper.
CUNNINGHAM, J., sen., and J. Cunningham, jun., Spalding, Lincolnshire, iron-mongers.
EYRE, E., Wells-street, Oxford-street, blind-maker.
GLOVER, S., Thackley, Yorkshire, cloth-manufacturer.
HACKWORTH, R., Moulton, Lincoln, carpenter.
HARDY, E., Swanage, Purbeck, Dorsetshire, innkeeper.
JOHNSON, R., Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.
KNIGHT, J., Hastings, Sussex, innkeeper.
LEONARD, J., Rugeley, Staffordshire, bookseller.
MITCHELL, W. B., Sheffield, merchant.
SPICER, W., Tower-street, Seven Dials, licensed-victualler.
SMITH, J., Manchester, merchant.
SWANN, H., Great Knight Ryder-street, money-scrivener.
WHITLEY, J., Liverpool, money-scrivener.

TUESDAY, MARCH 31.

INSOLVENT.

BARBER, J., Cateaton-street, dressing-case-maker.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

BATES, J., Ballevue-place, Clapham, linen-draper.
LAWES, J., Wick and Abson, Gloucestershire, miller.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BETTELEY, J., Liverpool, painter.
MEEK, J., Hampstead, Middlesex, livery-stable-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

ARNOLD, M., Tavistock-street, Covent-garden, bookseller.
BAKER, G., Davie-street, Berkeley-square, iron-monger.

BROWN, J., Workington, Cumberland, mercer.
HANKES, W., Macclesfield, brewer.
IDLE, T., Manchester, fishmonger.
GLOSSOP, J., Victoria Theatre, Waterloo-road, printer.
GRAY, S. F., New Bond-street, chemist.
NEIRINEKX, A., Hammersmith, Middlesex, builder.
WHITE, J., Barton-under-Needwood, Staffordshire, druggist.
WATERFIELD, T., Dunstable, Bedfordshire, straw-hat-manufacturer.
WITHERDEN, J. S., Margate, blacksmith.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 30.

—Our arrivals of English grain since this day week have not been large, and of Irish grain, very moderate: but there has been a fair supply of Scotch Oats.

Wheat sold on much the same terms as this day week.

Barley slow sale, and 1s. per qr. cheaper than last Monday, owing to a good deal of foreign being entered at the present duty, and offering for sale on the market. Malt very dull sale.

Our supplies of Oats fall short of the expectations of our buyers, and we experienced in consequence this morning a good demand for the article at an advance of 6d. per quarter over the rates of this day week, and there is every appearance of this article having been at the lowest.

In corn under lock nothing doing.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 42s. to 50s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 38s. to 42s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 41s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 40s. to 42s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 39s. |
| Fine white | 37s. to 41s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 40s. to 42s. |
| Irish red, good | 35s. to 36s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 34s. |
| New | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 34s. to 36s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 22s. to 24s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 21s. to 23s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 22s. to 23s. |
| Black | 23s. to 25s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 25s. to 26s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 24s. to 25s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 24s. to 25s. |
| Potato | 25s. to 27s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Feed, new light | 19s. to 21s. |
| Black, new | 21s. to 22s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish and Pomerian, old | 20s. to 21s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. .. | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed .. | 12s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, March 30.

In this day's market, which was throughout but moderately supplied, trade was, with prime small Lamb, somewhat brisk, at an advance of about 2d. per stone; while Beef, Mutton, the larger kind of Lamb, Veal, and Pork, sold more freely than on a series of past market-days, at Friday's prices.

About 1,900 of the beasts, fully 1,000 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Shorthorns, Welch runts, and homebreds, with a few Irish beasts, came for the most part (say 1,500 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly Shorthorns, Devons, and Scots, with a few Irish beasts, from our northern districts, but very few of them either from Lincolnshire or Leicestershire, the droves from the former were said, in Smithfield, to consist of but three beasts, between two drovers, about 150, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, a full moiety of them Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 30 lusty Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

Fully two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; a full moiety of both out of the wool, about a sixth

Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of old Lincoln, horned horses and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Per stone of 8 lbs. sinking offal

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|---|---|----|---|----|
| Inferior Beef | ..... | 2 | 0 | to | 3 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | ..... | 2 | 2 | to | 2 | 4 |
| Middling Beef | ..... | 2 | 6 | to | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | ..... | 2 | 8 | to | 3 | 0 |
| Prime Beef | ..... | 3 | 6 | to | 4 | 0 |
| Ditto Mutton | ..... | 3 | 6 | to | 4 | 0 |
| Veal | ..... | 3 | 6 | to | 5 | 0 |
| Pork | ..... | 3 | 0 | to | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | ..... | 5 | 4 | to | 6 | 4 |

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 3 per cent. | 1st. Sat. Mar. 1834. | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 |
| Cons Ann. | | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 | 91 1/2 |

MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Cure of extreme Intermittent Fevers.

To Mr. HARRISON.

SIR,—I return you my sincere thanks for the Pills (Morison's Universal Medicines), which I received from you, through the medium of Captain Brown, whose kindness to me will never be erased from my heart, until it shall cease to beat. And, sir, I consider it a duty incumbent on me, for the good of others, to let you know the benefit I have received. For, having been bad upwards of three years with the liver complaint and dysentery, which I first got in India, and where I had the best advice, but with no beneficial effect, and returned home, reduced to the lowest ebb of existence. Here, sir, I tried all I could, but got little relief, having a constant pain in the side and shoulder, with pain in the head and the pit of my stomach; I could not bear to be touched, as there was a settled gnawing pain. I was very costive, and seldom had my bowels open but through the aid of medicine: but, thanks be to God, since I have taken Morison's Pills, I am not like the same person. They have brought a great deal of black blood and slime from me. The pain has quite left my side and shoulder; and also that soreness and heavy pressure at the pit of my stomach has gone, and my head feels quite well. Indeed, sir, I feel altogether a new person. During the time that I was had I had upwards of 1,800 leeches applied; bled six times, cupped four times, and ten below the pit of the stomach for three months, besides twenty-eight blisters, and three times salivated. Once the mercury would not take,

effect inwardly, and I was rubbed in with it in my arms and legs. So, sir, I leave you to judge what a state I must have been in. And now, sir, thanks be to that Divine Being, who has once more restored me to my health, for to his goodness I can alone attribute this great change.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

WM. HENRY HAYLEY.

22, Chatham-place, New Town,
Waltham, Sept. 10, 1831.

To Noblemen, Gentlemen, the Veterinary Profession, and every Person engaged in the Breed and Rearing of Cattle.

JOHN READ, INSTRUMENT MAKER to his Majesty, Patentee of the Stomach Pump, &c., is now enabled to lay before the Public a much improved form of his Stomach Pump and Injecting Instrument for horses, cattle, sheep, and dogs, by which diseases hitherto almost invariably fatal may be successfully treated, and diseases of the stomachs of ruminants admit of immediate and certain relief. J. Read has also added to the former apparatus of the pump a flexible tube, by which the bladder of the horse and other large animals can, with the greatest ease, be injected or ejected. This, in retention of urine and difficulty of staling, and several other complaints of the urinary organs, has been a desideratum long wished for but not obtained.

Manufactured and sold by John Read, 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON,

SWAIN AND CO.'s Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|---|----|---|
| A Suit of Superfine Clothes | ..... | 4 | 18 | 0 |
| Ditto, Blue or Black | ..... | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto, Imperial Saxony cloth | ..... | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Petersham Great coat | ..... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| A Suit of Livery | ..... | 4 | 10 | 0 |

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



IRISH CHURCH DEBATE.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Normandy, 6. April, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,—In my last week's address to you, I, very shortly, touched upon this matter. I will now go into the subject matter of the debate; into the merits of the case; and will endeavour to prepare your minds for the events which *must* follow, both with regard to the church of Ireland and the church of England, let who will be Minister, and let the wishes of the Ministers, of the aristocracy, and of the King himself, be what they may.

Before I enter upon this matter, I must say a word or two upon the debate, merely as a debate. I was attentive to every word that was said, with very little exception, when the heat of the House was too great for me to support, without absolute peril; and this was unfortunately the case during the greater part of the time that Mr. O'CONNELL was speaking. I have always, during my whole life, delighted to hold talent in honour, when unassociated with positive and unquestionable wickedness. We are very frequently told that the days of Fox, of PITT, of SHERIDAN, are gone. I remember those days very well. I very frequently, and very attentively, listened to all those men. I always thought Lord GREY the most able and the most eloquent of the whole of them, if I except, on the part of PITT, his great quickness and volubility; and I do not know that,

even in these, he surpassed Sir ROBERT PEEL; and let it be recollected, that he had always a thundering majority in the House at his back, or (still more encouraging to boldness) an almost unanimous cry of the people; while Sir ROBERT PEEL has neither; has to struggle along against both wind and tide; and, which is still worse, against that monstrous debt, the contracting of which made PITT irresistibly powerful; and in the perpetuating of which Sir ROBERT PEEL has, unfortunately for him, taken upon his own shoulders the burden which PITT's reputation ought to have borne. Yes, the days of Fox, of PITT, of SHERIDAN, are gone, and of CANNING too; but I, who am an impartial judge, in this case, declare that I never heard a debate carried on by those persons, at all approaching, in point of talent, to that which I had the pleasure to witness upon this occasion; and, as I said before, Lord GREY, who is still alive, was always, in my estimation, the cleverest man amongst them. I mentioned before the fine speeches of Lord HOWICK, Mr. GLADSTONE, and the Solicitor-General, to which I have now to add that of Mr. Sergeant WILDE. Lord STANLEY was greatly inferior to either of these, in my opinion. Indeed, the whole of the debate was conducted with very great talent; and though Sir ROBERT PEEL, before I was in Parliament, did praise DENMAN "for his *manly* conduct in prosecuting COBBETT," I will say here of him, that I do not believe that PITT, *under similar circumstances*, would have displayed any thing like the intellectual resource, which was displayed by the Minister upon this occasion; divested of all considerations as to the result, I was filled with admiration at the exertions which he was able to make at the end of a four-night's debate; and under such an accumulation of attacks; and with the certainty of defeat before his eyes.

Now, my friends, as to the merits of the case. You observe, that the proposition was, to take away from the Irish Protestant parsons that part of their in-

come which is more than what is wanted for the performance of religious duties towards their flocks. In many parishes in Ireland there are no Protestants at all, in others very few; in some, one. The argument was, that, as the tithes were given for the *cure of souls*, it was right to take them away, when the amount was greater than was necessary for the cure of souls. The opposition to the proposal may be expressed in three propositions.

1. That the Parliament has no rightful power to take away church property of any sort, and apply it to any other than ecclesiastical purposes connected with the established church.
2. That this resolution, if adopted, will cause an alienation from the church of church property; and that it will totally upset, in a short time, the Protestant church establishment in Ireland.
3. That it will form a precedent for like alienations in England; and that, of course, it will, finally, upset the church establishment in England.

If I had spoken, I had eleven acts of Parliament noted down upon a piece of paper, every one of which clearly proved that the Parliament had, and has, the rightful power to take away church property, lands, tithes of woods, tithes of corn, of hay, of pasture, of all sorts of crops, and of all sorts of animals, man only excepted; tithes on trades, tithes on labour; tithes on every thing produced by the earth, or produced by man's or woman's hands. This rightful power, which in the debate was called the *abstract right*, was *denied positively* by nobody, except by Mr. FOLLITT, nor was it positively *asserted* by anybody on the other side, except by Mr. Sergeant WILSON. The whole of the speakers in support of the motion declined going into the abstract right; and, on the other side, Minister and all, they slipped over it, and rested their arguments on the injustice of the proposition, and on its dangerous tendency. I was quite surprised to hear the Solicitor-General deny the right, with those eleven acts of Parliament before him upon the table, and with the notorious fact, that the *pasturage tithes* in Ireland had been abolished by

act of Parliament. In short, as my "*Legacy to Persons*" will show, in the most ample manner, the Parliament has a right to take away, and alienate for ever, all the revenues of the church, in both countries; as clearly as it has the rightful power to repeal the malt-tax. It was, therefore, very curious to see both parties so very shy of bringing this right *clearly before the eyes of the people*.

As to the other two objections, that the resolution, if acted upon, would subvert the Protestant church of Ireland, and, eventually, the established church in England, if I had spoken, was prepared to say, that I thought it *would have these effects*; and that it was *for that very reason, and no other, that I should vote for the resolution*! Now this was the reason why I did not speak at all. During the first two nights of the debate, I made several attempts to speak; but on the third night, after having listened to the speeches of the friends of the resolution, and heard their invariable anxiety to cause it to be believed, that the resolution would not have the effect of subverting the church in either country; I saw, that a frank expression of my sentiments upon the subject, would, if it had any effect at all, have the effect of lessening the chances of carrying the resolution; and as to refraining from a frank avowal of my motives, as to suppressing my opinions, that I scorn to do. I was further of opinion, that this transfer and new application of the revenues of the church of Ireland would do no good at all to the suffering millions of Ireland; and that any measure relative to the church would have no tendency to lessen the disturbances in Ireland, except that measure went to the complete abrogation, and withdrawing of, the Protestant hierarchy in that country. I wished the resolution might be passed, that the principle of alienation might be recognised by the Parliament; a frank declaration of my sentiments might have tended to prevent the recognition of that principle; and, therefore, I refrained, as I had a right to do, from making that declaration.

But NOW I am differently situated; and now I will state to you some of the

reasons, at least, for which I wish these two church establishments to be put down by law.

With regard to the Irish establishment, my reasons are stated at full length, in a petition presented to the House of Commons, in the year 1829, just after the passing of the bill for what is called Catholic Emancipation. During the discussions on that Bill, its advocates insisted, as they had always insisted before, that that was *all that was wanted* to restore Ireland to tranquillity and happiness; and Sir ROBERT PEEL and the Duke of WELLINGTON asserted, that amongst their most powerful reasons for proposing the measure was, that it would put an end, for ever, to all the ill blood relative to the existence of the Protestant hierarchy and domination; that it would cause the Catholics to pay their tithes cheerfully to the Protestant church, and would, of course, place the Protestant hierarchy on a secure and permanent foundation. I was shocked at this monstrous delusion; I, therefore, not only as a writer, exposed its erroneousness, but I presented a petition to the House of Commons, expressing my approbation of the measure of Catholic Emancipation; but, at the same time, declaring my opinion, that it would have no tendency to tranquillize Ireland; but that it would have a *contrary effect*; unless the Protestant hierarchy were totally put down for ever, and all its demands annihilated; and I prayed the House to proceed immediately to the abrogation of that church; and, that you may see my reasons at full length, and see also how completely its predictions have been verified, I shall insert the whole of the petition in another part of this *Register*.

It is impossible to look at this petition and not to perceive, that, if I had spoken for the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, I must have produced no effect at all on the minds of my hearers; must have attracted no attention at all from any body; must have done damage to the principle of the resolution; or must have been guilty of the most profligate insincerity. One of these three things must have been: I did not like that any one

of them should be; and, therefore, I held my tongue: content to say, "Aye," to the principle contained in the proposition.

Then, with regard to the English church, how could I, in the first place, make a speech in favour of this proposition, without acting directly in the teeth of the professions of those by whom it had been supported? I had a petition, which I drew up, and which I put in the hands of the partial sheriff of Kent, to be put to a meeting on PENNDEN-Heath, in October, 1828, and which he refused to put to the meeting; this petition concluded in these words: "Your humble petitioners most earnestly pray, that your honourable House will pass an act totally abolishing all clerical tithes, both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the church-revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the clergy the use of the churches, the parsonage-houses, and the glebes; and if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the priests and ministers of our Roman Catholic and dissenting fellow-subjects."

It is clear, then, that I should have been guilty of duplicity the most shameful, if I had supported this resolution on the ground upon which it had been supported by all its other advocates in the debate. If I had spoken in favour of the resolution, I must have stated my opinions and motives; to have stated them might have done harm; I wished the resolution to be carried for the sake of the principle; and, therefore, though I had at first intended frankly to avow my opinions, upon reflection I thought it best to desist, which I had a perfect right to do.

My reasons for the wishes contained in the petition of PENNDEN Heath, are fully stated in that petition, which I also insert in this same *Register*. The reading of these two petitions will let you into the whole subject, and will convince you that a total abrogation of these churches, by law, is a thing that there is reason to ask for at any rate; and to convince you that the principle must apply, and will inevitably apply itself, in England, if

adopted in Ireland, you have only to look at the *state of the church in England*. This state, in all its details, and with all its astounding circumstances; all its absolutely incredible enormities; this you cannot have till you get the "*Legacy to Parsons*." But, in the mean while, read the following abstract of a petition, which is inserted in the parliamentary papers; third report of the petitions; committee, 10. March, 1835. The petition was presented by me from the inhabitants of the parishes of TARBURGH and SAXLINGHAM with THORPE-NETHERGATE, in the county of Norfolk, and the following is the report which the committee make on it:—

"The petitioners pray the House to—
 "repeal the new Poor-law Bill, to take
 "such measures as shall effectually dis-
 "solve the connexion between church
 "and state, to abolish tithes, and to pass
 "a law for the removal of all parsons
 "from the magistracy, and for the dis-
 "missal of the bishops from the House
 "of Lords; to grant to them universal
 "suffrage and vote by ballot, and to
 "repeal the Septennial Act, the malt
 "and hop taxes, and the game laws.
 "They consider the payment of tithes
 "taken from all sects to the preachers of
 "one sect, to be unjust, inimical to reli-
 "gion, and tending to generate and foster
 "ill-will between the clergy and their
 "parishioners: and they state that the
 "parish of Saxlingham-Thorpe, in which
 "some of the petitioners reside, has
 "NEITHER CHURCH NOR PAR-
 "SON, yet 200*l.* per annum are paid as
 "a composition in lieu of tithes."

* Now these are three small county parishes in Norfolk: All but two land-owners and farmers in these parishes signed the petition. Here, then, are people in the situation of the Irish. They have tithes of every sort to pay, and they have neither church nor parson! One of the great arguments in favour of the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL was, that it was an act of the most monstrous iniquity to compel people to pay tithes when the parson had no flock. This Norfolk parson has a flock; but he never can go near them; for there is no place to pen them in. Now, the Irish parson does say to his flock, "You may come if you

will"; but this Norfolk parson can say to his flock no such thing, at SAXLINGHAM-THORPE. But this parson is a pretty busy man: he is Rector of SAXLINGHAM-NETHERGATE, he is Rector of THORPE, he is Rector of SHERRINGTON, and he is Vicar of SWARDESTON; and his name is J. H. STEWARD. How much this parson gets from his other parishes we do not know; but the petitioners say that he gets 200*l.* a year from SAXLINGHAM-THORPE, where there is no church service! Well; say you, but this must be a rare instance: the church has just been knocked down, to be sure, by thunder and lightning! Has it? Stop a bit, till you get my "*Legacy to Parsons*"; and you will find that there are more sinecure parsons in England than there are in Ireland, bad as Ireland is. What! you will exclaim, a man undertake to cure the souls of four parishes, be a rector three times over, and a vicar once! Impossible: you must be joking. You will not believe me, then, when I tell you, that there are two hundred and fifty parishes in England and Wales with no church in either of them? You will not believe me, when I tell you, that I will point out to you a *hundred* of the aristocracy, their relations and dependants, who have the cure of the souls of the people of *five hundred* parishes; besides their collegiate and cathedral benefices? You will not believe me when I tell you, that some of these enormous pluralists pocket part of the money, voted out of the taxes to aid Queen Ann's Bounty, by which their smaller livings are augmented? You will not believe me when I tell you, that these men come and take away the fruit of the livings, and leave the miserable incumbent very nearly to potatoes and salt: you will not believe me, when I tell you these things, until you have the proof of them, which, please God, you shall have in a few days, in the "*Legacy to Parsons*."

Am I wrong, then, in my wishes to extend the principle of Lord JOHN's resolution to England? And, at any rate, can any one give a reason why it should not so extend? I do not believe that any one can. This it was that tied the tongues of the advocates of the resolu-

tion; and it is quite surprising to think of the strange assertions that they made, with the view of persuading the House that the resolution would not at all affect the church of England; with what boldness, they asserted that nobody wanted to put down the church of England, in England; that nobody dreamt of such a thing. Why, few persons, comparatively, in their sphere of life, talk or think much about the matter; but I can assure them, that the petition from SAKLINGHAM-THORPE speaks the general sense of this whole kingdom, and particularly of England and Wales.

There was a great effort, an united effort, on the part of the advocate of the resolution, to cause it to be believed that in England there had been *no persecution* in the establishing of the Protestant hierarchy; that their minds had been gradually *prepared for it*, and that there was no force needed. Mr. POULTER observed, that the Protestant church in England was "established amidst perfect toleration"; Mr. LITTLETON said, that "it was established by the free good-will of the people." Even Mr. Sergeant WILDE had the same sentiment, though I cannot recollect the precise words. I dare say that all these gentlemen said what they believed to be true. I say very sincerely, that I think they believed what they said to be true; but I should be guilty of suppressing truth myself if I did not say, that that which they uttered upon this subject was as false as anything ever uttered by mortal man.

For two-and-forty years efforts were made to compel the people to go to the churches, on pain of imprisonment for life. I am not speaking here of Roman Catholics; I am speaking of *Protestant Dissenters*. During two-and-forty years the punishment on them, for attending meeting-houses, or for refusing to go to church, was in the last degree *imprisonment for life*; and under this "*perfect toleration*," under this "*free good-will*," thousands upon thousands of them died in prison. Even this, however, was not enough to make them go to church, so hated was that church by them. At the end of forty-two years of stripes and of chains came *banishment or death*; they

had their choice amongst three things. First, to go to their parish church, there publicly to beg pardon of God, for not having conformed to the orders of the church; solemnly to promise that they would conform in future, to confess their sin in having attended any other place of worship, and to call God to witness that they would never do the like again. This infamy and blasphemy formed one of the things amongst which they had to choose: the next was, *banishment for life*; the next was, *hanging by the neck till they were dead*; and this law continued in force for better than a hundred years; so that if you put this hundred years to the forty-two before mentioned, you will judge correctly of Mr. POULTER's "*perfect toleration*," and of Mr. LITTLETON's "*free good-will*," under which, and by which, this church was established. The fact is, that the people as a body never liked this church; they always wanted the adoption of the voluntary system. Within the last hundred and thirty years the law has let them more and more loose; and the reform of the Parliament, imperfect as it yet is, has given them that degree of power which will bring them back into that state from which they never could have been taken, except by the horrid cruelties of which I have been speaking.

My friends, I have here been merely making assertions to you, on this latter topic in particular. In the "*Legacy to Parsons*" I have PROVED all that I have here asserted; and a great deal more. These establishments are now making a struggle for their existence; seeing that the Irish must give way, they endeavour to persuade you that a similar reason for giving way does not exist in England. They will not persuade you to believe any such thing; and I, in my little book, will furnish you with the proof that you ought not to yield to such persuasion.

I am, your friend

And faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT.

On Monday, the 6. of April, the House of Commons went into committee on Lord JOHN RUSSELL's resolution; and the debate, which I shall insert in another

part of this *Register*, concluded by a division of 262 for the resolution, and 237 against it, being a majority of twenty-five for the resolution. It appears that it was the intention of Lord JOHN RUSSELL to move, on the 7th, a resolution in the following words: "That it is the opinion of this House, that no tithe-bill can be effective in Ireland, unless it embodies the resolution which the House has adopted." The Minister pressed very hardly for the House to suffer him to pass certain estimates, which was done after the debate was over.

There appears to be some ambiguity in the expressions of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, with respect to his future intentions, as to this proceeding. His words, as reported by the *Morning Chronicle*, were as follows:

"Lord JOHN RUSSELL, as far as he was concerned, should not resist the course proposed, but he pledged himself no further. His Lordship then stated the course he proposed to take, supposing the House to agree to-night in committee to the resolution proposed, he should suggest that it be reported to-morrow; if the House should further agree to that report, he should follow it up by a resolution, that it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a final and satisfactory adjustment, which does not embody the principle conveyed in the resolution. If, at the conclusion of the debate, it should appear that the motion was not satisfactory to a majority of the House, he should then proceed, as he before gave notice, by moving on the succeeding day an Address to the Crown. He should not, however, move such an Address till he had moved and failed in the resolution."

The remarks of the *True Sun* newspaper upon this are worthy of attention. The editor of that paper very justly suspects the intentions of the Whigs, though he could not refrain from putting me upon a "black list," because I suspected them. For my part, I always suspect them; and, if I did not, after the experience that I have had, I should be Nature's fool. I will first insert these

remarks of the *True Sun*, and then state my own opinion of the matter.

"The additional resolution which Lord John Russell promises to move this evening, when the report of the committee upon his first declaratory resolution respecting church property shall have formally received the sanction of the House, will go very near to the consummation of the victory over the Ministers, and to put down the faction for ever. Gratified as we are with the boldness and the tact of the noble Lord in this new step, by which he throws out the Tory tithe-bill by anticipation, we are yet left in some little uneasiness and impatience for the result, by his ambiguous explanations, of his ultimate intention as to the Address, which, after all, we look upon as indispensable to the fulfilment of his pledges, to the satisfaction of the country, and to the final and complete destruction of the robber-faction. If Lord John, having carried his first resolution through all its stages, succeeds, as no doubt he will succeed, in carrying the additional resolution founded upon it, and if he there stop, then there will still be a chance remaining for the Ministers, after all, to go on with their tithe-bill, disputing clause by clause, from week to week, to the end of the session, and there let it drop; getting from the complaisant Whigs, in the mean time, sufficient accommodation for carrying on the public business, upon undoubted good faith that they will not 'unnecessarily' delay the tithe-bill. We may not be justified in surmising that Lord John would cheat us so, or allow himself to be thus cheated. But we do not find a sufficiently explicit statement of his ultimate intentions in these words, with which his answer to Sir R. Peel last night ends, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle*:

"If at the conclusion of the debate it shall appear that this resolution is not satisfactory to a majority of the House, I shall then proceed, as I before gave notice that I should proceed, by moving on the succeeding day an Address to the Crown. I shall not, however, move any Address to the Crown until I have moved

"and failed in the resolution I have just read."

"Now this does not tell us whether or not he will move the Address, if the second resolution be carried. He rather appears *desirous* to avoid giving us that information, with the evasiveness of a skilful parliamentary tactician. If he will not move the Address, he will give full confirmation to the rumour to which we alluded yesterday, and he will establish the truth of those charges which have been made against him of imprudently or dishonestly cloistering himself with Sir R. Peel, and yielding to the Premier's treacherous policy. Undoubtedly we shall have gained, even thus, the solemn recognition of two principles, one abstract and the other practical, of the greatest possible importance to our social and political regeneration. But we shall have lost, for a time at least, the opportunity, now within our reach, of carrying them into active operation, and of putting an immediate end to the political distractions of Ireland, and of, in some degree, alleviating the physical misery of her people. Besides, who will pretend to calculate the mischiefs which the Tories, now driven to desperation, may be enabled to effect, by one session's duration, of their power? And we seriously believe that they would have a very great chance of struggling through a session, if an end be not put at once to their career by the Address. Yet if this probability were not so apparent, as it seems to us, the noble Lord must be an unlearned as well as an inexperienced leader, if he is not aware how dangerous it is to give breathing time to a beaten adversary, and not to follow up successive victories to final triumph. In this case it is the more important to avoid the Captain error and to press at once upon the defenceless capital of the enemy, because the question is of such deep interest to a vast portion of the people, that, if the Ministers had the rashness to dissolve Parliament upon the carrying of the Address, they would find themselves the authors of an agitation more fatal to them than that of O'Con-

nell has been to the Irish section of their party. Indeed we can hardly believe that they would venture upon such a step—Lord John's timidity need not tremble for the result. But if he let pass the present glorious occasion, and tarrying afterwards in the course of the session upon other questions, drive Ministers, by other overthrows, to have recourse to dissolution the country would not look upon it as such an insult to the House of Commons, as dissolution upon the Address—the excitement will have passed away—and, as the Tories were so successful at the last elections, when they were not very well prepared, it is not at all improbable that, under the circumstances, which we have supposed, they would obtain a considerable majority. For neither the money nor the army of the State would be wanting to their assistance; and we would have the scenes of the last Carlow election re-enacted in many an English borough."

"Now it does appear strange, that Lord John Russell should have changed his course. The additional resolution which he now proposes is neither more nor less than a repetition, and nothing but a repetition of the resolution of Monday night. Why not, therefore, move and carry the Address to the King, without this additional resolution? I do not believe that there is any compromise in contemplation, but I do believe that there is great misgiving and timidity on the part of the Whigs. They know that they can turn out the Ministers, with the aid of the Radicals; but they also know, that they cannot remain in themselves without the aid of those same Radicals; that is to say, a mass of members, who will support no Ministers, and who will suffer no Ministers to have power, if they can help it, who will not consent to a very great change with regard to the church, and with regard to the expenditure generally. There exists a conviction in the minds of all men of sense that one of two things must now take place: this very great change, effected by the Parliament itself; or a convulsive, and perhaps destructive movement of the people. All men do not clearly see the causes of this dilemma,

but all men see and feel the effects; and all who are not under the influence of particular interests, or of party-motives, are for the change being effected by the Parliament itself. Whig and Tory have little influence with such men; they do not listen to the battles of debate with much attention; they are sometimes influenced by circumstances of the moment, but they steadily persevere in their wishes to effect the change.

During the debate in the committee it was asserted by Lord CHANDOS and Mr. SCARLETT, that, if another dissolution of Parliament were to take place in consequence of this resolution, the people, *seeing the church in danger*, would return a majority to support it. The old saying of persuading one to believe that "the moon is made of green cheese" is quite within the compass of probability, when we hear gentlemen like these declaring that they believe that the people of England would send a majority to Parliament, expressly to support the church; expressly to support Sir ROBERT PEEL, merely because he opposes the taking away of tithes from parsons in Ireland, who have no flocks! Do Mr. SCARLETT and Lord CHANDOS know, that during these three sessions of the reformed Parliament not less than five hundred petitions at the least from parishes, and some from counties, of England, have been presented, praying for the abolition of all English tithes? Do these gentlemen recollect the Devonshire petition, agreed to at the largest county meeting, perhaps, ever known in Devonshire, at which, in spite of the efforts of the noble Lord ESSINGTON (a member for the county, and so popular in it), a petition was agreed to, not only praying for an abolition of tithes, but for a dissolution of church from state? Lancashire and Yorkshire send sixty-three members to the House of Commons. Out of the sixty-three they would not send ten at the utmost who would dare to say, that they would oppose an abolition of tithes, even in England. Let the Parliament be dissolved, then, and let the people be told that the Minister wants a majority to prevent the abolition of tithes; and let the candidates come with "TITHES FOR EVER," or "NO TITHES," on their

banners; let this be, and the whole of the tithes of England would be abolished, root and branch, in less than a year. Men differ in their opinions about all other things, but, with the exception of the parties immediately interested, there is no difference of opinion here.

I agree with Lord CHANDOS, that, if this step be taken, further steps must; and with regard to England too, as well as Ireland; for while there is, as stated in a petition lately presented by me, a parish in Norfolk, which pays in tithes two hundred pounds a year, and which has neither church nor parson; and while, as I have shown, in my "*Legacy to Parsons*," there are more than two hundred parishes in England in this state, with neither church nor parson, it would be contemptibly whimsical to suppose, that the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL would not, and must not, apply itself to England; and the noble Lord CHANDOS must have forgotten himself, when he was supposing that the people of England were prepared to send men to Parliament for the express purpose of compelling them to pay tithes without church and without parson.

Mr. SCARLETT, as the newspaper-report says, contended that there was no precedent for directing any part of the church-property from its general object! Gracious God! and he a lawyer, I believe; and having all the Acts of HENRY the Eighth, of EDWARD the Sixth, and of ELIZABETH, before him, upon the table, and knowing, as he did, or as he ought, that the Irish Parliament, sanctioned by the English Parliament, absolutely abolished the *agistment* of tithes in Ireland, which remain abolished unto this day. This Mr. SCARLETT is precisely the sort of man that stands in absolute need of my book. Folios and quartos are too much for him. It is hunting there after two grains of wheat in the bushel of chaff. In my "*Legacy to Parsons*," there is nothing but wheat; and not a grain too few, nor a grain too many. There is all the law relative to this church; and he can carry it all in his waistcoat; or, if he like that better, in the pocket of his pantaloons. Why, such a book, to such a lawyer, is a fortune. He sits down, after

breakfast, so ignorant of the law, as to assert that there is no precedent for alienating church-property; and before twelve o'clock, he is a "*learned Friend*"; aye, and *my* learned Friend, too, if he have one particle of gratitude in his soul. The cost is only eighteen-pence. Oh! how well those eighteen pennies would have been expended by him, before he made this speech.

In another part of his speech, he is reported to have said, that, "when the people of England heard the cry of 'NO REPEAL,' 'NO APPROPRIATION,' they would respond in a manner decidedly favourable to the church; they would return with joy, a majority of 'Conservatives'!" This Mr. SCARLETT is, doubtless, a *young man: very young*, I hope; or, at least, I should hope so, if I had the honour to be his father; yet the law insists upon his being *twenty-one*, before he can be a Member of Parliament; and one would hope that the newspaper reporter must have been in error; must have been drunk, or mad, to impute assertions or opinions like these to a person twenty-one years of age. I myself do not impute them to him, and I beg leave to be understood as remarking, not upon his words, but upon a publication which I find in a newspaper. Would God, that a dissolution were tried upon this question; for that would settle all church-disputes in both countries forever, and take in the Kirk of Scotland, by way of episode.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, however, knows better than this: he knows better than to dissolve the Parliament upon the question of TITHES, or NO TITHES; ecclesiastical dues, or no dues; ecclesiastical rents, or no rents; church-rates, or no church rates: he knows better than that: he knows that that is the very thing I want to see; and he suspects, I dare say, that I want to see nothing having a tendency to uphold this church, with all its monstrous and incurable abuses, and all the manifold evils which it entails upon the country, and which it must entail upon the country, as long as it exists.

ADDRESS TO SIR R. PEEL.

It appears that a parcel of bankers and stock-dealers, such as MASTERMAN, LYALL, SAUNDERSON, and one of the BARINGS, presented an Address to Sir ROBERT PEEL the day before yesterday, urging him *to remain in his post*; just as if he will not remain there if he can! This is, indeed, a very low affair. All the world will never make people believe, that these miserable money fellows were not set to work by himself; that is to say, by his own immediate friends and adherents. If MASTERMAN and his troop were to take their oaths to the contrary, going down upon their bare knees at the time, nobody would believe that this was not the case. This, therefore, is not only a very low thing, but a very foolish thing; and as to the *people in general*, the bare circumstance of the Address being presented by these London money-mongers is quite enough to make them at once hate and despise it; and it will be lucky for him if they do not carry their hatred and contempt to the object of the Address.

Oh! do we not so well remember the forty years' addresses of these London money-men? Do we not remember all their addresses in favour of PITT and his French war? Do we not remember their addresses of approbation and of thanks to the Parliament and to the Minister upon the passing of every suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and of every act for dungeoning and gagging of the people? Do we not know them well; and does Sir ROBERT PEEL expect to find a shield in this hated crew? does he expect to get safe shelter under the shirts and the garterdines of these men?

He must see, and feel, how very low this is; and it shows how desperate he deems his situation. What! stand up to render an account of his conduct to this crew! to tell *them* what have been his motives, and what his conduct shall be! To make professions of disinterestedness to *them*; and to conclude with a melancholy appeal to posterity! And this addressed to them, too, each of whom came, doubtless, with a black pen stuck behind his ear; and, while he was explaining to

them his motives, his principles, and the feelings with which he looks back upon his conduct, every man of them was, I dare say, lost in calculations of the sums that he makes every year by the judicious employment of his immense masses of money; thinking and caring no more about his principles, his professions, or his feelings, than they cared about the feelings of any three boards on the floor. We have not the Address of these fellows that I know of; but we have his answer, which, to crown the whole, he has permitted to be published as follows:

The London Address to Sir Robert Peel, said by the *Albion* to be signed by 8,457 persons, was presented on Saturday morning by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen: J. Masterman, Esq., George Lyall, Esq., Sir J. R. Reid, Bart., M.P., A. Chapman, Esq., M.P., Wm. Ward, Esq., Theo. Wilson, Esq., R. Saunderson, Esq., M.P., T. Haring, Esq., M.P.

The first of these gentlemen having presented it to Sir Robert Peel, the Premier gave his answer in the following terms:

"Gentlemen,—The best return which I can make for the very gratifying and encouraging assurance of approval and confidence which are contained in this Address, will be a frank declaration of the principles on which I have acted, in having hitherto persevered, under circumstances of unusual embarrassment, in the attempt to conduct through Parliament the measures recommended to its consideration by the Crown. When I was unexpectedly summoned from abroad in December last to assist his Majesty in the formation of a new Ministry, I did not feel myself justified in withholding from the King my humble services; and the same motives which induced me to obey his Majesty's commands in the first instance, satisfied me that it was equally incumbent upon me to make every effort, in strict accordance with the spirit and letter of the constitution, to overcome the many difficulties that were inseparable from the arduous undertaking. I well know that no administration can hope to

conduct the affairs of this country from which the good-will and confidence of the representatives of the people are after mature consideration withheld. But though the proceedings at the commencement of the session were not very encouraging, still I was in hopes that the proposal of measures founded upon the principle of maintaining and improving the ancient institutions of the country, would procure for the Government that degree of support from the House of Commons which might enable them to bring these measures under full and dispassionate consideration.

In submitting to occasional disappointments and defeats, I have acted on the sincere belief, that in the present state of political parties, and the present position of some great public questions, I was not justified in abandoning the trust which I had undertaken, and compelling another change of administration, without some clear and manifest necessity. I have acted also, under an impression, that the House of Commons was influenced in some degree by similar considerations, so long as it did not attempt to mark, by any specific resolution, its want of confidence in the Government, or to enforce any great public principle at direct variance with the declared sentiments of that Government.

Under any circumstances, I never can look back with other feelings than those of the greatest satisfaction upon the discharge of a public trust which has procured for me the proud testimony of esteem and confidence which you have this day placed in my hands. I can say with truth, that the only rewards which I seek for the labours and sacrifices which public life imposes, are the approbation of a gracious Sovereign, and that impartial judgment which will ultimately be formed upon the motives and actions of public men, when the events that are now passing shall be viewed from a greater distance, and through a medium unobscured by the passions and interests which, at the period of their occurrence, they naturally excite."

Now, can he think that this will serve him with the people of England, or of any part of the kingdom? If he can, all that I can say is, that his end must be such (unless the Whigs be false) as to make him curse Lord Ashurst for not agreeing to my motion to put him out of the Privy Council for ever. God bless the man! Why the people will laugh at this, from one end of the country to another. "Difficulties," the people will exclaim, "what difficulties have you, which are not of your own making?" Who created your embarrassments but yourself? Every man knows, that you have been the great cause of the present miseries and troubles of the country. And, with regard to the Poor Law Bill, every one knows that it could not have been passed, without your will. So that, from the ruined farmer and tradesman down to the lowest labourer, they all know that the difficulties are your own. And so far from having a tendency to prop you up, this London Address, and your answer to it, will have a tendency to make you fall as bad as it can be for your own reputation. Your conduct with regard to the resolution was such as became your station and your talents; but to flee to these wretched creatures to shelter you is every thing that words can express, low and despicable, and in the combination of qualities which it comprises, excessive folly is the least disgusting ingredient.

TAKING THE VOTES.

A COMMITTEE has reported to the House of Commons, that the names of the Members voting ought to be taken officially and printed by the authority of the House, upon any question where such taking and printing is demanded by the Members. Nothing can possibly be more desirable than this; for it is to be known any one thing that would give the people so much confidence in the honesty and sincerity of Members of Parliament. Left as the thing is now, any Member (who would condescend to use the means) may have his name sent forth to the country as having voted for, that which

he has voted against; or against that which he has voted for.

I proved that, in the case of the division on the malt-tax, the impudent and profligate Times newspaper had, in the two lists of the minority and majority, a greater number of members by sixty, than were in the House, according to the printed account of the House; and that great numbers who voted against the repeal of the malt-tax were set down as having voted for the repeal. If the press can commit one offence greater than another, against the privileges of the House, this is that very offence; and the press thus has the power totally to misrepresent to the constituents the conduct of the Members; to screen the conduct of some, and to destroy the character of others. With regard to its misreporting of speeches, a great deal is to be overlooked: it is there, a check upon itself; for one paper reports that which another does not. But, in the other case, any paper has the power of screening, or of destroying, in its hands: the names go forth; they are read; men look no further, and the injury is done. I do, therefore, hope that the recommendation of this honest and sensible committee will be adopted by the House without loss of time. It is what no Member can object to; for no one will say, that he ever gives a vote that he is ashamed of.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

TRIFOLIUM INCARNATUM

AND

OTHER GRASSES.

Much interest was excited last spring by an account that had been published of the excellence of the *Trifolium incarnatum*, or Italian clover. It was represented as a thing to be sowed after wheat, and as yielding a fine crop fit to cut up for horses, in the month of May. I had some seed from Liverpool, for which I did not pledge myself, and which proved to be of a good-for-nothing sort, but I had also some seed of the true *Incarnatum*, which I gathered from the plants in the date of Wight; and the in-

interesting questions were: first, whether the *Trifolium Incarnatum* would stand the winter in England; and, next, whether, if it did stand the winter, it would produce a greater crop to be cut up for horses in the month of May, than the broad clover. We heard of very fine crops of the *Incarnatum* last summer; of beautiful fields of it; and, I dare say, that they were beautiful enough; for the plant has long been cultivated in the flower-gardens for its long stalks of beautiful red flowers. But, it was for the fields, and for the horses, that we wanted it; and, I have given it a full and fair trial against the broad clover, and against other grasses, the result of which trial I am now about to state.

On the 19. of May last, I sowed, in good and clean ground, a patch of the *Trifolium*, one of broad clover, and one of Lucerne. The Lucerne I cut four times last summer, each time about two feet high; the broad clover I cut twice; but those two cuttings exceeded the four cuttings of the Lucerne in weight. The *Trifolium* I suffered to get to its full height, and be in bloom. It did not yield in weight a fourth part of the weight of the broad clover; and the plants died at once, proving the plant to be an annual as much as wheat is an annual; while the broad clover, after its two cuttings, went on to shoot again, stood the winter, and is now (8th of April) very flourishing, and about four inches high; and, as to the Lucerne, it is, at this time, eighteen inches high; will be in bloom by the first week in May, with a prodigious weight of crop.

Gentlemen will perceive that my ground is good, warm, and early; but they will also perceive, that the *Trifolium Incarnatum* had the same ground as the other plants. It was precisely the same, for the *Incarnatum* stood between the two others.

But, the *Incarnatum* was to be sown after wheat; that is to say, in the month of August, or September. Now, on the 28. of last August, I sowed, in clean ground, without manure, but very good ground, twenty-six sorts of plants called grasses, the four first of which were, the broad clover, the *Trifolium Incarnatum*,

White Dutch clover, and Lucerne. At this moment the broad clover, and the White Dutch clover, are five inches high, and exceedingly flourishing; the Lucerne is a foot high, and rather more; the *Trifolium Incarnatum* hardly rises boldly up from the ground; and, if cut, would not weigh a sixth part of either of the other three. Here is same time of sowing; same ground, precisely; same winter to stand; same spring to start in. I shall let all these plants stand as they are until the first week in May; and then cut them and weigh them; but I need do nothing more, and see nothing more, than I have already done and seen, to convince me that this plant will not be cultivated in England, except in the flower-gardens.

This experiment has convinced me, that to sow broad clover in clean and good land, after wheat, is the way to have abundant crops of green food to cut up in May. However, this is another matter.

COMMUTATION OF TITHES.

IN another part of the *Register* is a letter from a correspondent, which I recommend to the attention of my readers. The scheme is really a piece of nonsense. It can do good to nobody, except as it may serve to convince all the world that the church can be no longer upheld. How is there to be a commutation of personal tithes? I was surprised to see in Sir ROBERT PEEL's manifesto, that he thought a commutation of tithes necessary to the harmony between the clergy and the people. What I find this out at the end of twelve hundred years! And why necessary to this harmony? Why, because the people every where are become impatient to the last degree, under a burden, which, in former times, the people deemed no burden at all, and which was not a burden to the people in Catholic times; and not an unbearable burden until the state of the church became what it now is. In the time of the Commonwealth a commutation of tithes was proposed by some, and an abolition by others. The restoration of CHARLES the Second put a stop to these propositions;

but Sir HENRY SPELMAN had shown that the propositions were synonymous in effect; for that, commutation would, in fact, put an end to tithes; that they would be no longer tithes, and that, having changed their nature by law, a law would soon be found to abolish them altogether. The Reverend Mr. POWELL, father of the Member for SHAPTESBURY, showed me in the year 1800, a printed paper, suggesting a general compulsory composition for tithes; and I remember that I said to him: "You mean to put down the church, then, I suppose." Lord ELDON, who was then Attorney-General, I think, opposed the scheme; while PITT was for the scheme; and I remember how the church-and-king people (to whom I then belonged) used to revile PITT as an enemy of the church.

The fact is, the clergy saw, even then, that their power was shaken; and now they see clearly; that they cannot take the tithes, as tithes, but a very little longer. They are, therefore, for changing the name and the form of the thing, in order that the people may give them as much as they give them now, without perceiving what they give it for. This is the true history of the matter. The attempt at commutation will fail as to its intended purpose; but it is another step in the march of this church downwards. In short, thirty millions annually, to be paid for interest of debt; five millions more for an army and its trappings to insure the means of paying this interest: these cannot co-exist with this established church. It is these burdens which have aroused men to an attention with regard to the church and its demands: it is these burdens which have drawn forth the complaints against the church: it is they that have set inquiry on foot: it is that pressure, which is felt coming from every direction, which will not suffer this church to exist in the quiet enjoyment of its immense revenues any longer. If the aristocracy (to whom, in fact, the church belongs) were to give way at once, the consequences might not be so very destructive: it is the struggle, whence the danger arises: it is the struggle, which is sure in the end, to extend much more widely than is contemplated, even by

those who are struggling for the change. The project of a commutation of tithes is a sort of *manœuvre* in this struggle: it is a crafty *ruse de guerre*; but it will not succeed, and will only serve to convince the other party, that the church is conscious of its weakness, and of its inability openly to maintain its ground.

LEGACY TO PARSONS

Will be published on the 18. April.

It may have seemed to many persons, that I have, during this session, neglected my duty in Parliament. Until very recently I was too hoarse to be heard distinctly, six yards from me; but I have been performing a duty, which, when this little book is before them, will convince the people, that I could have done nothing that man can do equal in point of public importance to that which I have done since this Parliament met. The Minister has a commission sitting, of which he himself is a member, in order to prepare a plan of "*church reform*," to be submitted to the Parliament; and, before we see that plan; and, especially, before we discuss it, we ought to know all about this church, from its very birth to the present hour; more especially we ought to know what is its present state; what are the nature and magnitude of those abuses which it is now proposed to grapple with and to correct.

The people of England really know nothing about this church: no man that has ever meddled with it through the press has ever done more than baffled against detachments of this phalanx of abuse. Hundreds upon hundreds of volumes have been written and published by Dissenters, without any attempt to go to the bottom of the thing; and without, therefore, producing any effect sufficient to induce men to press for a correction of the abuses.

I have begun at the beginning, and ended at the end; I have not moved a step without undoubted authority at my back. Even the clever men amongst the Dissenters (and these are in prodigious numbers) will be stricken with astonishment at what they read, as I myself have been while writing the book. The truth

is, that, in such cases, we lay hold, from time to time, of particular parcels or branches of abuse; and, leaving the other branches untouched, we seem to admit that this is all that we have to complain of; and thus it is that the Dissenters have proceeded for nearly three hundred years.

I have brought the whole mass of abuses into a small compass, and laid them before the public, that they may fairly see them all at once. We hear the words "separation of church from state," without one thousandth part of us knowing the meaning of the words, as thus used. We see petitions against a separation of church from state, signed by men who would have run their hands into a fiery furnace rather than put them to those petitions, if they had known the meaning of the words. We heard Lord DURHAM tell the Dissenters that he could not agree to a separation of church from state, that connexion being necessary for the religious instruction of the people. Lord DURHAM will never repeat those words after one month from the day of the publication of this book. Lord GREY told Mr. FIELDEN and me, when we had the honour to wait upon him with a memorial from the Dissenters, our constituents, and when I frankly stated to him my opinion that nothing short of a separation of church from state would finally satisfy the memorialists, he told us, that he never could consent to that. Lord GREY knew no more about the real state of this church, at that moment, than he knew about what was passing in the moon. BLOMFIELD and the other bishops, who are associated with Sir ROBERT PEEL and the Lord Chancellor in the Church-reform Commission, do know something about it; but even after the commission has made its report, Sir ROBERT PEEL, and even the Chancellor, will hardly have got a glimpse at it, and there is part of this mystery of prodigious abuse. I repeat, that I, who began looking into the affairs of this church thirty-two years ago; who then predicted that the Act 43rd Geo. III. chapter 84, would prove the utter overthrow of the establishment; I repeat, that even I had but a faint idea of the

enormity of this mass of abuses, until I traced to their origin, and hunted them along, inch by inch, to the present hour.

I defy any man to read this little book, to be a sincere man, and to say that he believes that this Church, which was made by acts of Parliament, ought not to be repealed by acts of Parliament. Here is the whole of the law; the whole of the causes that have produced that which it will startle the reader to behold; and, though it may seem to be very presumptuous, I say that no man is fit to take a part in the discussion of the question of church reform, who does not well know the contents of this little book. The book consists of 182 small pages; it may be attentively read in four hours; and before the reader gets to the end, he will have exclaimed a thousand times: "This church never can be reformed." It is the very greatest abuse that ever existed in the whole world; and every one who reads the book will say the same. I say of it, in parodying the words of MACBETH, relative to MACBETH: "Let this abuse face this book, and if it then escape, may God forgive it too!"

A NEW PLAY.

I HAVE just published, price sixpence, my Comedy of "SURPLUS POPULATION AND THE POOR-LAW BILL," which I have given a player leave to act, in any place wherever he may like to go. He has first acted it for the diversion of the chapeauicks of NORMANDY, and those of the villages round about. When he gets strength, he proposes to go to the country towns; and to make his way to HAVANT in Hampshire, then to CHICHESTER, and along through the towns into Sussex, and then into Kent; and I beg my friends in those parts, if they have a mind for a little fun, amidst their miseries, to afford him their countenance, and give him a little aid, if necessary. There is no law against our laughing, even if we have Imagry bellies. The title of the play, and the characters are as follows; and, if any one has a mind to read the play, which, I can assure

him, is as well calculated for the closet as the stage, he will find it at Bolt-court, neatly printed for sixpence.

SURPLUS POPULATION :

AND

POOR-LAW BILL.

A COMEDY, IN THREE ACTS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P.

THE CHARACTERS.

Men.

SIR GRIPE GRINDUM, of Grindum Hall, in the County of Grindum, Baronet.

PETER THIMBLE, Esq., a great Anti-Population Philosopher.

FARMER STILES.

TOM STILES, Nephew of Farmer Stiles.

DICK HAZLE, Servant to Stiles.

BARBONE, Man of all Work to Sir Gripe.

TOM BIRCH, Brother of Betsey Birch.

JACK HARROW, NED MAPLE, and other Country Fellows.

BLUDGEON, GUZZLE, and SLANG, three London Bullies.

Waiter, Boys, &c.

Women.

BETSEY BIRCH, going to be married to Dick Hazle.

MRS. BIRCH, her Mother, who is a Widow.

MRS. STILES, Wife of the Farmer.

PATTY PRIMROSE, MARY VIOLET, and other Country Girls.

Scene.

The Village of NESTBED, in the County of GRINDUM.

I think I see the slipshod critics of DRURY LANE, and other place, the name of which I have forgotten, turn up their noses at this, and express their astonishment that a clod-thumping politician like me should dare to think of writing a play! Let them read my play, if they can read; and, if not, get their wives or mistresses to read it to them; but let them, if they can beg their way down into Surrey or Sussex, come and see my play acted, and hear the country girls laugh till they are ready to tumble off the benches, when they hear PETER THIMBLE, Esq. recommending "moral restraint"; and when they hear SIR GRIPE GRINDUM asking the Squire for his "*Remedy against Breeding*." However, I shall not anticipate the pleasure of those who are to read, or witness the acting of, this Comedy.

COMMUTATION OF TITHES.

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—So many years have elapsed since I wrote in your journal, that I cannot suppose it probable you should regret the signature or even the name of your correspondent "the Old Englishman," nor is it likely that under the joint influence of old age and ill health I shall much trouble you in future.

My present object is to draw your attention to an important public measure, which as it seems to me is very imperfectly understood; I allude to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan, "for the commutation of tithes," taking that plan to be in substance as reported in the *Chronicle* and *Herald* of the 25th ult.

It is introduced in a speech of considerable length, distinguished by all that plausibility and apparent candour which characterise the speeches of that eminent person, and in the outset we are given to understand he abandons the compulsory system of his predecessors, in exchange for what he terms a system of "*voluntary agreement*." For this his reasons are short enough; "at all events one most material reason seems to me to be omitted, namely, that under the compulsory system the party compelling must, step by step as he proceeds, demonstrate his being in the right; whereas under the voluntary system, it may be pretty safely counted upon, that if the parties can be set to work upon a subject of great difficulty, the bearings of which it is impossible they should understand, there is all the reason in the world to believe, before they get to the end of their labours, they will cut their own throats.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's machinery commences by the tithe-payers of each parish being called together; and as he could not but foresee (nor but that others would also see) that this was sure to lead in many instances to all manner of collusion and knavery, he, much to his credit, evinces an amiable anxiety to oppose the most effectual checks to any thing of that sort.

Let No agreement can be entered into, unless two-thirds of the meeting in value concur; this, to say the truth, in itself is one of the slightest checks that can well

be conceived, because unless something like a majority of this kind could be secured, it would be next to impossible to carry a job; and therefore, 2ndly, a further check (and that of some value) is interposed, by giving the meeting the aid of the attendance and advice of an assistant commissioner, who, according to the speech is to be "a man of knowledge"; we presume a barrister. But if two-thirds of the meeting concur in the agreement, then for the sake of economy the assistant commissioner's attendance may be dispensed with.

Oh! economy, how is thy name profaned!

In the name of common sense can it be supposed that if the two-thirds have carried a job, they will ever consent to write to London for the attendance of an assistant commissioner, whose arrival would be certain destruction to all their schemes? There really is in this part of Sir Robert Peel's plan, what may be termed an innocent ignorance of human nature that in an old statesman is quite refreshing. Check the first therefore is of small value; and check the second not worth one farthing.

But then comes check the third. No agreement to be valid until approved of by a Board of Commissioners in London, which board is to consist of a commissioner, named by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of the church, and two others by his Majesty's Ministers (between whom and the church, if we mistake not, there is just now great kindness; in fact, a sort of Caledonian contract; scratch me, and I will scratch you). Now we cannot say we much admire that sort of justice, which, when A and B are going to law, enables B to nominate his own jury. Indeed according to the plan as it now stands one hardly sees how the chief commissioners, if ever so anxious so to do, can properly do justice. The agreement is to be submitted to them; be it so. But it will hardly contain its own condemnation on the face of it; never fear but the outside of the platter will be clean enough. The fraud and trick and collusion will be kept out of sight. Voltaire called us the savages of Europe; doubtless since his time our manners have

been mended; but on ceasing to be savages, I suspect we have become Pharisæes, something like the old Yankees, godly given, but wickedly bent.

It appears to me that the parish meetings have an undoubted right to deal both with the law and fact of all that comes before them; indeed the power of referring to arbitration is given to them, which by necessary implication invests them with authority to so deal. The jobbing majority have nothing to do but to refer all matters to their own arbitrators; and no species of iniquity that can be imagined, but what may be completely covered from all inquiry.

Take the case of a modus. We need hardly point out, that under what is called Lord Tenterden's act, no modus can be affected when it has been in force for sixty years (provided three incumbencies have taken place within that period; and provided the fourth incumbent does not, within a limited time, contest the modus); now, this protection hundreds of parishes now enjoy—a protection of which they may be stripped by a majority of a parish meeting assembled under the new act, who, beyond all doubt, under this most extraordinary project, may waive the benefit of Lord Tenterden's act.

This is a precious premium for rogues!

In answer to a question from Sir R. Price, Sir Robert Peel is made to say, "that in every parish the parties will be at liberty to take as an element into their consideration, the uncertainty of the law." (See *Morning Herald*, 25. March). If a direct proposal had been made to repeal Lord Tenterden's act, it would have been scouted; but we have it done in the quietest manner possible, by a side wind, and that by a very curious process: 1st, The majority of a parish meeting are empowered in their discretion to abridge or abrogate, not only their own, but the freehold rights of their neighbours—rights, in most instances, depending on very nice questions. Now, as the history of English legislation affords no example of any thing resembling this; to prevent alarm, the parade of inventing checks was in-

dispensably necessary. What their value is, we have shown; but, lest they should be of any value, the plan in its progress most ingeniously contrives to supply the means of defeating its own avowed objects.

This is really too bad!

If the plan goes forward, will the church be benefited? In point of revenue, it certainly will; but will it terminate dissension? On this point, its author, in so many words, tells us: "He apprehends that nearly as many questions will arise under the present plan, as under the existing law." (See *Morning Chronicle*, 25. March last). If Sir Robert had said "more dissatisfaction" would arise, we should be inclined to agree with him; but, if by questions arising are meant suits, we disagree with him; for, though courts will still exist, the clergy will have the keys in their pockets; the law, in fact, will be swept away! The best security of the church is founded on long habit, acknowledged utility, and the affection of the people; for which, under this plan, we exchange novelty, injustice, and bitter animosity. Pandora's box will be opened—who will shut it!

The subject is one of much difficulty, and it would require more time than we have to bestow, and more information than we can collect at the moment, to suggest the machinery indispensably necessary to make this plan work even tolerably; but "en passant" we would suggest it would benefit matters a little, if any person or persons composing the minority of the parish meeting possessing titheable property among them, say of the value of 5000*l.*, should be at liberty to insist, previous to any agreements being entered into, upon the attendance and assistance (at the parish expense) of the assistant commissioner, and, further, that when the agreement was transmitted, the chief commissioners should give a reasonable (say twenty-one days) notice of the time and place when and where, previous to the confirmation thereof, they would publicly hear any objections that all or any of the parties might have against the same, or any part thereof, being confirmed. We are far from saying these improved

checks would be sufficient, but they at least approximate to fair examination. We profess to have nothing to do with the motives of men; to Sir Robert Peel we are strangers. He may be what is called a very cunning man (which does not necessarily mean a wise man), or he may be a perfect Nathaniel or Israelite without guile, but we fasten and comment upon the measure, as it at this moment presents itself before us, not only as extremely rash and pregnant with danger, but put together so clumsily, that if it were in itself good for anything, it would in working, either break down, or breaking loose would spread devastation and ruin all around it, which in common fairness we will say we believe to be quite foreign to the intention of the author.

If a bill be brought into Parliament to carry this scheme into effect, every clause will require the closest attention.

AN OLD ENGLISHMAN.

London, 2nd April, 1835.

PENENDEN HEATH PETITION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the people of Kent in county meeting convened on Penenden Heath, this 24. day of October, 1828;

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, called together by the High Sheriff of the county for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of petitioning Parliament to adopt such measures as are best calculated to support the Protestant establishment in church and state; and, being of opinion that neither church nor state stands at this time in estimation as high as that in which they might stand, hope that your honourable House will not deem them presumptuous if they beg leave to be permitted to point out to your honourable House the measures which they deem best calculated to insure the important object propounded to them by the High Sheriff.

That, with regard to the church esta-

blishment, your humble petitioners perceive a great and growing lukewarmness towards it, an unpopularity approaching towards loathing and hatred, and a rapid and constantly increasing decline in the numbers of its flocks, whilst those of the Catholics, and of every description of Dissenters, are increasing in a like proportion; a fact which clearly shows that the church owes no part of its decline to a want of religious feeling amongst the people.

That your humble petitioners are convinced that this lukewarmness, unpopularity and disgust, have arisen, not so much from any general and rooted dislike to the doctrines and ritual of the establishment, as from the conduct of a considerable part of its clergy, and more especially from the flagrant misapplication of its immense temporalities.

That, with respect to the conduct of the clergy, your humble petitioners, while they would fain obliterate from their own memory, as well as from that of all mankind, many deeds, from the punishment due to which the disguised parties have been shamefully screened, cannot disguise from themselves, and will not disguise from your honourable House, that the beneficed clergy, in general, have become lax in their manners and their morals, given in an immoderate degree to luxurious enjoyment, habitually spending their time in places of fashionable resort, not to say criminal, and, as if this island were a sphere too limited as a scope for dissipation, quitting the kingdom in great numbers, thus drawing from their parishes (more than one-half of which they hold in pluralities) a great part of their substance to be expended upon their own pleasures, while the cure of the parishes is left to stipendiaries, who, from the miserable pittance they receive, are wholly unable to perform even the smallest part of those duties of charity and hospitality, to ensure the constant performance of which, as well as for the teaching of the doctrines of religion, the revenues of the church were granted.

That it is well known to your honourable House that all the temporal possessions of the church, whether tithes,

glebes, college lands, abbey lands, or of what description soever, were founded on the basis of charity, and were granted, not to the clergy for their own use, but in trust for the good of the nation at large, and, especially, for the relief and the comfort of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger; and that it is also well known to your honourable House, that in Catholic times, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates, and no paupers, and that the poor were relieved, the strangers assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the tithes and other revenues of the church; and that it is further well known to your honourable House, and but too well known to your humble petitioners, that the tithes, and the rest of the revenues of the church, have, by degrees, been entirely alienated from their original purposes; that the clergy now take the whole to themselves; and that the poor are relieved, the wandering stranger assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the taxes raised on your humble petitioners; which taxes, for the whole of England and Wales, amount annually to nearly eight millions sterling, of which, at the date of the last return, four hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds fell annually upon the county of Kent.

That your humble petitioners, sufficiently sore at reflecting upon these well-known facts, hardly know how to restrain their feelings, when they look at the present state of this their own country, so highly favoured by nature, once so renowned for its good living, its freedom, and its happiness; but now so depressed and impoverished by the heavy hand of taxation, and especially by the unmitigated and increasing exactions of the clergy; that, yet, even these they might bear with some degree of patience, if a due performance of religious duties were the consequence; but, when they see that the tithes of the 427 parishes of their county are in the hands of less than two hundred rectors and vicars, many of whom have prebends and other benefices in addition; when they see that eighty-seven of the parishes have no parsonage-houses that the luxurious and haughty incumbents think good enough

for them to reside in; when they see that there are seventy-five parishes which have no parsonage-houses at all; when they see that there are thirteen parishes which have absolutely no churches; when they behold this scene of abandonment, dilapidation, and devastation, and reflect, that at the same time, even in the parishes which have no churches, the tithes are exacted to the last blade of grass; and that there are forty-four parishes, each having less than one hundred people, and yet having tithes exacted from them with the utmost rigour; while your humble petitioners behold all this, and see themselves taxed at the same time, for the purpose of building new churches, to be put into the hands and to add to the revenues of these same clergy; when they thus behold and thus reflect, they do, they confess, feel their bosoms swell with feelings, from an expression of which they are restrained only because they can find no words commensurate with the nature and character of the case.

That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to affect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated exist in a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 rectors and vicars, even the tithings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139, which have parsonage-houses, and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that, in the 3,403 parishes, there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things the church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six

who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six churchmen in a parish, and that in others, there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the most rigorous manner, to a clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names, are harassed by the tithe-proctors and by proctors named frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to their last potato, and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people are, at tithes, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and the feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late years, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge and Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects in this horrible state of wretchedness, oppression, and degradation.

That your humble petitioners, reserving, for the present, the prayer which they have to offer to your honourable House, relative to a remedy for the enormous abuses in the church, proceed now to state to your honourable House, that it is their decided opinion that the dangers which menace the state, arise solely from a want of reform in your honourable House, and that, as to this source also they directly trace the above-mentioned conduct of the clergy, and the gross mis-

application of the temporalities of the church.

That your honourable House have now upon your table a petition, which you received from the hands of Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) in the year 1793; that in that petition it was asserted, that peers and other great men, only 154 in number, returned at their own pleasure, a decided majority of your honourable House, at the bar of which House the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of their assertions; that your honourable House received the petition, denied not the facts, but permitted not the petitioners to be heard at your bar; and that your humble petitioners, in this county meeting assembled, deem it to be perfectly notorious, that the state of the representation has not improved since the time when the aforesaid petition was presented to your honourable House.

That your humble petitioners would be filled with surprise and wonder at finding that they have to pay taxes to support hundreds upon hundreds of pensioned and sinecurist lords, ladies, and children, male and female, without it being in many cases, even pretended that they, or that any one belonging to them, have ever rendered any service to the country; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that while the nation has only fifteen foreign ministers in employ, it has actually to pay fifty-seven foreign ministers, and to pay altogether a sum which they believe to surpass that which is paid for the same purpose by all the other nations in the whole world; your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay one Field-Marshal or one General for every 163 private soldiers in the army, including non-commissioned officers, five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and one commissioned officer to every four private men; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay two Admirals for every one of its ships of the line; one Admiral for every 140 sailors, and one commissioned officer, exclusive of midshipmen, for every five sailors; that they would be still more, if possible, surprised to find, that a million and a half of money has been voted out of the taxes for the

relief of the poor clergy of the church of England, especially when they looked at the above-mentioned monstrous pluralities, and knew that many of the bishops have lately died, leaving from two to four hundred thousand pounds each in personal property for the aggrandisement of their families; that the surprise of your petitioners would surpass all power of utterance in finding, that military and naval half-pay had been given, out of the taxes, to men, who were, at the same time, receiving tithes and other emoluments, as clergymen of the established church; that, in short, the least incredible of these things would appear to your humble petitioners sufficient to astonish an indignant world; but that, when your petitioners reflect on the averment of the petition of 1793, that a decided majority of your honourable House was returned by 154 persons, partly Peers and partly great commoners, and when they further reflect that your honourable House is the sole imposer and the sole guardian and the sole distributor of the public money; when they thus reflect, and forget not that in the year 1808, a return laid before your honourable House stated, that your honourable members yourselves received amongst you 178,994*l.* a year, out of the public money; when your humble petitioners thus reflect, all ground of surprise vanishes at once, and the only question with your anxious and humble petitioners is, how long they, and their country, are doomed yet to behold this state of things.

That your humble petitioners, convinced that there can be no peaceable termination to their sufferings and the disgrace of their country, until this mighty cause of mischief be removed, most humbly and most earnestly pray, that, as the best, and, indeed the only means of supporting, for any length of time, the Protestant establishment in church and state, your honourable House will, first, pass an act to make a radical reform in your honourable House, and that you will, next, pass an act totally abolishing all clerical tithes, both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the church-revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the clergy the use of

the churches, the parsonage-houses, and the glebes, and, if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the priests and ministers of our Roman Catholic and Dissenting fellow subjects.

And your humble petitioners will ever pray.

IRISH CHURCH COMMISSION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, of Barnes, in the county of Surrey.

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your honourable House, that the Protestant church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts, which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland; that, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was, by law, made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ireland; that a Protestant clergy were made to supplant the clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the mass abolished, and the Protestant table and common prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and to become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were as clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of

England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient, and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these the tithes and other church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatizing from their religion, that they shunned, as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence, those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion, to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three, or all of these on the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confiscated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have started with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that, in spite of these acts of firing, confiscating, plundering, racking, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the church, as by law established; that, in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ire-

land, though their country was frequently almost literally strewed with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that, in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and the bowel-ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousands of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient church: and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland exhibited, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit, and still exhibits, this strange sight of an enormously rich established church nearly without flocks; and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes the churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your humble petitioner can form an idea of no being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror; and, therefore, he is confident, that your honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the generous spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the church of Ireland to a Protestant clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in

such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that, too, of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds, that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value, and that your humble petitioner is sure that your honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants too, would have given immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division; and to perpetuate all the passions hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of church Protestants than, as your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing, there were a hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her common prayer and communion, that it is an undoubted fact, that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that, in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one church Protestant to every six Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and

while these churches are empty, or, at best, echo to the solitary voice of the stipendiary agent of the opulent, and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled, either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground, and in the open air.

That, if your honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing apparently with your approbation), it would be presumptuous indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that, therefore, each person has, on an average, the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 persons; that of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 that have parsonage-houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage house in every 24 parishes, and only 463 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residence of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making, out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Irish church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes, fourteen who are by blood or marriage, related to power; that a similar principle appears to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and livings; and that, therefore, the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no other purpose than that of furnishing the

government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That, though this must, as your petitioner presumes your honourable House will believe, be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself: that to expect in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes, and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness: that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest, that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish Church revenues, is to be added the cost, and all the other evils arising from keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and, sometimes, mounted, police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland were it not for the existence of the church establishment, which the Catholics or Dissenters, who from six parts out of seven out of the people must naturally and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that, therefore, while the Irish church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That, hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the discontents, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief he founds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 849 monasteries, and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor and repaired the church out of the

tithes: that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, "so many points, whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief; and that it had (greater than all the rest) unity of faith, glory to God with one voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

That, alas! your humble petitioner need not tell your honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever; and that, as long as that hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated rigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant church now established by law in Ireland; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that church; that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as in your wisdom you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Barn-Elm, 20. April, 1829.

TURNING OUT OF THE MINISTERS.

BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS!

Normandy, 9. April, 1835.

LAST time it was a turning out by the King. This time it is a turning out by the House of Commons. The cause of it will be seen by the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL, made last night in the House of Commons. I shall first insert this

speech; and then, in a letter to the right honourable Baronet himself, say a word or two upon the subject of that speech.

"The SPEAKER went through his daily list of Members in turn to present petitions. Amidst the continued anxiety of the House not a word could be heard until

"Sir ROBERT PEEL rose, and immediately the utmost silence was observed in every part of the House, when the right hon Baronet proceeded as follows: Sir, it is my intention that the Mutiny Bill be read a third time, and in making that motion, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity which it affords me of signifying to the House that, in conjunction with all my colleagues in his Majesty's service, and in conformity with their unanimous opinion, have felt it incumbent upon us, upon combined consideration of the vote to which the House came last night, and of our position as a Government, to signify to his Majesty that it was our duty to place the offices which we held at the disposal of his Majesty. I do not hesitate to say that I have taken this course with the utmost reluctance, and not without the deepest sense of its necessity, because I felt, that being in possession of the confidence of the King, and having received from his Majesty the most cordial and unremitting support; looking at the present position of public affairs, and at the present state of political parties; looking also at their strength—the numerical strength of that great party by which we have been supported; I have felt it my duty to continue the attempt of administering the public affairs, as the responsible advisers of the Crown, up to the latest moment consistent with the interests of the public service. Sir, when I do not hesitate to avow that reluctance, I believe I shall have credit with a great majority of the House of Commons (Loud cries of Hear, from the opposition) that that reluctance is connected with public principle. (Reiterated opposition cheers). I have a strong impression that when a public man, at a crisis of great importance, undertakes the public trust of administering the af-

"fairs of the Government of this country,
 "that he does incur an obligation of per-
 "severing in the administration of those
 "affairs as long as it is possible, & I do
 "feel that no interference with public
 "life, that no disgust to the labours it
 "imposes, that no personal mortifications,
 "no reference to private feeling, should
 "sanction a public man, on light grounds,
 "in withdrawing from that post to which
 "the favour of his Sovereign had called
 "him; but, at the same time, there is
 "an evil in exhibiting to the country the
 "want, on the part of Government, of
 "that support in the House of Commons
 "which shall enable it satisfactorily to
 "conduct the public business; which
 "shall enable it to exercise a legitimate
 "and necessary control over the proceed-
 "ings of this House. (Hear, hear), a con-
 "trol conferred on it by the possession of
 "that confidence. (Cries of Hear, hear).
 "I repeat, sir, there is an evil in that
 "exhibition of weakness to which limits
 "must be placed. (Hear, hear). I must
 "say, that, reverting to all that has oc-
 "curred since the commencement of the
 "present session; looking to the little
 "progress that we have been enabled to
 "make from the want of that support and
 "confidence; looking to what has oc-
 "curred on each of the last four nights,
 "in which his Majesty's Ministers have
 "had the misfortune to be in a minority
 "on each occasion, on Thursday last, on
 "Friday last, on Monday, and on last
 "night, although that minority was a
 "smaller one than that with which we com-
 "menced this session; adverting to the
 "fact, that on that occasion we received
 "the support of those who, not having
 "general and unlimited confidence in the
 "Government, yet still have given to
 "that Government a cordial and honour-
 "able support (great cheers), on every
 "question on which it was necessary to
 "give it. Adverting to all these con-
 "siderations, I must say, in my opinion,
 "the time is come, when it is incumbent
 "upon us to withdraw from office. In
 "addition to these considerations, the
 "vote of last night, that vote I conceived
 "implied a want of confidence in his
 "Majesty's Government, because it was
 "not necessary, in my opinion, for any

"public purpose, to come to that vote.
 "(Great cheering). It was tantamount
 "to a declaration on that part of the
 "House, that the House had not that
 "confidence in his Majesty's Govern-
 "ment which entitled the Members of the
 "present Government to submit to the
 "consideration of the House the measures
 "of which it had given notice. (Cheers).
 "The noble Lord had signified his inten-
 "tion, if the vote the House had come
 "to last night should meet with its ap-
 "probation, that he would follow it up
 "with an address to the Crown. Sir, I
 "conceive, as great embarrassment of
 "the public affairs would have arisen
 "from the presentation of that Address;
 "and as I had no right to think the
 "House would take a different view with
 "respect to it, I thought it incumbent
 "upon me, and in that view I have acted
 "in conformity with my colleagues, I
 "thought that my public duty was, I
 "thought that a public duty was imposed
 "upon me, which I sincerely felt, I
 "thought that the time was fast ap-
 "proaching when resignation was in-
 "evitable, and that I ought not to per-
 "severe in a useless struggle, which
 "might involve his Majesty and the
 "country in additional difficulties and
 "inconveniences. Sir, we consider that
 "vote was not merely tantamount to a
 "want of confidence, but the vote of last
 "night implied the necessity of a full
 "change of the system in Ireland, so
 "far as the church revenues were con-
 "cerned. Sir, we considered that that
 "would impose such difficulties in the
 "way of the practical administration of
 "the Government in Ireland as to render
 "it incumbent on us to enter no farther
 "into the consideration of that question.
 "In addition, sir, to the fact of the vote
 "being tantamount to a want of confi-
 "dence, it also imposed on us the ne-
 "cessity of undertaking the practical
 "execution of the laws in Ireland, when
 "a majority, a considerable majority of
 "the House had approved of a principle
 "at variance with the principle with
 "which he set out. Sir, the vote of last
 "night is not an abstract principle; the
 "practical execution of which could be
 "carried into effect by us. (Loud cheers).

"There may, sir, be points on which the House of Commons may come to a different opinion to that of the Government upon some abstract principle of great importance, but still there might be such a case wherein the Government might govern even in opposition to the House. (Cheers). But, sir, the vote of last night places things in a very different position. You cannot leave the question of tithes in its present state. At present you are in a position in which you cannot remain. In the uncertainty which prevails, you cannot by any possibility enforce the collection of tithes. (Cheers). Nothing would be more dangerous than to leave the question in its present state. Property of all sorts would be placed in the utmost jeopardy. (Hear). We could not carry your principle—(Hear, hear)—and therefore we considered your vote of last night as tantamount to a vote of no confidence. Sir, under these circumstances, if we had remained in power, if we had continued in the Government, we would have been pressed for an immediate settlement of that question upon the Tithes Bill of which we have given notice, one of the principles of which was to be the remission of our claim upon the Irish clergy, for the instalments due under the Million Act. (Cheers). Sir, I cannot see, I cannot, for a moment suppose, that the House would have come to a different conclusion. I cannot anticipate that the House would have sanctioned that principle; that it would have given up its right to those instalments without the recognition of the principle of the vote of last night. (Hear, hear, hear). Under these circumstances, and having reason to apprehend the delay of a few days would make no material difference; considering also that we must have shortly proceeded with the Tithes Bill, on which we must have again clashed with the House, we did consider that the vote of last night was tantamount to a resolution of no confidence in the Ministry. (Cheers). Being firmly resolved to adhere to the principle of that bill, loud Ministerial cheering continued for

some minutes; being firmly resolved not to admit the principle of the vote of last night, under any circumstances (reiterated cheering); under all these complicated considerations, we feel it to be our duty, to be incumbent on us as public men, respectfully to request his Majesty to accept the resignation of our various seats. (Great cheering from the opposition). Sir, I have therefore to state that we hold our offices for the execution of public business only, and to prevent public inconvenience, until our successors are appointed. Perhaps the best course I can take will be to propose a short adjournment. I shall not propose it beyond Monday. I should have made the motion for adjournment at once, but that there would be an objection to it until another matter had been disposed of. Perhaps the House will feel at this present moment, and in the existing state of public affairs, that any public discussion of other business will be unnecessary, and I trust that the motion will be agreed to almost, if not quite, unanimously. (Loud cheers from the opposition). If inconvenience should be likely to arise to the parties interested in the Election Committee, for which a ballot is fixed for to-morrow, the House will, perhaps, meet for the purpose of making that ballot in order to prevent such inconvenience, consenting at the same time to the adjournment till Monday. It is with a view to preserve the public interests that I move the third reading of the Mutiny Bill, which I hope will be as unanimously agreed to as the motion for adjournment. (Hear, hear). I wish to give this explanation as briefly as possible, and in a manner the least likely to excite any angry feelings. (Tremendous cheering). The whole of my life has been spent in the House of Commons, and I desire that the remainder may be spent there; and whatever may be the conduct of others, I shall always be anxious to stand well with the House, whether in a majority or in a minority. (Renewed cheering). I well know that under no circumstances of censure or difficulty would I ever have advised the resignation of that

"great source of moral strength, which consists in a strict adherence to the principles of the spirit of the constitution of the country; for I am sure that adherence will be the surest safeguard against any impending danger, and that is why I believe myself and my colleagues ought not to persist in carrying on public affairs, after a fair trial, and against the decided opinion of a majority of the House of Commons. It is because I have that conviction deeply rooted in my mind, although I do sincerely regret the necessity which has compelled me to abandon the King's service at this moment. Yet upon the balance of public feeling, I confess that I shall most directly promote the ultimate interests of the country by retiring, than by persisting in a fruitless attempt to carry on public affairs." The right hon. Baronet sat down amid reiterated cheering from all sides of the House.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Normandy, 9 April, 1835.

SIR,—You will, now perhaps (no: you will not) think me somewhat of a true prophet. You had one means, and only one, of remaining in power, with any sort of tranquillity; and that was the following of my advice with regard to the malt-tax, and the horrible Poor-law Bill. However, your being put out of your office will produce no quiet on the Treasury-bench: no man can sit quietly there now, for any length of time, unless the burdens of the people be greatly diminished, and unless the churches, both in England and Ireland, be completely re-pealed; and this will be your opinion, too, when you have read my *Legacy to the Parsons*.

Now, sir, I beg you to believe, that I am not actuated, in saying this, or in doing anything that I do, by any feeling of resentment against anybody, nor by any desire to have any share in that *awful*

which the frightened imagination of your advocates have conjured up. The idea of. I am actuated solely by a desire of preparing the country for that which I know *must come*. I wish to blame nobody; but, being convinced that my opinions are correct, I wish to make them known; and I wish (and that is all that I wish for in this world) to be known by my countrymen to be a man of understanding; I wish to have the reputation of possessing great knowledge as to the affairs of my country; and I wish to prove that I apply that knowledge for the good of my country. You can have no successors, who can remain your successors, without making those great changes which are necessary to prevent a greater and more fearful change. There may be men to imagine, that they can cajole the country along, by doing *these* things. Those men will deceive themselves. The present circumstances set majorities and minorities at defiance: a combination, cemented by an oath, consisting of every man of property in the country could not long cause fifty millions of taxes to be collected with wheat at four-and-sixpence a bushel. The aristocracy and the clergy of England are now tasting the bitter fruits of the sweet victory of WATERLOO, and of their war that preceded it. "*As the end approacheth*, there will be an everlasting "*chopping and changing of Ministry*," till, at last, no one will undertake to carry on this system, who does not stand in absolute need of the necessities of life."

You once called in question my gift of prophecy; but this, which was written and published in 1828, looks very much like the possession of such gift. The truth is, however, that there was no particular gift wanted, to be able to foresee this. To be able to foresee this required only the leading of a sober life, and the making use of unsophisticated common sense.

I have witnessed the display of your talents with great admiration; though, in the case of the malt-tax, I detested the purpose for which those talents were employed. You have been more frank and fair than your predecessors were; but your country has to lament that you had

the support of those predecessors, in opposing one of those measures which would have afforded relief to the country.

I am,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW BILL.

(From the Brighton Patriot, 7. April.)

EASTBOURNE.—The annual meeting of this parish for the election of the parochial officers took place on Monday, at which nothing particular occurred, except the hoisting a red flag on the poor-house the night previous by some person or persons unknown. It is rumoured that one was hoisted at Alfreton with the inscription, "Death or Liberty." The feeling here is very strong against the Poor-law Bill.

Now, *mind*, I do implore the Ministers not to proceed with this bill, for the present, at least.

DIVISION

ON LORD J. RUSSELL'S MOTION,
30. March.

MAJORITY.

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| Acheson, Lord | Belfast, Earl of |
| Adam, Admiral | Bellew, Richard M |
| Aglionhy, Henry A | Bellew, Sir P, Bart |
| Ainsworth, Peter | Berkeley, Captain |
| Angerstein, John | Berkeley, Hon C |
| Alston, Rowland | Berkeley, Hon G |
| Anson, Sir George | Bernal, Ralph |
| Andover, Lord | Bewes, Thomas |
| Astley, Sir Jacob, Bart | Biddulph, Robert |
| Attwood, Thomas | Bish, Thomas |
| Bagshaw, John | Blackburne, J J |
| Baines, Edward | Blake, Martin J |
| Bainbridge, Edw T | Blamire, William |
| Bannerman, Alexander | Blunt, Sir Charles |
| Barclay, David | Bodkin, John James |
| Barham, John | Bowes, John |
| Baring, Francis T | Bowring, Dr |
| Barnard, Edward G | Brabazon, Sir Wm |
| Barron, Henry W | Brady, Denis C |
| Barry, Garret S | Bridgman, Hewitt |
| Beauclerk, Major | Brocklehurst, John |
| Beaumont, T W | Brodie, William B |

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Brotherton, Joseph | Fitzsimon, Chris |
| Brown, Rt Hon D | Fitzsimon, Nicholas |
| Buckingham, J S | Folkes, Sir Wm |
| Buller, Charles | Fort, John |
| Bulwer, H L | Fox, Lieut-Colonel |
| Bulwer, E L | Gaskell, Daniel |
| Butler, Hon. Pierce | Gillon, Wm Downe |
| Buxton, T F | Gisborne, Thomas |
| Byng, Sir John | Gordon, Robert |
| Byng, George | Goring, Harry Dent |
| Campbell, Sir J | Grant, Rt Hon C |
| Campbell, W F | Grattan, Henry |
| Carter, J B | Grattan, James |
| Cave, R O | Grey, Sir Geo, Bart |
| Cavendish, Hon C C | Grey, Hon Charles |
| Cavendish, Hon G H | Grosvenor, Lord R |
| Cayley, Edward S | Grote, George |
| Chalmers, Patrick | Guest, Josiah John |
| Chapman, M L | Gully, John |
| Chichester, J P | Hall, Benjamin |
| Clay, William | Hallyburton, Hon D G |
| Clements, Lord | Handley, Henry |
| Clive, Edward Bolton | Harland, W Charles |
| Cobbett, Wm | Harvey, D Whittle |
| Cockerell, Sir C, Bart | Hawes, Benjamin |
| Codrington, Sir E | Hay, Colonel Leitch |
| Colborne, N W R | Hawkins, J Heywood |
| Collier, John | Heathcote, R E |
| Conyngham, Lord A | Heathcote, John |
| Cookes, T | Hector, C |
| Copeland, W T | Heneage, Edward |
| Cowper, Hon W F | Heron, Sir R, Bart |
| Crawford, William | Hindley, Charles |
| Crawford, Wm S | Hodges, T |
| Crawley, Samuel | Hodges, Thomas Law |
| Crompton, Samuel | Hoskins, Kedgwin |
| Curtis, Herbert B | Howard, Hon E |
| Curtis, Captain | Howard, Philip H |
| Dalmney, Lord | Howard, Ralph |
| De Beauvoir, Sir J | Howick, Viscount |
| Denison, John E | Hume, Joseph |
| Denison, Wm J | Hurst, Robert Henry |
| Dennistoun, Alexander | Hutt, William |
| Divett, Edward | Kemp, Thomas Read |
| Dobbin, Leonard | Kennedy, James |
| Don, O'Connor | Kerry, Earl of |
| Donkin, Sir R | King, Edward B |
| Duncombe, Hon. T S | Labouchere, Henry |
| Dunlop, Colin | Lambton, Heworth |
| Dykes, F L | Langton, Colonel |
| Ebrington, Lord | Leader, John Temple |
| Elphinstone, Howard | Lefevre, Charles S |
| Ellice, Rt Hon E | Lennard, Thomas B |
| Etwall, Ralph | Lister, C |
| Evans, Col De Lacy | Littleton, Rt Hon E J |
| Evans, George | Loch, James |
| Ewart, William | Long, Walter |
| Fazakerley, John N | Lushington, Dr. |
| Fellowes, Hon N | Lushington, Charles |
| Ferguson, R | Lynch, A H |
| Ferguson, Sir R | Mackenzie, J S |
| Fergus, John | Macleod, Roderick |
| Ferguson, Rt Hon C | Macnamara, Major |
| Fielden, John | McCance, John |
| Finn, Wm Francis | M'Taggart, John |
| Fitzgibbon, Hon Col | Maher, John |
| Fitzroy, Lord Charles | Mangles, James |

Majoribanks, S
Marshall, William
Marshland, W
Martin, T B
Maule, Hon Fox
Methuen, Paul
Milton, Lord
Molesworth, Sir W
Moieton, Hon A
Mostyn, Hon E
Morpeth, Lord
Mullins, F
Murray, John Arch
Musgrave, Sir R, Bart
Nagle, Sir R, Bart
O'Brien, Wm Smith
O'Brien, Cornelius
O'Connell, Morgan J
O'Connell, Daniel
O'Connell, Maurice
O'Connell, Morgan
O'Connell, John
O'Connor, Feargus
O'Dwyer, A C
O'Fwall, R M
Oliphant, Laurence
O'Loughlin, M
Ord, William Henry
Ord, William
Oswald, R A
Oswald, James
Palmer, R
Paget, Captain
Parnell, Rt Hon Sir H
Parrott, Jasper
Pattison, James
Pease, Joseph
Pechell, Captain
Pelham, Hon C A
Pendarves, E W
Pepps, C
Peirin, Sergeant
Philips, George R
Phillips, Mark
Pinney, William
Ponsonby, Hon J
Potter, Richard
Poulter, John
Power, P
Powel, James
Price, Sir Robert, Bart
Pryme, George
Pryse, Pryse
Ramsbottom, John
Ramsden, John C
Rice, Rt Hon T S
Rippon, Cuthbert
Roberts, Abraham W
Robinson, George R
Roche, William
Roche, David
Roebuck, J
Rofse, R M
Ronayne, Dominick
Rooper, J Bonfoy
Rundell, John
Russell, Lord

Russell, Lord John
Russell, Lord C
Ruthven, Edward
Ruthven, E S
Schofield, Joshua
Scott, James W
Scrope, George
Seale, Colonel
Seymour, Lord
Sharpe, General
Sheldon, E R
Sheil, Richard L
Simeon, Sir R, Bart
Smith, Benjamin
Smith, Abel
Smith, Robert V
Smith, Hon R
Speirs, Captain
Spiers, A G
Stanley, Hon H
Stanley, Edward
Stewart, Robert
Stewart, P Maxwell
Strickland, Sir George
Strutt, Edward
Stuart, Lord J
Stuart, Lord D
Sullivan, Richard
Surrey, Earl of
Talbot, C M R
Talfourd, Sergeant
Tancred, H
Tennyson, Rt Hon C
Thompson, Paul B
Thornelley, Thomas
Tooke, William
Tracey, Charles H
Trelawney, Sir S
Trowbridge, Sir T
Tulk, Charles A
Turner, William
Tynte, C
Tynte, Colonel C
Villiers, Charles P
Vivian, Major
Vivian, John Henry
Wakley, Thomas
Walker, A
Wallace, Robert
Warburton, Henry
Ward, George Henry
Westenra, Col
Westenra, Hon H
Whalley, Sir S
White, Samuel
Wigney, Isaac N
Wilbraham, George
Wilde, Sergeant
Wilkins, Walter
Williams, William
Williams, Sir J
Williams, Wm A
Williamson, Sir H
Wilson, Henry
Winnington, Sir T
Winnington, H
Wood, Matthew

Wood, Charles
Wrightson, W B

Wrottesley, Sir J
Wyse, T

MINORITY.

Agnew, Sir A Bart
Alford, Lord
Ainsley, Captain
Arbuthnot, Hon G H
Archdall, M
Ashley, Lord
Ashley, Hon H
Attwood, Matthias
Bagot, Hon Wm
Bailey, Joseph
Baillie, Colonel
Balfour, J
Bardley, Charles
Baring, Thomas
Baring, H Bingham
Baring, Wm B
Baring, Francis
Baring, Right Hon A
Barnes, John
Bateson, Sir E Bart
Beckett, Rt Hon Sir J
Bell, Matthew
Bennett, John
Bentinck, Lord Geo
Beresford, Sir J
Bethell, Richard
Blackburne, J J
Blackstone, Wm S
Boldero, Captain
Bolling, Wm
Bonham, Francis R
Borthwick, Peter
Bradshaw, James
Bramston, Thomas W
Brownrigg, J S
Bruce, Lord E
Bruce, C L C
Brudenell, Lord
Bruen, Colonel
Bruen, Francis
Buller, Sir J
Burrell, Sir C
Calcraft, J H
Campbell, Sir H P
Canning, Rt Hon Sir
Carruthers, David
Castlereagh, Viscount
Chandos, Marquis of
Chaplin, Colonel
Chapman, Aaron
Charlton, E L
Chatterton, Col
Chetwynd, Captain
Chichester, Arthur
Churchill, Lord C
Clerk, Sir G, Bart
Clive, Viscount
Clive, Hon R H
Codrington, C W
Cole, Viscount
Cole, Hon A
Compton, Henry C
Conolly, Col
Cooper, E J
Coote, Sir C H, Bart
Corbett, T G
Corry, Rt Hon H
Crowe, Sir G, Bart
Cripps, Joseph
D'Almeida, Sir C
Damer, G L D
Darlington, Earl of
Davenport, John
Dick, Quintin
Dottin, Abel Rous
Dowdeswell, William
Duffield, Thomas
Dugdale, W S
Duncombe, Capt A
Duncombe, Hon W
Dundas, Robert A
Durham, Sir P
East, James Buller
Easton, Viscount
Eaton, Richard J
Egerton, Wm Tatton
Egerton, Sir P
Egerton, Lord Francis
Entwistle, John
Estcourt, Thomas G B
Fancourt, Major C
Fector, John Minet
Ferguson, Capt G
Ferguson, Sir R A
Feilden, William
Finch, George
Fleetwood, Peter II
Flaming, John
Foley, Edw Thomas
Follett, Sir W
Forbes, Lord
Forbes, William
Forester, Hon G C
Forster, Charles S
Fremantle, Sir T, Bt
Freshfield, James W
Gaskell, James M
Geary, Sir W
Gladstone, Thomas
Gladstone, Wm E
Glynne, Sir S R
Goodricke, F L H
Gordon, Capt Wm
Gore, Wm Ormsby
Goulburn, Rt Hon H
Graham, Rt Hon Sir J
Grant, Hon Colonel
Greene, T G
Greisley, Sir R, Bart
Greville, Hon Sir C
Grimston, Viscount
Grinston, Hon E
Halford, Henry
Halse, James

| | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Hamilton, Lord C. | Morgan, Chas. M. R. | Tennent, J. E. | Wall, Charles Baring |
| Hammer, Sir J. Bart | Mosley, Sir O. Bart | Thomas, Colonel | Walpole, Lord |
| Hammer, Col H. | Neeld, Joseph | Thompson, P. B. | Welby, Glynne Earle |
| Harcourt, George V. | Neeld, John | Thompson, W. | Weyland, Major |
| Hardinge, Sir Henry | Nichol, John | Townley, R. G. | Whitmore, Thos. C. |
| Hardy, John | Nichols, Lord | Townsend, Lord J. | Wilbraham, Hon. R. |
| Hawkes, Thomas | North, F. | Tranch, Sir Frederick | Williams, R. |
| Hay, Sir John, Bart | O'Neill, Hon. Gen. | Trevor, Hon. G. R. | Williams, Thomas P. |
| Hayes, Sir E. S., Bart | Ossulston, Lord | Trevor, Hon. Arthur | Wilmot, Sir E. E., Bart |
| Henniker, Lord | Owen, Sir John, Bart | Turner, T. F. | Wodehouse, E. |
| Herbert, Hon. Sidney | Palmer, Robert | Twiss, Horace | Wood, Col. T. |
| Herries, Rt. Hon. J. C. | Parry, Col. | Tyrrill, Sir J. | Worcester, Marq. of |
| Hill, Lord Arthur | Patten, John Wilson | Vera, Sir C. | Wynndham, Wadham |
| Hill, Sir Rowland, Bt. | Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R., Bt. | Verner, Colonel | Wynn, Sir W., Bart |
| Hogg, James Weir | Peel, Colonel | Vernon, Granville H. | Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. |
| Hope, Hon. James | Peel, Rt. Hon. W. | Vesey, Hon. Thomas | Yorke, Elliott Thomas |
| Hope, Henry T. | Peel, Edmund | Vivian, John Ennis | Young, John |
| Hotham, Lord | Pelham, John C. | Vyvyan, Sir R. | Young, Sir W. |
| Hoy, James Barlow | Pemberton, Thomas | | |
| Hughes, W. Hughes | Pennington, J. H. | | |
| Ingils, Sir E. | Perceval, Colonel | | |
| Irton, Samuel | Phillips, Charles M. | | |
| Jackson, Joseph D. | Pigg, Robert | | |
| Jermyn, Earl | Plumpton, John P. | | |
| Johnson, J. H. | Polhill, Captain | | |
| Johnston, A. | Pollock, Sir J. | | |
| Johnstone, Sir J. | Pollington, Lord | | |
| Jones, Capt. T. | Pollock, Sir F. | | |
| Jones, Wilson | Powell, Colonel | | |
| Kelly, Frederick | Poyntz, Wm. Stephen | | |
| Kerr, David | Præd, Winthrop M. | | |
| Kerrison, Sir Edward | Præd, James B. | | |
| Kirk, Peter | Price, Samuel Grove | | |
| Knatchbull, Sir E. | Price, Richard | | |
| Lawson, Andrew | Fringe, A. | | |
| Lee, John Lea | Pusey, Philip | | |
| Lefroy, Anthony | Rae, Rt. Hon. Sir W., Bt. | | |
| Lushington, Rt. Hon. S. | Reid, Sir J. Roe, Bart. | | |
| Law, Hon. C. E. | Richards, John | | |
| Lefroy, Rt. Hon. T. | Rickford, William | | |
| Lemon, Sir C., Bart. | Ridley, Sir M., Bart. | | |
| Lennox, Lord G. | Ross, Charles | | |
| Lennox, Lord Arthur | Rushbrook, Col. E. | | |
| Lewis, Wyndham | Russell, Charles | | |
| Lewis, David | Ryle, John | | |
| Leycester, Joseph | Sanderson, Richard | | |
| Lincoln, Earl of | Sandon, Lord | | |
| Lopes, Sir I. alph, Bart. | Scarlett, Hon. R. | | |
| Lowther, Lord | Scott, Lord John | | |
| Lowther, John H. | Scott, Sir E. D. | | |
| Lowther, Hon. H. C. | Scourfield, W. H. | | |
| Lucas, Edward | Shaw, Rt. Hon. F. | | |
| Lygon, Hon. Col. | Sheppard, Thomas | | |
| Mackinnon, W. A. | Sibthorp, Colonel | | |
| Maclean, Donald | Sinclair, G. | | |
| Mahon, Lord | Smith, A. | | |
| Mandeville, Viscount | Smith, T. A. | | |
| Manners, Lord Robert | Smyth, Sir G. H., Bart. | | |
| Marland, Thomas | Somerset, Lord E. | | |
| Martin, John | Somerset, Lord G. | | |
| Mathew, Captain | Spry, Sir Samuel | | |
| Maxwell, Henry | Staley, Edward | | |
| Meynell, Capt. | Stanley, Lord | | |
| Miles, William | Stewart, Sir M. S., Bart. | | |
| Miles, Philip J. | Stewart, John | | |
| Miller, Wm. | Stormont, Lord | | |
| Mordaunt, Sir J. Bart. | Sturt, H. | | |

PAIRED OFF.

FOR AGAINST

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Talbot, G. R. M. | Neel, Sir G. |
| Humphrey, John | Kavanagh, Thomas |
| Dundas, Hon. T. | Wortley, Hon. J. |
| Burdett, Sir Francis | Vaughan, Sir R. |
| Parker, John | Goulburn, E. |
| Wemyss, Capt. | Tollmach, Hon. A. |
| Edwards, Colonel | Owen, Hugh |
| Hobhouse, Sir J. C., Bt. Locke, Wadham | |

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 3.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

HARWOOD, J., Over Darwin, Lancashire, cotton-cloth-manufacturer.
 HOLDEN, J., Bacup, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

BOARDMAN, B., Norwich, tailor.
 BYAS, D., Oxford-street, upholsterer.
 COWDEROY, C., Mansion-house-street, Kensington, grocer.
 FOX, W., Weston-hill, Norwood, victualler.
 HILL, J., South Millford, Yorkshire, teasle-dealer.
 MADDOX, J. G., Bristol, druggist.
 MALLETT, J., East-street, Walworth, grocer.
 NICHOLS, R., Wakefield, Yorkshire, book-seller.
 ROBINSON, W., George-street, Mansion-house, printer.
 ROOTH, J., Skidland, Derbyshire, corn-factor.
 SMITH, J. S., and J. G. Bird, Manchester, merchants.
 SMITH, T., jun., East Grinstead, Sussex, chemist.
 TAYLER, J., Coleman-street, merchant.
 THOMAS, J., Colles-wharf, Thomas-street, Horselydown, granary-keeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

WATSON, A., Bridge-castle, writer to the signet.

TUESDAY, APRIL 7.

INSOLVENTS.

GORTON, William, Gutter-lane, provision-merchant.

HARVIE, Thomas, Jerusalem Coffeehouse, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BALLENY, J., Tynemouth, Northumberland, farmer.

COUCH, F. P., Launceston, Cornwall, horse-dealer.

DYSON, R., Gloucester-street, Queen-square, tailor.

GRATWICK, Edw. W., Goswell-street, tea-dealer.

MORRIS, J., sen., and J. Morris, jun., St. Martin's lane, auctioneers.

MORRIS, J., Carmarthen, ironmonger.

RUDDOCK, J., late of King-street, Portman-square, livery-stable-keeper.

RUSSELL, E., and William Philip Masters Croft, New Tothill-street, Westminster, tobacco-nists.

SALSBURY, C., Hull, hatter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 6.—We have had but a moderate supply of Wheat, Flour, Barley, and other articles, since this day week, except of Irish Oats, of which there was an arrival of about twenty vessels this morning, mostly a long time shipped, and detained by contrary winds.

We experienced a dull sale for Wheat, and malting Barley and Malt this morning, at a reduction of 1s. per quarter from last Monday's prices.

In prices of Beans, Peas, and grinding Barley no alteration.

For Oats we have experienced a ready sale since this day week, at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter over last Monday's prices.

In Corn under lock nothing doing.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 42s. to 50s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 38s. to 42s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 41s. |
| White | 42s. to 43s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 40s. to 42s. |
| Northumbel. & Berwick | 36s. to 39s. |
| Fine white | 37s. to 41s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 40s. to 42s. |
| Irish red, good | 35s. to 38s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 34s. |
| New | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 20s. to 25s. |

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 41s. to 44s. |
| Fine new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Harrow, new | 38s. to 39s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Poland | 28s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 23s. to 25s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 24s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 24s. |
| Black | 24s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick | 26s. to 27s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 25s. to 26s. |
| Potato | 26s. to 28s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 21s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 22s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed | 12s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, April 6.

In this day's market, which was, throughout, moderately well supplied, trade was, with prime small Lamb, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 4d. per stone; with the large and inferior kinds, as also with Beef, Mutton, and Veal, dull, at Friday's quotations.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Norfolk homebreds, Devons, Shorthorns, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, were for the most part (say 1,500 of them), from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200 of them, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, Herefords, and runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 150, chiefly Sussex beasts; with a few Devons, and Welsh runts, from Kent, Sussex and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including from 40 to 50 last Townsend-cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

Rally, two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, for the most part out of their wool, in about equal numbers of the South Down and white-faced crosses; about a sixth South-downs, and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breeds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scots and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 800, consisted of about equal numbers of Dorsets, and new Leicesters, with a few pens of long-wooled Southdowns, and Kentish half-breds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. | |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 2 | to | 2 | 4 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 8 | to | 3 | 0 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | to | 3 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | to | 4 | 0 |
| Veal | 3 | 6 | to | 5 | 0 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | to | 6 | 4 |

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| * Cons Ann. } | 91½ | 92 | 92½ | 91½ | 91½ | 92½ |

Just published,

A LATIN GRAMMAR, for the use of English Boys; being, an Explanation of the Rudiments of the Latin Language. By JAMES PAUL COBBETT.

PRICE 3s., boards.

FOURTH PATENT.—Perryian. Regulating Spring Pen, by which any degree of flexibility is instantly obtained. Nine Pens, with Holder, 2s. 6d. Elastic Fountain Pen, will write more than thirty lines with one dip of Ink, and never fatigues the hand. Nine Pens, with Holder, 2s. 6d. India-Rubber-Spring Pen, Double Patent Pen, and all other sorts of the Perryian Pens at the usual prices.

Sold on Cards, by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion Square, London.

HORTICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.

As Spring approaches, the rapid propagation and increase of insects on valuable Plants and choice Fruit Trees demands the most prompt and efficient means of preventing their destructive depredations; and for this purpose, after an experience of 30 years' practice in the science of Horticulture, J. READ begs most respectfully to call the attention of Ladies, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Gardeners, Nurserymen, and every person engaged in the cultivation of Trees and Plants, to his most IMPROVED PATENT GARDEN MACHINE, for raising and forcing fluids. The action of this Machine is so light that it may be used even by a Lady, and by the most easy process water may be thrown upon Plants, or the most

choice Fruit Trees, in the fine form of dew or gentle shower, and, when necessary, increased to a powerful current.

J. READ has also constructed upon the above new principle a GARDEN and LOCAL FIRE ENGINE, which will answer every Horticultural purpose during the summer months; and with the addition of an extra lever, by which four men can work, the power will then be equal to a Fire Engine. The valves are so arranged they cannot get out of place or out of repair; and if standing by for six months the Engine will be fit and ready for use in five minutes.

Manufactured and Sold by the Patentee, 35, Regent Circus, Piccadilly.

RHEUMATISM.

HIS Majesty's Royal Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a medicated band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary connected with our London Hospitals whose case had baffled every medicine that was quack, and every medicine that was not quack; has sent Mr. Coles his written testimonial, which may be seen at 3, Charing-Cross. He admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease; and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. Lord Skelmersdale had a coachman who was suffering a martyrdom to this complaint, declared, ere he had worn the Rheumatic Band five days he was more free from pain than he had been during the preceding five years. The Duchess of Sutherland's gardener, Mr. John Soar, could not walk from West Hill, Surrey, to order the Rheumatic Bands, but he was able to walk that distance, 12 miles, to pay for them and back again; and he begged Mr. Coles would let the world know that. The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY. Read Coles on Rheumatism.

To persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's Invention are the best, 3, Charing Cross, (Truss Maker to his Majesty's forces) from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence of his Patent Truss by the first Practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. M.P. in Boyle's Court Guide; Coles's Gazette, on Rupture, and Coles on Rheumatism.—Published and sold by Sherwood and Co., and William Strange, London. Each one penny, or sixpence per dozen.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 41, Bell-court, Fleet-street.



FAREWELL LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEELE.

AND A

HEARTY WELCOME TO HIS SUCCESSOR.

Normandy Farm, 13. April, 1835.

SIR,—How many fallen Prime Ministers (good God!) has it been my lot to address! PITT, ADDINGTON, GRENVILLE (not Perceval: he fell in a different way), LIVERPOOL, CANNING, GODERICH, WATERLOO, GREY, MEL (no, hang it! not Melbourne! not William Lamb, though he did advise the King to spare the life of Thomas Goodman. No: not William Lamb! The critics say, that mine is a *hatchet*, and not a razor. Hatchet as it may be, I will not venture to use it upon William Lamb), and now Sir Robert Peel!

Who next: in the devil's name *who next!* For, mind my words, I shall have his fall to record too; down he comes, mind, if he takes his stand, as you have done, on the *tithes*, the *malt-tax*, the *national faith*, the *pension-list*, and the *Poor-law Bill*. I care not *who* he may be, or by what party, or what number of Members supported; down events pull him, if he thus takes his stand.

I am about to address you, sir, on certain passages in your two very clever speeches of Tuesday the 7. and of Wednesday the 8. of this month of April. In the latter, where you announced your resignation, you said, "The whole of my life has been spent in the House of Commons, and I desire that the re-

mainder may be spent there; and whatever may be the conduct of others, I shall always be anxious to stand well with the House." It is quite surprising (for to suppose that you copied them, I do not) how nearly these words are to the very words, uttered by PITT, when, *fit*, a few years younger than you now are, quitted his place in 1801, to shove ADDINGTON into it; and, perhaps, you remember, (if you do not, I do), that he, who had a majority of five to one the day that he quitted his post, divided the House against ADDINGTON, in a few months afterwards, and found himself in a minority of *thirty-five* against *three hundred* and odd. Things, however, are changed. We have got a part of that reform, in order to prevent which, eight hundred millions of debt were contracted; and what is a great deal more than that, we are lopping off expenses, and drawing in paper-money, instead of augmenting expenses and putting out paper-money, as in the time of PITT and ADDINGTON. Therefore it is that the votes do not stick so closely as they did to the bench on which the Ministers sits. The people come in now, and they have something to say; and be you assured, sir, that pledge-breaking will not serve a second time. Do not you remember, sir, that in the session of 1833, you, standing at the table and looking across it, and waving your hand towards the Treasury-bench, said, in parodying the words of Dives to LAZARUS, "Between me and office I see a great gulf." There sat Lord ARTHUR to represent father ASAPHAM; but I really did think that you then wished to be in his seat, instead of his bosom; and I said to myself, "What a clever and what a weak man this is! he talks so well that he never thinks it worth while to think; if he did, he would shun that seat as a sailor shuns the rocks." The man that is there now has too much sense not to be ashamed and afraid of his majorities." They talk of his being Minister again. If that be true, he must resolve upon a thorough change

of the whole system, or he must be mad. He was the only man that could have pushed the system along for any length of time; and even he could not have done it for above a year or two, with all the chances of confusion. When you came you had no chance of remaining in power, without a lightening of the burdens of the people at once; and Lord CHANDOS showed his soundness of judgment when he declined to take part in the Ministry, unless you agreed to a repeal of the malt-tax.

But now, sir, I come to other and higher matter. In your speech of Tuesday the 7. instant, I find the following passage. "Look, I warn you, to what you are about to do; you are entering on *new scenes*, and broaching bold and *strange principles*. To these scenes and those principles there will be, for there can be, no limitation, no check, but in the destruction of the Protestant church. (Cheers). I, sir, am not unconscious of the difficulties of the present time. I see well the embarrassments that surround us. I see the erroneous and vicious doctrines respecting property that are beginning to be set afloat. I see the busy spirits that are at work to unsettle the public mind and heaven the nation. I would, then, most unfeignedly labour to remove those difficulties, and produce general security and repose; and I shall make every effort consistent with honour and public principle, and a regard for the public interest, to retain the post to which the favour of the Sovereign has called me."

Why, sir, as to "*new scenes*," and as to "*strange principles*," what is more new than the scenes now exhibited by your *poor-law commissioners*; what is a newer scene to Englishmen than your dagger-bearing, Bourbon-like police, hundreds of whom are notoriously and avowedly employed as spies? What more new then, after passing a dozen of acts of Parliament to prevent the sale of game; after twelve hundred years holding game and deer to be wild animals, *not private property*, not things raised for profit, and, therefore, not

titheable; what more new than to see the poor transported for being in pursuit of these animals, and to see the nobility and gentry, as they call themselves, become carcass-butchers, as to the deer, and become feeders, higglers, and poulterers, as to the game? What more strange than that new criminal code, of being the author of which you boast? What more hostile to every principle of the laws of England for more than a thousand years? What more new than setting aside the trial by jury, in five hundred instances? You talk of *standing by the constitution*. Why, what is the constitution? It is nowhere written in a book. It consists of the whole body of the common and fundamental laws of the country. And who, I pray, have done so much to set these fundamental laws aside as yourself and WATERLOO? WATERLOO tells us, that the Poor-law Bill is the law. Why, yes it is, to be sure; and it was the law that men should be punished for selling game; it was the law that a poor man could not be punished for a trespass without a trial by jury; and it was the law that the parishoners might inform against the parson, if he did not reside upon his living; and it was the law, that the overseers of the poor, being rate-payers in the parish, should have the power of relieving the poor.

In your speech of the 8. you say, that you never would advise the resignation "of that great source of moral strength," which consists in a strict adherence to the principles of the spirit of the constitution of the country." Pretty statement, to come from a man who invented the Bourbon-like police; who invented the new and tenfold hardened criminal code; who brought in the bill to enable a single justice of the peace to punish, criminally, that which was before simple trespass, liable to action and triable before a jury; and who, in the same act, kept the great trespasser out of the hands of the justice of the peace, and compelled the injured party to resort to an action at law; pretty observation, to come from a man who has had more hand in making a change in the constitution, in making a change in the very nature of the Government, than any man

that ever lived; pretty observation to come from a man, who, when DENMAN proposed to do away with the *transportation* for being in pursuit of game, urged him to preserve that new punishment; and, to his great shame, and I really believe his great sorrow, prevailed on the Whig Ministry to preserve it; and there it is now, filling the jails and the hulks. It is not for you to talk, then, of a strict adherence to the principles and spirit of the constitution.

And now, sir, as to "the difficulties" of the present time, and the "embarrassments" that surround us! What "difficulties" and "embarrassments," at the end of twenty years of profound peace, coming after a *glorious* and successful war of twenty-two years! What "difficulties" and "embarrassments" surrounding us, after having made so many conquests, and delivered so many nations! Are we plunged into difficulties and embarrassments ourselves, while we have been delivering others? Was it to get everlasting difficulties and embarrassments in peace, that we paid a thousand millions of taxes, and that you borrowed six hundred millions of money besides to carry on the war? What will WATERLOO say to this? He has had about a million of our money for his services in the war, which was to obtain us lasting happiness and peace; which was to give us "INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE." The indemnity we have in fifty annual millions of taxes, with wheat at five shillings a bushel: our security is described by yourself, in the difficulties and embarrassments by which we are surrounded. WATERLOO has won us a loss then! He and his "companions in arms," like the learned friends in a Chancery suit, are the only parties that have gained. The old satirical picture exhibiting the lawyer with a fat oyster between his teeth, presenting a shell to each of the parties who had been at law, is not a bad representation of WATERLOO standing between the ruined English, and the not less ruined French. And here we are, then, steeped in "difficulties" and "embarrassments," having for our compensation and consolation, "one

coloured flag," presented by WATERLOO every 15 of June, to the King at Windsor Castle, as an acknowledgment for the grant of STRATHFIELDSAY.

That is enough, I think, as to the wonderful circumstance of our being in difficulties and embarrassments. But, sir, what are our present difficulties? They are very simple in their nature. We have about two hundred thousand farmers, and three times the number of tradesmen, in a state of *real insolvency*; we have millions of working people, inadequately employed, from the poverty of the employers. We have a large part of our lands becoming barren, for want of labour bestowed upon them; and we have a Poor-law Bill, exciting bitterness in the breasts of millions, besides which, we have county-rates fast rivaling the expenses of relieving the poor. Now what are the causes of this state of things? The cause is one, generally speaking: the weight of the taxes in proportion to the price of the produce. You had as much to do as most, men in imposing the taxes. You obstinately refused to lessen their amount, and you gladly accepted of *pledge-breaking* to uphold you in your refusal. In the speech which you put into the mouth of the King, you spoke of the local charges on the land. I have proved to you before, that the poor-rates have not increased, but in the proportion to the amount of the taxes. The county-rates have increased, I think, tenfold; and this increase arises *entirely* from your meddling with law-making. It is your new laws (so directly contrary to the very soul of English law) paying people for being prosecutors; it is this, and this alone, and your new trespass-law, and your poaching transportation-law, which have been the cause of the increase of the county-rates.

So that if you have difficulties you have yourself to blame. Your bill of 1819, which was rather more yours than that of anybody else, unaccompanied as it was with a reduction of the interest of the debt, has inflicted more injury than ever existed in the world before in any one country. I do not accuse you alone of having produced the difficulties and embarrassments; but I say that you have had

more to do in the producing of them than any other man in the country; and you now seem to think that it is your bounden duty to persevere in the same course. So that let us, I pray you, have no whining about difficulties and embarrassments. I told you of them often enough, God knows, before you got into them. I told you what you must do in order to avoid them. You have rushed into them in spite of my advice; and now we are going to see what a return you make me for that advice which I offered you, with a sincere desire that you would carry us through, or rather pull us aside from, these difficulties and embarrassments.

In your speech of the 7th, from which I have made the above extract, you immediately after speaking of the difficulties and embarrassments that surround us, say, in the way of stating the cause of the difficulties and embarrassments, "I see the *erroneous* and *vicious* doctrines respecting property that are beginning to be set afloat. I see the *busy spirits* that are at work to unsettle the public mind and leave the nation."

Now, sir, I will not affect to believe that this was not intended for me; for who else is there that has set afloat any notions respecting property? Besides, that I remember what you said in calling upon all men of property to combine against me. This word "*property*" is everlasting upon your lips. You have a pretty large lump in one country and another; but one would think that you had it all, and that it was the very breath in your nostrils; like ARGAN in the *AVARE* of *MOLIERE*, who looked upon his casket of louis d'ors as the only thing in the whole world worth bestowing a thought upon. "C'est mon sang! C'est mon ame! Sans elle je n'a pas de vie." It is my blood; it is my life; without it I die. And having missed it, he sent for a commissary of police (one of your people), and told him to begin by arresting on suspicion all the town and all the suburbs! I do not pretend to believe that you at all resemble this wretched old miser, but really your everlasting worry about property always does put me in mind of the *Avare*. Who wants your property? Who is there that wants to take away

other people's property? Who is there that puts forth any doctrines to lessen the sacredness of property? I know, and all my readers know, that you allude to my "*Legacy to Labourers*"; and it is very true that most efficient and practical doctrines are there set afloat with regard to property, but not "*erroneous*" and "*vicious*" doctrines; on the contrary, the book is a book founded on the laws of God and the laws of England; every statement and every argument in it stands supported by a reference to those laws; and as to the security of property, which you would insinuate the book endeavours to shake, the whole book tends to the conclusion, which is expressed in these words:

"Oh, no! my friends, the working people of England! Let us resolve to hold fast to the laws of God, and the laws of England; let us continue to hold theft and robbery in abhorrence; let us continue to look upon the property of our neighbour as something which we ought not even to covet, and as, next after life and limb, the thing most sacred on earth; but, let us at the same time perish, rather than acknowledge that the holders of the lands have a right so to use them, as to cause the natives to perish of hunger or of cold."

These are the very words with which the book concludes. How, then, can the doctrines of the book be said to be "*erroneous*" and "*vicious*"? It is, in fact, a law-book, small as it is; a succinct, simple, and yet ample exposition of the laws of England with regard to the origin and rights of property; and there is no man who is not like old ARGAN in the play, frightened at the thought of losing his money, or his land, or his goods, who will not say that every working man who has no property but his labour, will, when he has read this book, have a clearer idea of the sacredness of acquired property than he ever had before. If this be not so, however, why not answer the book? I will be bound to say, that more than two hundred thousand working men have already read this book. If the doctrines be *erroneous* and *vicious*, why not counteract them by answering the book? You must know that they are

erroneous and vicious before you say it, or at least you must believe what you say. Why not, then, bestow a week or two in answering the book. You have a good *twenty thousand parsons* at your command. Cannot you find *one* out of the twenty thousand to answer a book which you may carry in your breeches-pocket, and the price of which is sixteen pence? If it be worth alluding to, it is worth answering; and you may be quite sure that to *censure* and not to answer is to give currency to, and to stamp as truth, that which you call erroneous and vicious.

It is pretty curious, that you yourself, when in power before, along with WATERLOO, said, in your place in Parliament, that the *greatest evil* existing in this country was, "the accumulation of property in too few hands." I dare say that you remember that I said at the time, that nothing could be *more true* than this; but that I, if I had been in the place of WATERLOO, who was then headman over you, as you have recently been headman over him, and had had this *same system* to carry on, I would have sent for you, and would have made my footman horsewhip you within an inch of your life. I would have said: "Why, don't you see that this is the very thing that that jacobin GOSSETT has been preaching up for these twenty years past? Don't you hear him complaining of *monopolists*? Don't you hear him talk of *bull-frog farmers*, each of whom has got half a dozen farms in his hands? Don't you hear him complain of the *pike* that are swallowing up first the manure, and then the dace and the trout? Don't you hear him ascribing great heaps of riches to *trick and fraud and paper money*, and not to virtuous industry? Don't you hear him say, that the *aristocratical parsons* have beggared the working clergy, by taking to themselves a plurality of livings? Don't you hear him say, that *millionaire loan-jobbers* have swallowed up the estates and extinguished the families of the little gentry? Don't you hear him rail because *men are made poor*, merely because they have *sacks of gold* which they have got out of the nation? And finally, don't you hear him indulge in his vulgar ribaldry upon *the*

the poor," and "*spinning-jenny* *carrots*?" Go, go, sir, I should have said: your political philosophy may be very sound for anything that I know to the contrary, but I know that it does not suit the system that I have undertaken to carry on; and therefore be so good as to hold your tongue for the future on this subject, or else go and join the jacobin GOSSETT at once.

I have often wondered how you did come to say that which I have here cited; but every one must allow that, stated in the naked manner in which you stated it, it really had a tendency to shake the security of property, for if it were true (and it was true) that property was got into too few hands, the remedy was, a new distribution; or at least a putting a stop to the system which had caused the injurious accumulation. You stated *the evil*, and so did I before you; but the fault you find with me is, that I suggest a remedy; and my remedy is, not to do injustice to anybody, but merely to put a stop to future injustice, and to take away from those who wrongfully possess, that which they do wrongfully possess; and I repeat here, notwithstanding your invectives of the 16th of May 1833; notwithstanding your famous apostrophe:

"Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be;
"Come sink us rather in the sea.
"Come rather pestilence, and reap us down;
"Come God's sword, rather than our own.
"Let rather Roman come again,
"Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;
"In all the bonds we ever bore,
"We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never blushed before."

Notwithstanding this, and all that went before it, and came after it, notwithstanding all this, I would actually, if I had the power, put in practice, by means of an act of Parliament, that which so frightened you. What was it, to which the "eleventh plague," to which "sinking in the sea," to which "pestilence" and "God's sword," were to be preferred? What was this horrible thing which I had proposed? Why, to ascertain how every man in the kingdom, who had a considerable estate, came by

that estate. What harm was there in of, and that as mere salary only; just as this; but I have no objection to say, that if I made my motion against you relative I should particularly endeavour to ascertain, and I would ascertain, which of these estates had been purchased with money got out of the taxes; and then ascertain in what manner, and for what services, they had so been taken out of the taxes. I remember that BERRITT many times over, and in the most public manner, and amidst the loudest applause, told us that certain persons, who had received public money ought to be made to "*disgorge their past swallowings.*" However, if I had the power to act, I would not confine myself to words.

And now, sir, what was this proposition of mine more than what was very natural, after your own declaration of property being got into *too few hands*? If it were in too few hands, the remedy was, to put it into a greater number of hands; and the first step towards putting it into a greater number of hands was to ascertain whether any part, and what part, might be justly taken from the few, and by the means of relaxation of taxation dispersed amongst the many.

Notwithstanding, therefore, your invectives and your apostrophe, I cling to my proposition, and would act on it, if I had the power. No, sir, I defy any one to show that I have ever, directly or indirectly, inculcated a disregard of the laws of *property*. But, I may be allowed to doubt whether a *pension*, a *sinecure*, is property as sacred, as land, house, goods or money, acquired by industry, or coming by descent. I may be allowed to doubt whether we ought to look upon the military and naval half pay, to parsons as property. I may be allowed to doubt whether we ought to regard as property the immense sums taken away in tithes by clerical appropriators, while they leave the incumbent to be sad and clothed out of the *steeple*. Your *alarm*, if not a rhetorical flourish, in your speech of the 16th of May, 1833, considering yourself as an object of attack, as to property, was the most ridiculous ever witnessed by mortal man. Just as if I, enquired you your million or two of money; just as if I did not know that you never happened to receive public money worth speaking

of, and that as mere salary only; just as this; but I have no objection to say, that if I made my motion against you relative to the bill of 1819, in order to get at your money! This, therefore, was the most ridiculous whim that ever entered into a man's head, if it were not a mere flourish, as I said before. I want neither your lands, nor your funds, nor your town; nor the "*shares*" which the American newspapers (falsely, perhaps) say that you have in the canal, or the debt, of the State of *Pennsylvania*. I want nothing belonging to you; nor do I know any man that does; and never did know any such man; and I do not believe that there are twenty men in the whole kingdom, in the humbler walks of life, into whose heads it ever entered, that they should gain by a scramble for property.

But this has always been the case, ever since I have had any thing to do with political matters. Complain of any abuse, however monstrous; point out any peculator, however notorious, and however wicked; represent the people as suffering by having their money taken from them, by the tax-gatherer; complain of any burden, any oppression, any tyranny, or insolence, on the part of any person in power; and instantly you want a *revolution* and a *scramble*; and really one would think that some of our accusers are sincere in this respect; for, we find not a few of them, and those of the biggest, too, depositing their little pickings in bank-shares, rail-road shares, canal-shares, in the *United States of America*, of all places in the world! *Right Honourable*, and *noble*, and most *noble*, as they are, they condescend to act upon the vulgar proverb, of *not having all your eggs in one basket*. Loyal, as they are; and so firmly attached to *royal government*; they can lend their little pickings to a *republic*; and, certainly, not because they think it *less safe* there than at home. *Divers ladies*, too, whose minds one would think were absorbed by subjects connected with balls and drawing-rooms, and all the elegances of sublime life, have a mind that we, on this side of the Atlantic, shall not scramble for *all* that they have, at any rate. I will take an early opportunity of re-

publishing the *names* of the parties who have been named in the Congress of America as having American bank-stock and as having Pennsylvania debt or canal shares. Of all the truths contained in the Bible, none is of greater practical utility than this: that, "*Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also*"; and, so fully am I convinced of this truth, that if I were King, and had servants to choose, I would choose no one whom I knew to have made another country the place of deposit of his treasure. My servants should have all their eggs in one basket, whether they were few or many.

Talk of scramble, indeed; talk of enmity to the laws of property; talk of the *eleventh plague*; and, in the name of all that is quaint, why the *eleventh*? Talk of rather being drowned in the sea, and rather having God's sword to reap us down by pestilence; talk of *blushing*; who gives the best security of his attachment to the laws, and of his readiness to abide by the fate of his country; he who keeps his treasure in his native country, or deposits it in foreign lands? King Louis PHILIPPE had eighty thousand pounds in the English funds, after he was King Louis PHILIPPE. He divided his eggs at any rate; the poor galled and stupid French still cried *Vive Louis Philippe*.

Now, sir, with regard to the *busy spirits* that are at work to *unsettle* the public mind, and *heave* the nation. What do you mean by *unsettling*? It is to *settle* it, and not *unsettle* it. It must be a steady mind, indeed, if it remains settled, amidst the everlasting changes, not only in the measures of the Government, but in the persons who govern. You have been unsettling every thing for many years past; you have been changing all the laws, municipal as well as political. You have Bourbon-police; you have selling of game; you have commutation of tithes brought forward in a bill; you have a new marriage-act; you have fifty new laws about tithes in Ireland; you have a project for reforming the church in England. There has been a sort of reform of the Parliament itself; there is a bill in the Parliament to change

that act; you have a dozen bills for altering the common law; you have two-thousand-a-year Lewis and penny-a-line Chadwick at work, to upset the greatest law of the country, the law relating to the poor; and yet, amidst all your chop-pings and changings, and everlasting new laws and innovations; yet, amidst all this, you complain of persons at work to *unsettle* the public mind, and to *heave* the nation! Yes, *heave* it, as dough is heaved by the leaven or the yeast.

It is high time that it was *heaved*.

You squint at me; or, at least, I am one of the "*busy spirits*" engaged in this work; and, indeed, it would be pretty difficult to find a busier spirit, at any rate: I am not only endeavouring to *heave* the nation; but I *am* actually *heaving* it. In my "*Legacy to Labourers*" I have taught the nature, the origin, the laws of property: in my "*Legacy to Parsons*," I have, with the Statute-book constantly in my hand, laid the church and the clergy as naked as a fowl neatly picked and ready for the spit: in the "*Legacy to Lords*," I shall show, still with the Statute-book in my hands, how the aristocracy have treated the people for the last three hundred years; how they have gone on, taking the laws of their forefathers from them, and how they have grasped into their own hands the property of the industrious classes; and this LEGACY shall be in your hands before the Feast of St. MICHAEL next. With these three LEGACIES in their hands, this must be a lumpish nation, indeed, not to be *heaved*!

Now, sir, looking back at your famous apostrophe, I think it my duty thus to endeavour to *heave* this nation. But, at any rate, no one can dispute my right thus to use my power: that is clear, at least, as your's and Mr. Peel's right; and as GRAY and Mr. ROBERTS's right, to refuse (as you all ought to advise the King to restore me) *ten thousand pounds*, which was taken from me, in addition to my imprisonment and my bonds, for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militia-men, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets. You,

all of you, *choose* to do that; and I *choose* to write these little books.

I *myself know* that it is my *bounden duty* to endeavour to *heave* the nation; but, at any rate, *none of you* have any claim to be made acquainted with any thing relative to my *motives* for doing these things. Knowing, as I do, all about the treatment of the people by the aristocracy, what *motive*, then, can I want other than, as PORE says, "*the antipathy of good to bad*"? But, to accommodate you, and to make things plain, I have not the smallest objection to have these efforts of mine ascribed wholly to the *resentment which I feel, on account of the treatment that I myself have received*. Oppression was never yet abated by a simultaneous movement of minds: it inflicts injuries on the whole mass of a community; but, like a bullet fired into a crowd, it hits particular persons harder than the rest. The sufferings of these particular persons are greater than those of the mass: they leave resentment behind; and it is by communicating the feelings of individual resentment to the whole people, that oppression is abated, or checked, and that the freedom and happiness of the commonwealth are restored or preserved.

It is curious how this thing called the Government of England has worked along with regard to me. Since about the year 1797 it has grown into a *new sort of government*; and I do verily believe, that the history of *my life* will be the history of *its life*; for we have been at war from the day of its birth; or, at least, from its very infancy. It has, in its march, destroyed, or silenced every formidable assailant except myself; and the war between me and it is certainly as curious a matter as ever attracted the attention of mankind. I had been troublesome to it before 1810: I had mauled PERCY, and BABBINGTON, and GREENVILLE, and their *several crews*. The irresistibility of its power had been confirmed by the melancholy fate of so many victims, that I laid hold of me, expecting that one *good sharp bite* would be enough. It did bite sharply, to be sure. As the French say, it carried away the piece. It regarded surviving as impossible: it

was deceived for once: it never had to do with a plough-boy before. It is truly curious, that I, at that time, who had always hated cities, and London in particular; was actually entering into arrangements for getting rid of everything in London, publications and all; was sowing seeds of trees, and plants of trees, and making all my calculations for bringing up my family as farmers. Sometime in 1809 I had brought to me a copy of the *ex-officio* information of GIBBS, the Attorney-General. I was leaning over a gate, and looking at the turnips in a field, when the paper was put into my hands. I saw at once the *hell-born intention*, and I saw the *consequence*. The beautiful field disappeared, and, in my imagination, I saw the *walls of a prison*. My blood boiled with resentment, and, cramming the paper into my pocket, I made an *oath*, which I have kept with a little more fidelity than Tories keep their pledges.

Curious, again, that I am once more in a *farm*; but, as if afraid that twenty-five years might have blunted my resentment, the Greys and the Lambs began upon me again four years ago, and, as if both factions had agreed that my resentment ought to be *fresh sharpened up*, you yourself must needs thank DENMAN for his "*manly* prosecution of CORBETT!" Still, however, having got parliamentary reform in name, at any rate; having triumphed over so many foes; having seen so many, who wished to destroy me, laid sprawling at my feet; and, having, above all, been placed in a *seat in parliament*, by the free voice of the most sensible and virtuous body of persons that I have ever known; and having had given me for a colleague, a man, the sound of whose name conveys to the whole country, the idea of everything that is sensible, upright, and benevolent, my resentment was becoming blunted again; and, though I happened to know that Lord ALTHORP was for prosecuting me in 1831, I most sincerely wished him the honour of restoring the country to freedom. But the POOR-LAW BILL I could not stomach! That has revived all that was dying away in my breast. I have no *direct* power; but I have great

indirect power; and that I am using, and that I will use, to the utmost of that capacity which it has pleased God to give me, always remembering His promise to be the protector of him who considereth the poor.

Here, sir, there is no disguise as to rate, here is no underworking; if people do not see to the bottom of my motives, the fault is not mine. But what a childish thing it is in such a case, to talk about motives. Motives have nothing to do here, any more than they have with essays on grammar, or on arithmetic. It is with facts that we have to do here. I was determined in these Legacies of mine to keep clear of all disputable matters. They are books built entirely on the laws, and they admit of no answer from anybody who is not prepared to fling the statute-book into the fire, and to kindle the mass by returns laid before the Parliament. They admit of no answer. If their mischievous tendency be such, as you represent, how criminal it is in you not to endeavour at least to destroy their effect! You have on your side the ablest pens of the daily press; and in the Editor of the *Standard* I verily believe that you have also integrity and zeal. I shall send him a "*Legacy to Parsons*," as I sent him a "*Legacy to Labourers*." Will he attempt to answer it? No: but will be shocked; will be astounded at the facts which will come before him, and will at once join with me in his heart, whatever he may do with his lips, that it is utterly impossible to reform this church by anything short of that species and extent of change which he has hitherto deemed synonymous with overturning it.

Thus far, sir, for matters between you and me; and now, if I had time, I should beg leave to address to you some observations with regard to your SUCCESSOR. Who he is to be I cannot even guess, and will not try to guess; nor do I care one straw who he is to be, because he will have just the same thing to deal with; and according to his manner of dealing with it will be his fate. The *Treasury bench* is quite another thing than what it was in the time of *Lawpoor*. However, not having time for

anything more than giving your successor a hearty welcome to his post, and having settled accounts with you, I now, on the 18. of April, bid you farewell, expecting that to-morrow's post will enable me to address your successor by name.

And I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

("THE BUSY SPIRIT.")

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM,

On the present strange State of Public
Affairs.

Normandy Farm, 15. April, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,

This morning, long before four o'clock, I heard the blackbirds making the fields echo with their whistle; and a few minutes after four I, for the first time this year, heard the cuckoo, which I never before heard earlier than *May-day*. And now this cuckoo will, on *Midsummer-day*, cease to call us up in the morning, and cease its work of sucking the hedge-sparrow's eggs, depositing its own in the nest, making the poor hedge-sparrow bring it up, until it be big and strong enough to kill and eat the hedge-sparrow; in all which respects it so exactly resembles the at once lazy and greedy and ungrateful and cruel vagabonds, who devour the fruit of our labour, and who want to make us live on "a coarser sort of food." But, my friends, I do verily believe that, before we shall hear this harbinger of summer again, the vagabonds, of whom it is the type, will have received a course, such as they never received before: this belief I found on what I now behold; and relative to which I am about to give you the best account that I can.

You cannot read the newspapers and see the difficulties there are in the forming of what is called "a cabinet," without calling to mind my prophecy relative

to this matter. It will not be fulfilled to the very letter NOW; but (and mark my words) if the *whole of the interest of this debt* be attempted (for a year or two longer) to be raised from the people, with wheat at 5s. a bushel, the prophecy will be fulfilled to the very last letter; no one will be a minister of the King, "unless he be in want of the necessities of life."

Turn a deaf ear, I pray you, to all that the newspapers tell us about *party-intrigues*, and about the conduct or wishes of the *King and Queen*, and about the *principles and views* of the wranglers for *place and gain and power*. These all exist to be sure; the *interests and the passions* are at work; but it is the *state of the concern itself* that produces the real difficulty of getting men to carry it on. Sir Robert Peel has not been compelled to go out because anybody doubted either his integrity or ability, but because he had resolved to push on a system of taxation which the nation cannot bear. He could not repeal the *malt-tax*, and still pay the interest of the debt in the *present money*; to lower the value of money would have been certain overthrow of this form of government in a year or two, and the other alternative he could not face. If he had repealed the malt-tax, he would have been in place now; but, not having done that, he is as you see him.

So that, as to this man being *sent for by the King*; or that man being *sent for by the King*; it is all romance, or nonsense. What the King wants is a man that can pay the interest of this debt in full, in gold, with wheat at five shillings a bushel; or at three-and-sixpence a bushel; for, if the system can stand so long, to that price it may yet come. This is the man that the King wants; and no other man is of any use to him; and as such a man is not to be found under the canopy of heaven, he must either take one that will reduce the interest of the debt, sweep away the unjust swallowings of the church, and make the pension, sinecure, and half-pay lists pretty nearly sheets of blank paper; or he must go on chopping and changing and patching, and muddling about in a state of utter uncertainty, until there be

nothing left worthy of the name of Government.

I have inserted, in another part of this *Register* all that I have been able to collect of the rumours of divers of the London newspapers, upon this subject of making a Ministry. These articles are very curious as matters to read now at this time; but, sensible people like you, ought not to read them merely out of curiosity and for amusement. They all avoid the real causes that are at work. They all ascribe the various movements of different parties and persons to some motive, either of faction, greediness, ambition, revenge, or something or another of a merely personal nature. It is true that all these motives may exist, and do exist; but they do not form an impediment to the forming of a Ministry. The impediment is, the *certainty of the difficulty of getting on*.

It is not disaffection, or factions, or dissent from the Church, that is producing this difficulty. Every man in Parliament feels that this thing cannot go on. When out of the House, he finds himself walking about amongst hundreds of thousands of insolvent farmers and tradesmen. He hears the cries of hunger and starvation amongst the working people; he goes into the House with the impression of these on his mind; and unless he be one of those base and detestable wretches, who is content to owe his own luxurious living to the fruits of labour unjustly extorted, he cannot long continue to act contrary to the impressions thus made upon him. The reform of the Parliament, which reform was itself produced by this unbearable pressure from without, has put into the House of Commons a great many men, who cannot be prevailed upon long to continue to be deaf to complaints which they hear from every town. No matter what their "*politics*," as it is called: they must, and they will yield to the general voice of the people. Now, for instance, there is Mr. BOLLING of BOLTON, who is called a Tory; there is Mr. WILLIAMS, Member for COVENTRY, who is called a Radical; there is Mr. WALKER, of BURY, and Mr. PHILLIPS, of MANCHESTER, who are called Whigs; the

two Members for BLACKBURN are called Tories; Mr. EWART and Mr. PORTER are called Whigs; my colleague is called a Radical, and Mr. HINDLEY is called a Whig.

Now, these are all rich men: they have all a great deal at stake; and they deserve what they have, because they have it by descent, or by earning. "*Party motive*," can never long operate with men like these. they never can long continue to be puppets moved by party-wires: they never can for any length of time, be content to give their votes for the mere purpose of putting one man into place, or another man out of place. They have had given to them, or have taken to themselves nick-names; there is a difference in what is called their "*politics*"; but their fair and just, and honest, and all-commanding interests are precisely the same; these interests, the preservation of their property; the safety of their families; everything dear to them in the world is bound up with the peace and well-being of the commonwealth. They, and all that respectable them in the House (and there are great numbers of them), are persons of great experience, constant intercourse with persons engaged in similar pursuits. they are men accustomed to calculate consequences, and it is impossible that they should long continue to persevere in a course hostile to their permanent interests.

These, and all such men, must perceive, that their ultimate safety depends on a *very great change* being made in the carrying on of the affairs of the country; they must perceive that, if such change be not made by law, it will, *really*, be made without law; and that, in this latter case, the risk that they must run will be very great. No Minister, be he who or what he may, will have the support of such men from mere party motives. Hitherto, many of them have been led along by such motives; but they have now had time to reflect, and time to observe. They have seen, by degrees, behind the curtain; the wrangling of the two factions have been too flagrant and too despicable not to excite their disgust; they will rely more upon themselves than

upon leaders of any description; they look more to the merits of matters than to what can be said about them, on the one side or the other. They have heads not too steady to be bewildered the next morning by any flashy sophistry that they have heard the overnight. We are, in short, got by the days of Foxites and Pittites: there is a good stock of sense in a great portion of the members of the House; and when that sense comes to be acted upon, this system is at an end, and the nation is saved from a convulsion.

There is another respect, in which men of this description will be cured of their former follies; that is to say, the folly of regarding every man who complained of the conduct of the Government, as an enemy of the country itself, and of joining in the abuse and libels on every such man, not forgetting their joining in efforts to destroy every such man. The parliamentary reform, after twenty years of atrocious abuse upon every man who called for a reform, worked this cure, in a great measure. The brazen and insolent CANNING, and the equally brazen and insolent CASTLEREAGH, used to call us all "bankrupts in reputation and in fortune." The end of these two brazen and insolent men was such as to admonish others not to follow their brazen and insolent example; and if it have not had its suitable and natural effect, it has done a good deal; and brazen insolence is rather out of vogue. That the reform was just and necessary is now evident to every one. In every such case there must be some men to take the lead of others. No grievance will ever be redressed; no reform can ever take place, if you insist that it shall not take place unless the whole of the community rise as one man and demand it. The reproaches on the very names of these brutal men ought never to cease; and he, whoever was their follower, deserves the hatred of all that know him, unless he report of his conduct.

The audacity of these men, giving, as it did, countenance to others, retarded the reform of the Parliament, until it became a question whether it was not too late. The reform itself came; but the

consequences which the people expected from a reform did not come; they asked for reform that it might lighten their burdens, and put an end to the monstrous deviation from the ancient laws. Hitherto it has had no such effect, but the contrary. The burdens have not been lightened in the smallest degree; and the laws have been hardened as regards the working-people, and stretched to an extent that they never were before. Two factions are now openly battling for the possession of power; but neither faction offers any change to better the lot of the people as far as relates to the treatment of the people the two factions cordially unite. This is what they always have done since I have known anything of them; but the circumstances in which they are doing it are new.

In the first place, the people see that they thus unite, which they did not use to see. In the next place, wheat is five shillings a bushel, instead of fifteen; in the next place, employment is wanted for the want of money to pay for it; and, in the next place, there is an American republic risen up, with a navy powerful as our own. The blue and buff may hector, and affect to laugh at this: I warned the Government of the consequences, full twenty years ago, and I may say five-and-twenty; and, if there were no other cause at work to produce a great change in England, the existence of that republican government would produce the change.

If you have not read my *History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*; that most big and benevolent Sovereign, of whose exploits on Virginia-water the newspapers used to give us such volumes of Royal reports: if you have not read it, I will not say do read it, because to read it you must buy it; but whenever you do read it, you will find that you had a pleasure to come for there you will find the mystery of the last American war (which cost us seventy millions of money), completely developed. You will there find that it arose out of a desire on the part of our Government "to put down, for ever, that example of successful Democratical Rebellion." This was not worthy of the name of fore-

sight; it was instinct (and it required nothing more) that taught it, that, if that thing stood, THIS THING could not stand long. And instinct, always a pretty true teacher, kept to its character here. It was impossible that the existence of a Government like that, producing effects such as that produces the people being merely another English people; carrying out English laws with them, and adhering to those laws; it was impossible that that thing, the civil government of which costs, annually, less than WASHINGTON alone costs annually; it was impossible that that should exist; and that THIS THING should exist along with it for any length of time. This was so obvious, that the grounds of the late war with America need to be looked for nowhere else.

But, the war failed. The English on the other side of the sea beat our THING, and brought it down to their own terms of peace. This is the fatal fact, that there is now a country able to fight us single-handed on the seas; and that this is known to all the world: a country too economical to appoint an admiral, while we are paying two hundred and fifty admirals. A nation that has once been great must continue to be great, or must become nearly extinguished. When the mastiff which had long ruled the streets of the town, and had made every dog flee at his approach, happened to get his teeth kicked out by a horse, he became an object of attack with, and slunk away from, even the lap-dogs. He had become civil; he had wholly left off his bullying and threatening; but that was not enough; his teeth were gone; and his former injustice and insolence were remembered.

What, then, is our situation? With two hundred and fifty admirals, and four hundred and fifty generals; with an annual military and naval expenditure of about twelve millions of pounds sterling a year in gold, every man of information in this country, and every statesman in every other country, knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that we are unable to make even preparations for a serious war; and to consume, for only one half year, and to pay, in gold, the interest of

that debt, which every succeeding Minister tells us we shall continue to pay!

Is this a situation for England to be in? And, when we look at Russia overrunning Turkey; when we look at the American squadron, poking its prows about, where an English ship dares not to go; when we look at these things, who will say, that we are not in somewhat the situation of the mastiff, with his teeth knocked out by the kick of a horse!

Well, then, are we to be sorry for this greatness of the American people? Flat and plain, *I am not!* I am sorry, and right sorry, that England is brought down to her present state; but, as I used to tell CASTLEREAGH, when he was in the everlasting habit of calling those enemies of the country, who protested against his deeds; I used to tell him, that he argued as if *he* was the country; I used to tell him that he was not the country; that I might like the country and hate him, which I did; that he might die (which he did, you know), and that the country would still live. And, my friends, of OLDHAM, do not you, I pray you, be carried away by the notion, that the admirals and generals and pensioners and parsons are England. We have some small portion of our liberty, and of our civil and political rights to *preserve*, and a much larger portion to *regain*. If the greatness of the American nation tend to this preservation and this regaining; then we ought to wish for that greatness not only to continue, but to increase. Never mind "*glory*"; we are tasting the sweets of *glory* now. What WATERLOO has done for us we now know pretty well; but, bad as our lot is, it would have been ten thousand times worse, if that be possible, if our Government had succeeded in overturning the Government of America; and there are many of you who will recollect, that this was the light in which I always saw the matter, from the very dawn of the last American war.

This our situation with regard to foreign nations, must be one of the difficulties which every sensible man must see in the carrying on of the affairs of the Government. Little as most of the government people seem to *think*, upon any occasion, a man cannot become Mi-

nister, one would think, without reflecting on this branch of the difficulties, which presents itself to him thus: Let what injury may be inflicted upon the country by any foreign nation; let our merchant ships be burnt out at sea; let the Isle of Wight be invaded; I must suffer it all, or be guilty of a breach of that to which I give the sacred name of "*national faith*." He must see this difficulty, if he see no other; for though we are still at peace at the end of twenty years, it is within the compass of possibility that we may not be at peace another month, unless in the manner that I have supposed.

The debt, therefore, and the monstrously expensive establishments are the difficulty; and no man has courage enough to encounter this difficulty with a view to overcome it. So that at last here we are, in the high tide of experiencing all the effects of the glorious Waterloo-war, as compensation for having been a commander in which we have given a man a million of money, or thereabouts; and for having opposed which war so many Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, were ruined, imprisoned, several of them dying in prison. We have now that "*reckoning*" to pay, the effects of which payment I described to the insolent CASTLEREAGH at the conclusion of the peace, at the very moment that the tax eaters, and the fifteen-shillings-a-bushel farmers, were roasting sheep and oxen by scores, to celebrate the "*conquest of France*." I remember how blithe the parsons were upon that occasion! I remember how they taunted everybody that had been opposed to a continuation of the war; I remember one of them saying to me, "We have beat you at last"; to which I answered, "Take you care, get as much for tithes as you can, and keep the money, for those who have lent their money to carry on this war will make you give up your tithes." If he be alive, which I believe he is, he will now perhaps remember what I told him. When you have read my "*Legacy to Parsons*," which is so concise and so cheap, that I expect many of you to do it, you will exclaim, "Good God! how can these monstrous abuses have existed all this while! How can they have

"remained unknown all this while!" Oh dear, no: they have not been unknown all this while. They have always been known, and very well known; their monstrosities, going beyond the powers of serious censure, has become a subject of ridicule. They have been perfectly well known; but the people in general, never having been in such a state of insolvency and misery before, it never having before been proposed to make the working people live upon a "*coarser sort of food*," this prodigious mass of misapplied public property was suffered to remain undisturbed; but now horrid want is driving the people to look about them everywhere, to see what they can muster up. Did you never see a lot of sheep put into a field of good grass? How contented they are; with what satisfaction they walk about, or lie down! As the grass shortens they get fatter and less happy. The next stage is, they butt one another about, and quarrel for the best patches. As unsatisfied hunger comes on, they seek the high mounds, and look over the hedges, and through the gates. Unable to scale the fence perhaps, they look out for breaches in it. First they put in their nose, next the head; there needs nothing more; the body of the leader follows, and the flock follow him; and woe unto the pasture, or turnips, or anything else that first comes in contact with their jaws. "Nothing," says Lord BACON, "is so dangerous as rebellion of the belly." Our finance people are somewhat in the state of this flock of sheep: they are looking over all the hedges in the field, to find out something to get at; and as the church is the fattest pasture, and protected by the weakest fence, we hear even Sir ROBERT PEEL proposing a church-reform and a commutation of tithes: and we hear Lord JOHN RUSSELL proposing to go at once and take part of its pasture away; he calls it appropriating it: yes, as the aforesaid sheep would appropriate a field of turnips. He, to be sure, would not take the tithes away if the flock were sufficient; or rather, if the flock now in the field were in need of them. but alas! what is this but one farmer saying to another, "Your flock is too small for your field, my field is

"too small for my flock: I will therefore pen you off a corner, and turn my flock into the rest." Nothing could produce this but sheer hard necessity, nothing but the pressure of irresistible want; that is the pressure under which this Government is now staggering along; and hence the difficulty of men agreeing as to whether they shall undertake to carry it on or not.

I have thus, my friends, endeavoured to give you a correct view of the real causes of these changes in the Ministry, and of the difficulty at present existing in the forming of a new one; and I will now show you what the several newspapers of London say upon the subject, which, as I said before, will serve to amuse you at the present time, and will thus be conveniently at hand for us to refer to in future.

I remain,

Your faithful friend,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

WRANGLING FACTIONS!

I AM indebted to the "*True Sun*" for the following most exquisite wranglings. They contain some good writing, and some bad writing; but really the "*Old Bloody*" seems to be bloodier than ever; and some of the rest of them seem to be half mad. The papers that have come to-day, that is to say, the papers of the 14. of April, tell us, that Lord MELBORNE is to be Prime Minister, and Mr. SPRING RICE is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer! I said it would go on thus; and thus it must go on, downhill, till we come at last to the point that I have so often described. It would seem that Mr. O'CONNELL has declined taking any post in the Ministry; and that he is to place himself at the back of the new Ministers. Now, all that I can say about this matter is, that I believe that he is firmly convinced that he is doing that which is best for his country; and if this change really has produced the appointment of Mr. SERGEANT PERRIN, as they say it has, in that respect it is good. This affair altogether decides the fate of the

Irish church, at the least; and goes a great way towards doing that which my petition prayed for in 1829.

(From the Spectator.)

The forming of a new administration, at the present time, will be a task of great responsibility and some difficulty. The Ministry must be thoroughly liberal, otherwise it will speedily fall like its predecessor, only with a deeper disgrace. But to maintain such a Ministry against the opposition it must expect to encounter, will be no child's play. This will appear from a brief survey of the parties who will be leagued together for its hindrance or destruction.

First, there is the court, the angry, baffled court. The King himself is a man of stronger prejudices than judgment; and, sailor as he is, he probably inherits some portion of his father's turn for finesse. At least, on a retrospect from the period of Lord Grey's accession to office, it is difficult to believe that he ever cordially supported liberal men or measures on any fixed principle. He seems always to have countenanced, or at least allowed, a "back stairs" or secret influence to counteract the policy of the responsible advisers of the crown. Earl Grey himself felt this drawback on his power to serve the country; but it proved the means of destroying the Melbourne cabinet, for the abrupt dismissal of which, no one valid public reason has to this hour been offered. The "back stairs" influence is neither propitiated nor subdued, though it may be abashed or alarmed for the moment. The unhappy prejudices which prompted the Sovereign to listen to the leaders of the Tory faction, cannot have been removed by the ill success of the attempt to gratify them. William, the Reformer, cannot be counted on as the natural, bona fide ally of a reform Government.

Secondly, the liberal Ministry will have a large majority of the House of Peers arrayed against it. The obstructive power of the Lords need not be dwelt upon. That they will use it so as to annoy a national administration, who can doubt?

We know which party in the long run will lose most by this game; but, in the meanwhile, the House of Peers presents a formidable obstacle to any ministry which refuses to cringe to its prejudices and sacrifice the good of the community to its exclusive interests.

Thirdly, in the House of Commons the Tory minority will be exceedingly numerous. If the Ministers are enabled to bring together a working majority, it will only be by the steady exertions of all their friends. They must be prepared for bitter opposition, for all the arts and malignity of a defeated faction, eager to annoy the victors, and possessing the power of annoyance to a great extent.

Fourthly, the strength of the Tory party in the country must not be overlooked. It was hoped, that the Reform Act had prostrated it for ever; but late events have proved this to be a mistake. The wealth, the zeal and activity, even the numbers of this party, though still a minority, were displayed at the last election. It possesses allies in all parts of the country, in all the departments of state, in the church, the magistracy, in the army and navy, and wherever the hope of profiting by misgovernment exists. We have had fair warning that one defeat will not discourage the Tories from making other efforts to recover the ground they lost by the Reform Act.

Enough has been said to indicate the formidable nature of the opposition which a liberal ministry will have to struggle against. It is plain that it can only hope to contend successfully against such a combination, by adopting principles of government which the nation approves of, and which the Reformers of the House of Commons are bound to uphold. The majority of the national representatives are agreed upon the great principles on which the country should be governed; the principles, namely, of the Reform Act; which, as Mr. Sergeant Wilde correctly laid them down, are "to bring the public institutions of the country under proper control by purifying the representation; to renew these institutions, and to ascertain how far they answer the purposes for which they were originally devised; and to make such al-

terations in them as the operation of time and circumstances may have rendered necessary."

An administration based on these principles, and acting honestly and consistently upon them, will be secure of the support of the majority of the House of Commons. If it is said, that men who profess to agree on general principles, yet frequently are found to disagree among themselves, as to the mode of carrying out these principles, we answer that this remark can hardly apply to the majority of the present House of Commons; as upon the two grand questions of ecclesiastical and municipal reform, there is no variance of opinion worth notice, the men of extreme opinions being, as Mr. O'Connell intimated, ready to enter into a compromise with those who refuse to go as far as they would go, for the sake of securing a certain amount of actual good. There are differences on minor points, however, among the Reformers who now act together; and there always must be differences among men who really act upon principle. The Tories never allow their principles to interfere with the prospect of place. They are ever ready to band themselves together, in order, as Burke said, "to sell their conjunct iniquity at a higher rate." But the Reformers are not place-hunters. They can "afford to keep consciences," and therefore they are less serviceable as parliamentary troops than the Tories. Now we are far from wishing any individual to abandon or compromise a single principle which he deems important or valuable. If common prudence is used in forming the new Ministry, there needs not arise the least danger to it from allowing every Reformer to advocate the measures he approves of. The questions on which the whole party is not agreed should not be cabinet questions, but open ones. For instance, the Ministers allow motions for triennial parliaments, vote by ballot, and the alteration of the corn laws, to be discussed without the interference of Government. They ought not to be carried or rejected as mere party questions. By adopting this rule on these, and some others, almost all the difficulty and embarrassment which the Tories hope

to see arise in the ranks of the liberal Ministry, will be avoided.

But although there is no reason why the liberal Members should abandon or compromise their opinions, the most ardent of them will be disposed to reflect that the new Ministry must stand on very different ground from that of Earl Grey or Lord Melbourne in the House of Commons. Those statesmen were backed by such immense majorities, that an occasional defeat did not endanger the existence of their ministries. The case will be different with the next administration. It will be important to avoid giving an excuse to the court, such as a parliamentary defeat would supply, to turn out the Liberals again; on the pretence that the House of Commons had declared against them. The anti-Tories of all classes will therefore act warily; they will forbear to distress a liberal Ministry, even when that Ministry does not go as far or as fast as might be desirable, they will administer reproof, when needed, in a friendly tone, and with a regard to the pressing difficulties of the ministerial position; in short, they will adopt Charles Fox's maxim, and give a little to a friend rather than all to an enemy. If this disposition is manifested by the different sections of the Liberals, for a reasonable time, we may safely defy the Tories; but, in the actual condition of affairs mutual concession is necessary. What would have been safe and politic last spring, when the Tories could not muster 150 votes, would be hazardous and unpatriotic conduct in the face of a Tory minority of almost double that number. It is a great point gained to have turned out the Duke and his colleagues: for the present let us strive to fortify our new position.

With regard to the personnel of the new Government, there seems to be a general, and as it appears to us, a reasonable desire to see Lord Melbourne restored to the post of Premier, and to give him a fair trial. The country believed that he was sincere in his avowed intention to remove the abuses of our ecclesiastical and corporate systems, and (to use his own words when addressing his neighbours at Melbourne) "to do as much as was sufficient, as much as would

have remedied the most pressing evils; as much as could have been digested and matured; as much as in all circumstances it could be considered safe, prudent, and practicable to effect." If Lord Melbourne will only strive to act up to the system of conducting the government here laid down, he may rely upon giving satisfaction to this most reasonable, patient, and candid people.

Earl Grey has been mentioned as likely to take part in the new administration, not as Premier, for which the infirmities of age unfit him, but in some honorable office, such as President of the Council, to which no laborious duties belong. But we scarcely expect, certainly do not desire, to see Lord Grey again in the responsible station of a Cabinet Minister. We look upon his Ministerial course as completed. He has twice, once in the House of Peers, and again after an interval of reflection at the Edinburgh dinner, taken solemn leave of official life. This was a wise course. The public at once resolved to sink the recollection of the faults of his administration, under some of which the country is yet labouring, and dwell only on the benefits he had conferred. Who among his real friends and well-wishers would desire to direct public attention to the faulty system which Earl Grey pursued when Premier, and which, by rendering the Reformers dissatisfied, prepared the way for the recent agitation of the country by the Tories? It would be suspected, should the course of the new Ministry, especially in dealing with the House of Lords, be timid and vacillating, that Earl Grey was to blame for it. It would be said, that as he came forward five years ago to give us the maximum of Reform, he is now put into the cabinet as a Conservative to give the minimum. This would be a sad detraction from his high reputation. The suspicion might be unjust and unfounded; but it would be felt, and at present we see no sufficient reason for exposing Earl Grey to it, justly or unjustly.

Lord Brougham is also best out of the new Government. This seems to be the almost universal opinion. He may be of service as an independent member of the House of Peers; but he has been proved

to be deficient in the qualities necessary to make a good judge or a useful Minister. He has other qualities which have rendered him eminent, and may continue to make him a distinguished and valuable member of the legislature; but if he regards his future fame he will eschew office.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Hardly had Lord Melbourne received the King's commands, before Tories went about, observing, with elation, that the negotiations made no progress, and imagining insuperable difficulties. On Saturday, they looked at their watches, and knowingly said, "What no ministry yet?" as if all ages had been wasted in an abortive attempt. These gentlemen do not play their part well. If the event were to correspond with their wishes, it would be supposed that there was more of privy than of prophecy in their very early knowledge of what was not to be, and that the "insuperable difficulties" had been settled from the first. Why should the Tories require such dispatch in the construction of a Liberal ministry? They have not set the example of rapidity in the completion of their arrangements. Rome was not reached in a day by the Queen's Page. The Liberals, though they have not to send to Italy for a chief, may beg to be allowed something more than eight-and-forty hours for the construction of a government. It must be remembered that Lord Melbourne cannot make use of the expedients of the Duke of Wellington. If, like his Grace, he could dispense with responsible colleagues, and parcel himself out into the principal offices of State, he might form a provisional government in a trice, and a cabinet at leisure. It would be a convenience to a party, always to have an important member of it on his travels on the Continent, so that, any delay might be attributed to his absence, and the time for bringing him home gained for convenience. But these advantages are common to the Tories.

If we are to believe some of the stories of their partisans, they have other privileges peculiar to themselves and

unknown to the constitution, and in withdrawing from the King's councils may leave behind them a barrier to the success of those who may be summoned to succeed them. It is currently boasted that his Majesty's late advisers counselled him to make a firm stand against the principle of appropriation, the creation of peers, and the employment of Mr. O'Connell. If this be true (and, as it is reported by the Tories, we must admit that the probability is infinitely great against its truth), the ex-ministry has carried its powers beyond its responsibilities, and must be accountable for the transgression. The ear of the King is abused by any official advice which extends beyond the administration of the adviser, and puts a *veto* on the counsels of a successor, or may make it impossible for any others to undertake office. A resignation is a farce, a deceit, a mockery, if the party withdrawing can persuade the King to refuse the necessary powers to their opponents. For what do they go out, if the principles under which they sunk are to remain in, citadeled, as it were, in the King's breast, and refusing the trust of Government to any who do not assent to them? This is surrendering the fortress and leaving a mine to explode under the conquerors. It would amount to this, that on quitting office the Tories, with their matchless modesty, had said to the King, "We go out because the House of Commons will have it so, but we pray your Majesty to suffer no others to come in, and we shall appear to be called back as matter of necessity; and should the Commons continue to oppose us, we will tell the country that the Reformers would neither serve your Majesty themselves nor let us serve you; and that the alternative is the Tories or no Government."

We repeat that we disbelieve the story that in resigning the Tories established impediments in the King's mind against the success of their opponents—that they have, in effect, left behind them a legacy in the royal will, cutting off the Opposition with a shilling to buy a halter. We have no faith in the report, because it is of Tory origin; but the mere fact that men of that party circulate such a rumour, true or false, without any percep-

tion of the character of the conduct described, nay, even making a boast of the abuse of opportunity, shows the unconstitutional extremities to which they are capable of going for the recovery of power. They have no notion that anything can be wrong which serves their ends. All their political morality is summed up in the self-interest of the party.

(From the Age.)

God save the constitution! It is useless any longer to blink the question. We stand on the brink of revolution! A little while, and we are plunged into the vortex of civil anarchy. Let us not be misunderstood when we use the term revolution, let not those who have hitherto regarded the mention of the phrase as an idle bugbear imagine, that when we raise the cry, that it is "wolf" in sport, not in earnest. No, we see in the aspect of affairs now, the avenue to the encrimsoned fields of anarchy open. The barriers have been broken down that have hitherto kept away the assualters of the altar, the foes of the church are in the councils of the King, men who have vowed to roll the mire in the dust, and snap the crossier, now mingle their shout of transport at the result of the victory that has driven the supporters of the Protestant cause from the cabinet, and thrust its declared enemies as advisers of a Protestant King. It is the beginning of a bloody end. With history before our eyes, we do not hesitate to aver our belief that should any check be given to the men of the movement, as check there must be given, should there be any stop offered to the stream of innovation that threatens to sweep away the Protestant institutions of the land, as stop there must be offered, that the inevitable consequence will be a deadly struggle between class and class, such as took place at the commencement of the French revolution. The majority of the late Opposition have recorded, both in the House and out of the House, that they desire, that they pant, for a sweeping, total, radical change in the existing orders of society. They care not for un-

settling the condition, they heed not if they derange the affairs, of every man who has property to defend, or the prospects of a family to respect and support. The Peers, the church, the funds, nay, the Crown itself, have been and are now each and all menaced by the banded gang of fierce democrats.

The Conservatives have hitherto alone, boldly, fearlessly, and loyally, resisted the unscrupulous and unprincipled faction. The mean, the dastard, the coward Whigs, for raging lust of place, solicited the embrace of the foul pests of Parliament. Dare the Whigs deny this? They cannot! Is it not true, that at the elections the Radical solicited his supporters to split with the Whig; and that in places where the Whig was the strongest, he threw his interest to the Destructive candidate? Is it not matter now of momentous record, that Whig and Radical banded together in the House; that men that whilom were vitally opposed, lent each other assistance in Parliament to form an opposition in common? No! It would add but another to the list of Whig mendacities for the hardiest, amongst them to deny these facts. Brookes's resounded with Whig Io-Peans of grateful rejoicings, when a Conservative was discomfited and a Radical returned! What did every Whig, Whigling, and Whig organ in the empire, say when the first return was made? Was not a loud shout uttered by all with electric alacrity, when Daniel Whittle Harvey was elected for Southwark? Whittle Harvey! the man who, on more occasions than one, denounced, abused, and nearly beat on divisions, the pure Whig Ministry! Are not these facts? Think of these things; men of the empire: and then ask yourselves, Can the Whigs maintain themselves a little month in power, if they do not bend to the will of such as have helped them to the victory? As the London drayman remarked, that were it not for malt and hops London porter would not be a bit better than Thames water; so, if it were not for the Radicals and the Tail, the late opposition would have contained no ingredient or element of strength.

What will they do, therefore? is the

anxious query throughout the empire. The answer is obvious. They must do what a ministry leagued with Revolutionists must do; they must become avowed, as they have been long concealed, Revolutionists themselves. The Whigs are bringing about a fearful crisis, but the apprehension must not daunt the loyal. The spirit of the true tar rises with the roaring of the storm. He does his duty like a man, whether he encounters the enemy or the element. He knows the result lies in the hands of that Almighty Power, to whom no appeal is made in vain in the darkest hour of human adversity; and in that Power he trusts. Such should be the conduct; such, we feel assured, will be the conduct, as it is the holy duty, of the Conservatives at the present crisis. In the coming struggle for the destruction or preservation of the institutions of Protestant England, no man can tell whether his life or his fortune will be safe. Let them, one and all, have the devotion and the courage of true patriots, and rally round the altar and the throne. There are hundreds of thousands of Abdiels in the empire; there are "few faithless amongst the faithful."

Let every one stand forth and record their loyalty by petitioning the King to declare whether he will put his Royal prerogative into force, and use the powerful words *le Roi s'avisera* on any measure that endangers the stability and efficiency of the Protestant Church in this Protestant realm. Let us hear from the monarch's lips the assurance that he is still the unflinching "Defender of the Protestant Faith;" and all may yet be right.

In the mean time, Petition!—Petition! —Petition!!

(From the Times.)

The people of England ought to be made aware in time, of a case on which the Russell cabinet is now sitting, and in the decision of which case, the King of England and all his subjects are, we grieve to say, too deeply interested. Every one knows that the delay and difficulty hitherto experienced by Lord

Melbourne in his attempt to form a Whig-Radical administration have arisen from the servile fear entertained by his lordship's party, and shared by Lord Melbourne himself, of the repeal agitator O'Connell.

Intelligence, which we fear may be true, states, that this conspirator against the King's dominion over Ireland knows the length of his own tail, and has contrived to get the length of another person's foot also. He has sent in to Lord Melbourne an abstract of the terms on which only he will grant a capitulation to the Whigs, and save them from the necessity of replacing Sir R. Peel in the post from which, by their short-sighted intrigues, they have removed him.

Listen, Englishmen, to the proposals of this enemy to your name, and nation.

As the price of supporting a Whig Radical government, he insists that the law-officers of the Crown in Ireland shall be nominated by him (O'Connell)!! He insists that he (O'Connell) shall have a veto on the appointment of the Viceroy, the King's representative in Ireland! He strongly urges that the elective franchise in Ireland shall be lowered to 5*l*.; that he, O'Connell (not having yet power enough over the Irish constituency, which has returned nearly 50 members at his bidding), may be enabled to command a sufficient number of votes to give stability to the Whig-Radical government.

The Agitator does not ask to be appointed himself to office. He is too cunning for that; first, the King has the sense and firmness resolutely to refuse it; secondly, if the King were willing to receive into his service the bitter enemy to his Irish crown, Mr. Daniel O'Connell knows very well that the honour would cost him a higher price than it could by possibility repay; that he would lose by it his despotic sway over the multitude, and with it his infamous but enormous rent; and lastly, that instead of being at the mercy of the Whig Ministers, by their powers of discarding him from office on misbehaviour, he would hold a scourge over them, by threatening, whenever the spirit moved him, to withdraw from them his parliamentary support, and leave them in a minority.

But, great Heaven! do we live to see the day when such a negotiation can be entered upon by any nobleman or gentleman having access to his Majesty's presence with a man of O'Connell's history, political principles, and projects? Can, we ask, any Minister, or candidate Minister of the British Crown, dare so much as to whisper within the Royal hearing the demands of such an adventurer upon his Majesty's patience, and on the honour and dignity of the people of this great country? What! name the law-officers of the Crown, and have for his creatures those individuals whose official duty it may become to begin their functions, as public prosecutors, by a criminal process against their own patron!

What! restrain the Sovereign of the British empire from nominating for Lord Lieutenant of Ireland any nobleman to whom this turbulent and scheming Papist shall object!

A British Minister, representing a *once English* party permitting a demagogue like this to force upon him a pressure almost tantamount to universal suffrage, on pretence of enabling the said mob tyrant to serve more completely the Administration of to-day, when, after having acquired through such extension of the suffrage a dominion over the electors of 90 out of 100 representatives, he may to-morrow play upon the fears and profligacy of his ministerial menials, and drive them into the perpetration of any political crimes, however deadly in their consequences, to the peace, the unity, and safety of the realm, on pain of being, by a nod of this "infernal Jupiter," at once hurled out of office.

We cannot, we dare not, indulge the mingled terror and humiliation which tidings like those conveyed to us in the course of yesterday, and to the effect above stated, have raised within our minds. If the Whig Lords, who have so far listened to O'Connell, plead the hard necessity of their condition, and exclaim, "What can we do! how can we form our Ministry without his help?" Our answer, and, if we mistake not, the answer of all England will be, "Then do not form your Ministry." The hardship of the case upon these ambitious personages is, that for-

sooth they are urged on to disgrace and crime by a necessity of their own creating; by a party necessity; a factious necessity; a necessity of which no honest Englishman admits or sees the pressure, beyond the pale of their own Whig-Radical clique. Who asked them, by a succession of factious votes, to turn out the Minister of the King's free choice, that they might seize his power? They say it is "necessary" to their Cabinet, that they should serve implicitly O'Connell's will; in other words, it is more necessary that church and state, and Protestant Ireland, and the existence of the empire, should be sacrificed beyond redemption, than that the Whig leaders and their Radical confederates should remain for six months longer out of office. Once more, and in all sincerity, and in bitterness of heart, we appeal to our countrymen, whether they will thus allow a band of selfish place hunters to roll the crown of the United Kingdom in the dust.

(From the Standard.)

We are not aware that any definite arrangement of the new Ministry had been completed this morning; but we believe that the great principle of submission to Mr. O'Connell was yielded as early as Saturday. Whether the concession will be ratified by the King is another question. If the terms, which we understand have been demanded by the Irish incendiary, and granted by the person engaged in the subordinate duty of manufacturing a Cabinet, should eventually be approved of by the King, his Majesty would do much better to cede the crown of Ireland to the *pseudo*-representative for Dublin. These terms are stated to be no less than the following, viz., Mr. O'Connell to be a Privy Councillor in Ireland forthwith, and a Privy Councillor in England after a short interval. Mr. O'Connell to have a veto upon the appointment of the Irish Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Attorney and Solicitor-General in the sister kingdom, the judges in Ireland, and all public functionaries of the higher classes, except the bishops of the established

church. It is probably thought, as the church is doomed to a speedy extinction in the sister island, the advantage of Mr. O'Connell's negative upon bishops would not countervail the scandal. It is farther yielded by the Whig negotiator, that the elective franchise in Ireland shall be extended to 51 freeholders, expressly in order to enable Mr. O'Connell to increase that personal Papish influence by which he has beaten Sir R. Peel from office, and overborne the votes of a majority of the electors of Great Britain!

Do our readers believe that we are romancing in describing these terms? We solemnly assure them that we are not; and a little reflection must satisfy every one that terms less disgraceful and atrocious will not content, and ought not to content, Mr. O'Connell, to whose terms the Whig negotiators must submit, or at once abandon the attempt to form an administration. Mr. O'Connell cannot take any ostensible office, because he could not receive the emoluments of office and the wages of sedition at the same time; the wages of sedition, "the rent," being higher by many thousand pounds a-year than the emoluments of the highest office which the crown could confer. The tenure of "the rent," too, is undoubtedly better than the tenure of any office under a despotic administration. If it is supposed that Mr. O'Connell might take office with an assured revival of "the rent" upon his dismissal, they who entertain such an hypothesis must forget the slow and artful process by which this tribute has been arrived at. It was many, very many years disguised as a collection for general purposes, before Mr. O'Connell openly seized upon it as a personal property.

Mr. O'Connell does not forget this, though others may; and he will never allow any interruption in the collection of "the rent," because he knows well that such interruption would be fatal, while any office for which the tribute could be exchanged must be of much less value or of very short duration. But though Mr. O'Connell cannot take office from the Whigs, he knows the feeling and position of that party too well not to demand power of them. He remembers Lord

Grey's denunciation of him (Mr. O'Connell) in the King's speech; and the loathing disclaimers of a connexion with him, earnestly put forward upon every opportunity, by all the Whigs that make any pretensions to respectability. He knows well that he would meet his deserts with the cordial assent of every member of the Whig party, who, dreading his power more than the Conservatives do, would see him hanged with more satisfaction than we should, because, by his removal, a monument of their baseness, and a witness of their crimes and conspiracies would be put out of the way. Impressed with this knowledge, a less crafty man than Mr. O'Connell would see the necessity of arming himself against the power of the Whigs, before putting weapons into the hands of a party that have proscribed and prosecuted him, and have every conceivable motive to pursue his destruction. He therefore claims for himself defensive armour no less costly than the whole government of Ireland! Nor, admitting the matter to rest between him and the Whigs, is the demand unreasonable; for, should a Whig government interpose between the "agitator" and his "tail," so as to attach the "tail" to itself, there were an end of Mr. O'Connell's influence and an end of "the rent." And still, between Mr. O'Connell and the Whigs, the demand is just as well as reasonable. Mr. O'Connell places the Whigs in power; a wave of his hand, or a murmur of his lips, can, while he holds his present position, dismiss them from office, or prevent them from seating themselves in it. And is it not just that he protect himself from their parricidal ingratitude by whatever terms he may think it necessary to impose?

The third party, however, the party forgotten in all these negotiations, may well think seriously of the bargain that has been made—the Protestants of Ireland, and the whole people of Great Britain. The power which Mr. O'Connell claims to protect him from Whig ingratitude, is a power to be exercised against our Protestant brethren in Ireland, and the whole people of this island. Already Mr. O'Connell commands the votes of the 60 obscure, uninformed, landless beggars,

who, misrepresenting Irish counties and boroughs, have determined the Parliamentary majorities against the people of Great Britain! By virtue of the terms, which, it is understood, the Whigs have granted to him, which, as we have shown, he must demand, and they cannot refuse,—by virtue of these terms, he will extend his influence to the nomination of at least one hundred out of the one hundred and five Irish representatives. Let the reader seriously consider this, in relation to the repeal question; or, rather, in relation to the probable continuance of the integrity of the empire. Let the reader suppose Mr. O'Connell nominating one hundred, or nearly one hundred of the Irish representatives; wielding the whole power of the Popish priesthood, and all the energies of the mere populace of Papists! How long could a repeal of the Union be refused to him once placed in this position.

(From the Times.)

There is now no doubt of Lord Melbourne having been expressly commissioned by his Majesty to form a cabinet, of which his lordship is to be the chief—a fact which comprehends the whole of what can be safely affirmed respecting the progress towards maturity of the new Whig administration. It may be true, and we have already stated it, that Mr. Daniel O'Connell will not hold office under the forthcoming cabinet. But what of that? The main fact which the nation are interested in determining is the extent to which, without being personally taken into the King's service, he may be allowed to pull the wires and move the puppets who appear more openly on the scene. The nation, English and Protestant Irish, are deeply, as well as directly, concerned to know how far, and in what manner, the *animus*, which proposed the late resolution for assuming and then employing a surplus out of the abridged revenues of the Irish church, is to operate throughout the general course and system of the Melbourne government. Whether Mr. O'Connell be or be not ostensibly in office, is a question of infinitely less amount, than whether the policy with regard to Ireland is to be

conducted in a spirit conservative of the essence of our institutions in church and state—redressing at the same time all real grievances, and conscientiously and effectually eradicating all abuses; or whether the presiding genius is to be that which dictated certain letters, in the course of last year, bearing the date of Derrynane-abbey, together with the signature of Daniel O'Connell, and which grossly reviled and insulted Lord Duncannon, then Home Secretary, and chief organ of the Melbourne Cabinet, in all that related to Ireland, because neither in his official appointments nor in his measures did the noble Lord consult Mr. O'Connell's appetite for governing Ireland, with a view to the separation of the two countries, and the extirpation of Protestantism from the Irish soil.

The people, we say, must be satisfied whether the constitutional feeling under which Lord Duncannon seemed disposed to act last year, and for which Mr. O'Connell then so outrageously abused him, is to be that which the forthcoming cabinet will take for its guidance; or whether a more vivid sense of weakness and dependence, proportioned to the reduced number of Whigs now in Parliament as compared with both Conservatives and Ultra-Radicals, will, on motives of mere sordid party, plunge them into the vortex of revolution. It is plain enough, that if the Whigs give way to the Destructives in this or any other instance, there can be no cause for it but the mean instinct of office. The Whigs have no natural love nor leaning towards the Radicals. Their prejudices are a thousand times more stubborn, more senseless, more intolerant in favour of aristocracy under all its phases, than those of any other class of men in England, because, in fact, the Conservative party is far more extensively connected with the people. It is from a bitter feeling of the hard alternative in which they have placed themselves, that the old Whigs gulp down the least approach to any real popular reform, the alternative between indulging their hereditary pride as against the people, and their hereditary combination of fear and hatred against a rival party. But what means or resources are

at the disposal of Lord Melbourne to resist the pressure, not from without, but from within the walls of the House of Commons, from that large section of the House which, whatever may be the views of the honest portion of it, tends at least to destroy the equilibrium of our constitution? Lord Melbourne will not accuse us of any personal disrespect towards him, when we allege that he has, and can have, no such defensive power. He and his Whigs must rest for support on those who would preserve the monarchy, or on those whose principles lead them to subvert it. We know what would be the choice of a man of honour, free to act as his own inclinations would prompt. But we know that unhappily the man of honour in this case is, no more than the instrument of those for whom, by artificial and conventional obligations, he is compelled to sacrifice his own discreeter judgment. It is all but physically impossible that Lord Melbourne's government should be able to regulate the action of its own machinery, or to save itself from being swept away by the whirl of a constantly accumulating force, and a rapidly accelerated movement. What are to be the component parts of the new Melbourne cabinet we need not be at the trouble of guessing, when two or three days will suffice, we apprehend, to make them known. The old, though secondary, members of the party, will, we suppose, occupy their accustomed places, but will Lord Grey be there? We have reason to believe, that however the Irish and English Radicals may exclaim against Lord Grey as an unfit member of "a movement" cabinet, the Whig elders, who most unquestionably will form the basis of that cabinet, have different notions about Lord Grey. On Saturday, if we are not mistaken, a letter was addressed to the noble Earl from five of those who were then expecting to have places assigned to them in the new government, urging and entreating in the most earnest manner, and adjuring Lord Grey, by his sympathy for the difficulties which they had to contend against, and through which they could scarcely discover an outlet, to accept an office with them. An answer, detailing the reasons for his lordship's

positive refusal of this application, was, we are told, returned on the same evening; nor to this hour, says our information, has the noble Earl done more than promise his Parliamentary support to the Government, and that upon the understanding that a certain class of measures shall not be adopted, nor a certain class of persons (it is easy to imagine them) employed. As for the continuance of harmony between a cabinet and its supporters, when Lord Grey is on one side of it, and Messrs. O'Connell, Hume, &c. &c. on the other, he must be a driveller who expects it. The same Mr. Hume, it seems, will not have the good fortune to "estimate" himself into a place, nor will Lord Brougham, another great performer, be, if report say true, in any better predicament.

A FAIR SPECIMEN OF TORY MALIGNITY.

(From the Morning Herald.)

The public will not be much enlightened by what took place in the House of Commons last night with regard to the progress made in the formation of a new Ministry. It will be seen from our Parliamentary report, that the difficulties which we described as standing in the way of the Ministerial arrangements had not been overcome yesterday, and that to give time to bring the slow and painful process of constructing a cabinet of Whig-Radical materials to a close, Sir Robert Peel moved an adjournment of the House. He merely prefaced the motion by saying that he "had received an intimation from his Majesty that arrangements for the formation of a new Ministry were in progress, but not finally completed, and he could not, therefore, doubt, that the same motives which had induced the House to agree to a short adjournment on a former day, in consideration of inconvenience to the public service, would induce them to agree to his motion," which was agreed to accordingly, and the House stands adjourned to Thursday.

Had the Whigs succeeded in breaking down Sir Robert Peel's administration by their own strength, and upon their own principles, they would have now

comparatively easy work in constructing a cabinet out of their own party, but having, for the sake of getting back into office, abandoned every principle which they had formerly professed to hold sacred, and having courted the fatal alliance of English destructives and Irish repealers to promote their ambitious views, they now find themselves meshed in difficulties of their own contrivance, which it was much more easy for their ingenuity to weave than to unravel—nor are they any longer free agents. They invoked the aid of that evil spirit of Irish agitation, whose iron grasp is now upon them, and whose price they are called upon to pay. That evil spirit which ministered to their ambition is now become their task-master, and they must either submit to the castigation of the power whose unholy assistance they invoked, or reduce the throne to the state of bondage and humiliation to which they have subjected themselves. What a difference between the Whigs of 1688 and of 1835! The former, the champions of the Protestant church, and of Protestant liberties—the latter leagued with the bitter and implacable enemies of both—with English levellers and Romish intolérants, who hope before very long to be able to push aside their Whig allies altogether, and to scramble into power over the degradation of the crown and the ruins of the constitution.

Already has the organ of the party in Ireland, the Popish press, threatened open rebellion if Earl Grey should be chosen by the Sovereign to preside over the new cabinet, because it is known that the noble Earl is not so disposed, as many others of his party, to succumb to the dictation of the repeal-agitator. "Mr. O'Connell," says the Whig-radical papers, "acts in the most disinterested manner, and keeps aloof from all intrigue." Whoever believes this must have such a reason for his faith as Tertullian gave, *Credo quia impossibile est*. To a person of such rampant credulity there would be nothing incredible in asserting that the leopard can change his spots or the Æthiop his skin. In the meantime the Popish press uses such language as the following to show that

there is a total absence of any endeavour, on the part of the Papal and repeal faction, to coerce or intimidate the King in the choice of his Ministers—"Let the truth be spoken out at once—Lord Grey is hated in Ireland. His very name is abhorred by the coerced people of this country, whom he ruled with a rod of iron—and in forging new chains for whom he broke up his cabinet. No, no, we have had enough of the tyrant in friend's garb, and if oppression is still to be our lot, let us in resistance—for in that case we will resist—have an open foe to encounter. What! submit again to Draco's rule?—never—rather, let every man, woman, and child in Ireland perish." This is what the Popish press of Ireland says of Lord Grey—the father of the Reform Act—the steady and persevering advocate of the Roman Catholic claims during the whole of his political career—the compatriot of Fox, and the friend of civil and religious liberty. Why then does the Popish press thus denounce and proscribe him? Simply because it is well known that he has too much of the spirit and dignity of an English patrician patriot to allow himself to be made the "cat's paw" of the repeal-agitator, who "never intrigues, and who acts from the most disinterested motives." But were Lord Grey as willing as some of his Whig friends to sacrifice his independence and his principles to secure the political support of the agitator and his "tail," we should not hear of his name being held in abhorrence by the Popish party—nor would the report of his coming again into power operate as a signal to the Popish press to pass upon him a sentence of excommunication from the councils of his sovereign.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

We trust that another attempt will not soon be made by the Tories to agitate the country and paralyse trade, in order to recover what the Reform Bill has transferred to the middle classes. This great nation ought not to be considered as existing merely for the gratification of Tory ambition. It is time that it should be known that the object of government is the welfare of the governed, and that

welfare ought not to be exposed to hazard by wanton dismissals of Ministers, merely to gratify court intrigues and Tories desirous of incomes at the public expense.

The *Times*, that most consistent and honest journal, has been labouring hard for some days to sow divisions among the Reformers. Yesterday it seems to have had a suspicion that its exertions in this respect have been thrown away, for much indignation is expressed at the prospect of Lord Melbourne's success in overcoming the difficulties in the way of forming a Ministry.

"If (says our contemporary) the Whig Lords, who have so far listened to O'Connell, plead the hard necessity of their condition, and exclaim, 'What can we do? how can we form our Ministry without his help?' Our answer, and if we make not the answer of all England will be, 'Then do not form your Ministry.' The hardship of the case upon these ambitious personages is, that, forsooth, they are urged on to disgrace and crime by a necessity of their own creating; by a party necessity; a factious necessity; a necessity of which no honest Englishman admits or sees the pressure, beyond the pale of their own Whig-Radical clique. Who asked them, by a succession of factious votes, to turn out the Minister of the King's free choice, that they might seize his power?"

Who asked the Tories to advise the King to dismiss the Melbourne administration last November? The country was in the enjoyment of the utmost prosperity: the Tories testified to the wisdom of the foreign policy of their predecessors, by declaring that it should be continued. The Melbourne Ministry possessed the confidence of the nation, and of the representatives of the nation. Why, then, was this Ministry wantonly dismissed, Parliament dissolved at the close of its second session, and the country exposed to the agitation of an election? The only intelligible answer is, that the Tories hoped to obtain a majority in the new Parliament, by means of which, if they should not succeed in damaging the Reform Bill, they might yet succeed in withholding from the nation the improve-

ments on which it calculated. The Reformers defeated this notable project by returning a majority; and this majority, to which the nation is so much indebted, is termed by the apostate *Times* a factious majority. Where should we have been by this time without this majority?

"Who asked them, by a succession of 'factious votes, to turn out the minister of the King's free choice?' Who advised the King to dismiss the representatives of the people's choice at the close of the second session? Have the people of this country no voice with regard to their own affairs? The people are not, surely, the property of the King. The prerogative is given to the King for the benefit of the people, and it ought not to be capriciously exercised. The people thought that the dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry was a capricious and unjustifiable exercise of the prerogative, and they returned representatives to Parliament pledged to oppose the men who, for their own sinister ends, abused the confidence of the Crown. They are the enemies of the King as well as of the people, who advise such an exercise of the prerogative as excites alarm and distrust throughout the country.

What a history is that of the *Times* during the course of the last twelve months. At first Lord Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, Sir James Graham, and Lord Ripon, were, day after day, assailed as enemies of the people, because they were opposed to the reform of the Irish church, and more particularly to the appropriation of its surplus wealth to national purposes. Earl Grey, too, was exhorted to rid himself of these colleagues as the cause of the unpopularity of his government. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction expressed by the *Times* at the resignation of the above individuals, and the introduction into the cabinet of men of a more liberal character. In these days the *Times* was all for movement. On the resignation of Earl Grey, and the modification of the cabinet occasioned by the elevation of Lord Melbourne to the premiership, the *Times* gave it to be understood, that though its satisfaction was great, that satisfaction would have been increased had men of a still more liberal

caste been admitted into the cabinet. That Ministry, however, was wantonly dismissed, without having done any one act to forfeit the confidence of the country. But the treacherous *Times*, which had, up to the moment of the dismissal, been constantly calling for decided and vigorous measures, instantly wheeled round to the Tories, and at first pretended to support them because they would carry reform further in church and state, and more particularly in the church of Ireland, than was ever contemplated by the Whigs. And now that brazen-faced prostitute has the audacity to raise the cry of the church is in danger, because a resolution has been carried in favour of the appropriation which itself so strenuously advocated. Though it had never failed to abuse Lord Grey for not dismissing Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, &c., it had the impudence to declare of late that on account of the loss of strength and character occasioned by their loss, the Melbourne ministry was properly dismissed. "Once more, and in all sincerity (!) and in bitterness of heart (says our contemporary), we appeal to our countrymen whether they will thus allow a band of selfish place-hunters to roll the crown of the united kingdom in the dust." This from the journal which treated Lord Grey as an imbecile last summer, because he did not bully the King in the most barefaced manner! His lordship was told, by way of encouragement, that he was grievously mistaken if his delicacy proceeded from an idea that he was held in any respect at court.

And yet this most perfidious and treacherous of journals has the assurance to talk of its sincerity! Sincerity, indeed! They must be drivellers, truly, who have any faith in the sincerity and honesty of the *Times*.

DEEDS OF THE WHIGS,

AND

PARALLEL OF THE TWO FACTIONS.

(Continued from page 55).

May 5, 1834. Mr. D. W. Harvey made a motion in the House of Commons with a view to the abolition of all

unmerited pensions, many of which are, of course, given to *females*, and, in some cases, for *quite unknown services* rendered by them.

Lord Althorp, the WHIG CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer, opposed the motion, as being one "calling for that to be done" which no man of GENTLEMANLY FEELING "would consent to do." He said that "persons on the pension-list had a right, established by custom, to be continued on it; and the present Government had, when they came into office, recommended that they should be." He said that he "did not intend to defend each individual grant": that an inquiry into it "could not fail to be a DISGUSTING INQUIRY to any gentleman who took a part in it"; that "it was calculated to wound the feelings, as well of those who conducted it, as of those who were the objects of the inquiry, and that he felt himself bound to vote against the motion."

That was the sort of opposition given by a Whig Minister; by a man who, and whose party, came into power on the breaking up of the Tory Ministry, which breaking up was occasioned by the Whigs having moved, by the mouth of Sir H. Parnell: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the various items connected with the CIVIL LIST, and to report thereon."

We must also bear in mind that Lord Grey, who became Premier of the Whig Ministry, declared, on taking office, that "a reduction of all unnecessary expense is the firm resolution of myself and my colleagues, and that we will cut off, with an UNSPARING HAND, all that is not demanded for the INTERESTS, THE HONOUR, AND THE WELFARE of the country."

It is scarcely necessary to add that the Whigs voted against the motion, and that it was lost.

July, 1834. The Whig Government carried the "Poor-law Amendment Bill." They had had a band of commissioners prowling about the country for the pretended purpose of inquiring into the state of parochial affairs; but all the inquiries were made from parish officers, clergymen and gentlemen, and not, in

any case, of the poor themselves. Oh no! that was not to be thought of for a moment! The object was, and that was a part of the instructions given to the commissioners, for the poor people of England to be "MADE TO LIVE ON COARSER FOOD"! "Coarser food" than the poor Dorsetshire labourers could procure for themselves, a wife and six helpless children, out of seven shillings a week! "Coarser food" than the magistrates of Wiltshire ordered as parish allowance for an able-bodied labourer to live on and to work on, namely, a gallon loaf and threepence-halfpenny a week!

The Whig Lord Chancellor ("Brougham, *hmmes de lettres et avocat*") who is reputed to be the real author of the measure, declared, from the woolsack, that "no relief ought to be afforded, EVEN TO THE AGED AND INFIRM POOR; that they ought, during their health and strength, to save enough out of their earnings to keep themselves during SICKNESS AND OLD AGE"; although that same Lord Chancellor, so far from setting an example of such a mode of guarding against want during sickness and old age, as soon as he got himself seated on the woolsack, brought forward, and caused to be passed, a bill raising the retiring allowance for himself, from four thousand pounds to FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR. And this is the great supporter of a bill, which is, according to the report of the poor-law commissioners, to pave the way for completely and entirely abrogating all right to relief for the poor and necessitous.

There are many most monstrous things in this bill, the whole of which tend to oppress the labouring classes, and to make the getting of relief, when in distress, so irksome and degrading as to deter persons from applying for it; and if a man, who has a family depending upon his labour for their support, be in such necessity as to be compelled to apply for parochial relief, that relief is to be denied him, unless he go into the poor-house to live; which poor-house may be made a sort of prison-house, and sufficiently large to contain the whole of the poor belonging, perhaps, to thirty or

forty different parishes; where there is to be a "classification" of the people confined in it. The husband, if the suggestions of the poor-law commissioners be adopted, is to be separated from the wife. The mother is to be separated from the children! A misgiving seemed to haunt the mind of the Chancellor Brougham (who has, since the passing of this bill, been compelled to give up the great seal into the hands of Sir Herbert Taylor!) of the possibility of his being compelled to resort to parochial aid for his support, unless this bill were passed; indeed, he distinctly said that, unless it did pass, he did not know but that he might become a "WESTMORELAND PAUPER"!

There is another thing, too, which was intended to make the poor and needy refuse to go into the poor-houses, namely, the power that parish officers have, in certain cases, to give up the bodies of the poor, who die in the poor-houses, FOR DISSECTION!!

The operation of this measure is dreadfully felt, even by unmarried men in the agricultural districts; where (owing to the horrible amount of fiscal exactions preventing the farmer from employing a sufficient number of labourers to cultivate the land) the want of employment is so great (and the farmers and parish officers naturally provide work for those who have families), that unmarried men cannot find employment, nor will parish-officers either provide it for them, or give them any relief: they tell them that now they have no more claim upon the parish than any common beggars. If these unfortunate men apply to the magistrates, they are told, that they have no power now to order any relief for them. If they wander about in a body, and, being in want of food, demand aid of those who are able to give it, they are sure of transportation, or perhaps of death. If they take wild animals for their support, they are liable to be transported; and if, whilst pursuing these wild animals, they be caught by the gamekeeper and resist his taking them into custody, they ARE LIABLE TO BE HANGED!!!

What have these persons done! What monstrous crimes have they committed

that they should be placed in such a horrible dilemma! No crimes at all, only, that they, whilst the law remained unaltered, were entitled to relief from the land, if they were in want; and the Whig Ministers declared, that "the poor-rates would swallow up the land," although one of those very Ministers, Sir James Graham, proved when he was out of office, that a hundred and thirteen privy councillors swallowed up annually, SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS: being more by eighty thousand pounds a year (and that, mind, for only one hundred and thirteen persons) than the whole amount of the poor-rates for the TWELVE COUNTIES OF WALES, and the SIX COUNTIES OF Bedford, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Rutland, and Westmoreland!

It ought never to be forgotten that Lord Brougham, the author of this bill, carried his hostility to the poor and unfortunate so far, as even to say, in the House of Lords, that "except for broken limbs, hospitals, dispensaries, and almshouses, are little better than nuisances and ought to be abated"!

The Whigs performed various other such like acts, as if desirous to retain the epithets which have for so many years been prefixed to their name by Mr. Cobbett; and, amongst other acts of theirs we ought not to omit to mention their malicious though unsuccessful prosecution of him, for that is a circumstance which will be remembered by them to the last moment of their lives. He was indicted "for publishing in the *Weekly Political Register* of the 11. December, 1830, a libel, with intent to raise discontent in the minds of labourers in husbandry, and to incite them to acts of violence, and to destroy corn-stacks, machinery, and other property," &c. Mr. Cobbett defended himself in person, and the lashing that he took the opportunity of inflicting on the "Greys, the Broughams, the Lambs, and the Russells," whom, with the rest of the Whig Ministry, he had subpoenaed, and had before him in Court; his bantering allusion to the "agreeable twaddle" of Mr. Gurney, and comparing him to a "truffle hunter"; the defiance and scorn with which he

loaded the Whig Attorney-General *Denman*, and his "*dirty bill of indictment*," indeed, the whole of his defence was so manly and so powerful; his scaroms so withering to his prosecutors; his invective so overwhelming, so terrible and so blasting to that *d-grade faction*, that it will never be either forgiven or forgotten by them.

The concluding sentence of his noble defence must conclude this very brief notice of this remarkable trial, and it would be criminal to omit it; it is this: "*If your verdict should be one that will consign me to death, by sending me to a loathsome dungeon, I will, with my last breath, pray to God to bless my country, and curse the Whigs, and I bequeath my revenge to my*" CHILDREN, AND THE LABOURERS OF "ENGLAND!"

The Whig prosecution of the "*True Sun*," for their inserting articles having a tendency to bring the House of Commons into contempt, was marked by the true Whig character. Every body knew that that paper was obnoxious to the Whigs, because it was *sincere in its advocacy of Reform*, and *sincerity* is the very devil to a Whig. They could prosecute, and punish that paper for bringing the House of Commons into contempt, whilst the two Whig papers, the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, were allowed to go unscathed for their fierce attacks on both Houses of Parliament, describing many of the members as being "*hired lacqueys of public delinquents who stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in.*" And the Whig Attorney-General (*Denman*), on the words just quoted, being brought before his notice in the House of Commons, said, "I cannot say but that the words are true. I cannot say they are false, I never thought them so." The two before-named papers seemed to be trying to outvie each other in *abusing the Parliament* at the very time that the Whig Government was prosecuting the *True Sun* for bringing the House of Commons into contempt. Aye, but the *True Sun* took the liberty to give the Whigs a dressing as well as the *Tories*; and for that the Whigs seem determined to crush that

paper; whilst the *Times*, and the *Chronicle* were lending, or rather *selling*, a factious support to the Whigs, and, therefore, was protected by that crew, although they described those members of both Houses of Parliament, who were *opposed to the Whigs*, as "*robbers*," "*bastards*," "*insane*," "*hungry and restless paupers*," "*men who live on the pillage of the nation*," &c., epithets and terms, but ten times more violent and *conemptuous* than those for which the *True Sun* was so savagely punished.

Then there is to be remembered, against the Whigs, their objecting to take off the newspaper duty:

Their objecting to the motion by which no Minister of state was to be allowed a retiring pension until he had served *five years*:

Their tricks with regard to Savings Banks, in order to make it as *difficult* as possible for the deposits to be withdrawn:

Their granting a large sum of money to the discoverer of the north-west passage, the magnetic pole, and the CROKER MOUNTAINS:

Their paying the *Russo-Dutch* loan of SIX MILLIONS: Their *Otho* loan of TWO MILLIONS: In short, their *extreme mildness, integrity, and patriotism*, have been such, during the *four years of their pestilent sway*, that more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects has been shed, more victims to the odious laws affecting the press have been punished with fine and imprisonment, than have taken place in England within the same period since 1780.

Nor must we forget their having added about FORTY MILLIONS to the national debt, in the *four years* of their baneful domination, being *one-eighteenth part of the whole debt*, which has taken more than a hundred and fifty years to accumulate.

The reader will have been disgusted if he have waded through this catalogue of crimes, therefore this offensive but necessary task shall be concluded by placing a few of the acts of the *TORIES* in juxtaposition with some of those of the Whigs:

The Tories

Opposed the Reform Bill.

Supported long Parliaments.

Had their *Sidmouths* and their *Castles* and their *Olivers*.

Had their *Manchester* affair.

Had their standing army in time of peace.

Declared against cheap political publications.

Suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act.

Supported the Pension-list.

Had their Swan River emigration job.

Passed Sturges Bourne's Bills, giving a plurality of votes in vestries to the rich.

Abolished the income-tax, and kept on the *assessed taxes* and the *malt-tax*.

In and out of place objected to the vote by ballot.

Put about one-half of the names on the Pension-list.

The Whigs

Put in the tax-paying clauses and stultified the effect of the bill.

Refused to repeal the Septennial Act.

Had their *Melbournes* and their *Papays*, and defended the use of *Spies*.

Had their fast-day affair, and their *Calthorpe-street* affair.

Augmented the standing army that the Tories had left them.

Prosecuted and punished those who sold them.

Passed the Irish Coercion Bill and trial by COURTS MARTIAL.

Refused to revise it.

Had their Australian emigration job, by Wilmot Horton.

Passed the *Poor-law Amendment Bill* giving the rich the right to vote by proxy; and refused to repeal *Sturges Bourne's Bills*.

Refused to repeal the malt-tax and the assessed taxes, for fear that they should be obliged to lay on a property-tax.

In favour of vote by ballot when out of place, but against it when in place.

Put the other half of the names on that list, and would allow of no inquiry into it, saying, that it would be "DISGUSTING AND UNGENTLEMANLY" to do so!

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 10.

INSOLVENT.

ARCHBALD, W. A., Ratcliff-cross and Back-lane, St. George's-in-the-East, sugar-refiner.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

HILDER, A., Otford, Kent, cheesemonger.

HOLLOWAY, W., Dorset-street, Clapham-road, brewer.

PARNHAM, B., High-street, Shadwell, and Liverpool, sail-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

CALEY, R., Queen's-row, Walworth, merchant.

EDMUNDSON, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer.

GREEN, G., and A. Lynn, Golden-lane, Barbican, leather-sellers.

HALL, R., Paradise-street, Rotherthire, general-dealer.

STYLES, J., Elizabeth-place, North Brixton, Lambeth, lodging-house-keeper.

VERYARD, R., Bristol, flax-dresser.

WARD, W., Coventry, ribbon-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.

INSOLVENT.

TERRY, T. L., Cornhill, vintner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DANIEL, P. H., Razces, Boshury, Herefordshire, cider-merchant and cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

CLAYTON, J., Buxton, Derbyshire, draper and tailor.

DIX, W., Burslem, Staffordshire, draper.

GOODBODY, A., Ludgate-street, London, tailor.

HARRISON, S. W., and W. Harrison, North Shields, scriveners and ship-owners.

MARCHETTI, J., Torquay, Devonshire, victualler.

SEWARD, J. H., Leominster, Herefordshire, wine and spirit-merchant.

SHELDON, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, publican and maltster.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 13.—We have had a good supply of Wheat and Flour since this day week, for which we experienced an exceedingly dull sale to-day, at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter on Wheat, and 2s. per sack on Flour, from last Monday's prices.

Fine fresh malting Barley, being scarce, was taken off at last Monday's prices, but all secondary qualities were offered 1s. per quarter lower, and nearly unsaleable, as many of our maltsters are leaving off, and our distillers are very little in the market; but we should expect grinding Barley must be in request this summer.

We had a large arrival of Oats last week and this morning, for which we experienced a good demand to-day at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter over last Monday's prices, but the trade was hardly so brisk as on Friday.

In corn, under lock, nothing doing to-day.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 40s. |
| Old | 44s. to 48s. |
| Red, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 34s. to 38s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 34s. to 37s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 37s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 35s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 34s. |
| New | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Black | 24s. to 27s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 26s. to 27s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 26s. to 28s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 25s. |
| Feed, new light | 21s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |

Danish & Pomeranian, old 20s. to 22s.
 Petersburg, Riga, &c. . . 22s. to 23s.
 Foreign, in bond, feed. . 12s. to 14s.
 Brew. 16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, April 13.

In this day's market, which exhibited, throughout, a good supply for the time of the year, trade was, in the whole, somewhat brisk. Prime small Mutton and Lamb selling freely, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at fully Friday's quotations.

About 2,100 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots; about a fourth Shorthorns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of Devons, homebreds, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, were, for the most part (say at least three-fourths of them), from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 180, chiefly Devons, Scots, and Shorthorns, with a few Welsh runts and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern districts; about 200, in about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, for the most part Sussex steers and oxen, with a few runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, which embraced about 40 lusty Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, for the most part out of their wool, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, Ryelands, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. The Lambs, in number about 4,000, consisted of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, Southdowns, and Dorsets; with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and various nondescript crosses.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Veal | 3 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | 6 | 4 |

THE FUNDS.

| per Cent. | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. |
|-----------|------|------|------|-------|------|--------|
| Cons Ann. | 91½ | 92 | 92½ | 91½ | 91½ | 92½ |

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MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Report from Mr. Davis on the Cure of an Enlargement of the Liver.

To Mr. SPENCE, General Agent for Berkshire.

SIR,—Among the several Cures which have been effected by "Morison's Universal Medicines" in this place, I select the following as deserving of public notice

Robert Fowler, shoemaker, had been under the doctor's hands for twelve months, with what was termed an Enlargement of the Liver, telling him, at the same time, that his heart was like sponge at the bottom. He (the Doctor, did his best to alleviate his sufferings; but, being poor, and on the parish, with a large family, gave him up as incurable, saying that "all the drugs in his shop could do him no good, as that die he shortly must," and gave him up as a lost case.

In conversation with the poor man, on his hopeless case, I advised him to try the Pills, which he was willing to do, but said he was "too poor to pay for medicine." I gave him a box for trial, and if he found any benefit from them, to persevere in taking them, according to directions: he did so, and another person giving him a box, he found so much relief, that he contrived somehow to raise enough for an eleven shilling packet. I advised him to run up to thirty Pills a day, gradually, but without loss of time. He did so, and it did not kill him (as the York and Pershore Doctors would insinuate), but absolutely cured

him, before he had finished the packet; and he is as well now as he has ever been these twenty years past; and fully able to earn bread for himself and family again, which he has not done for the last three years.

He is willing to state the above facts on oath if necessary. I shall shortly have other important cases and cures to lay before you, and you may rest assured that Morison's Pills are becoming all prevalent in this neighbourhood.

I am, sir, yours truly,

J. DAVIS.

Lambourn, Berks,
14. Sept., 1834.

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WM. COBBETT.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 25TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE ELECTORS OF DEVONSHIRE.

London, 22. April, 1835.

GENTLEMEN,

THERE are, I am told, addresses to you published in a newspaper called the "*AGE*," which addresses are signed with MY NAME. If you knew, or could know, any thing of the man who thus uses my name, it would be unnecessary for me to address you on the subject. As the matter stands, it is right that I should tell you, that those addresses to you, signed with my name, are **BASE FABRICATIONS**, from the beginning to the end; and I leave you to judge of the character of the faction capable of using such means.

I am,
Your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The two factions are upon a perfect equality in my eyes: they cordially joined in the case of the *Poor-law Bill* and the *Malt Tax*; but, I by no means approve of the personal attacks on Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

I think, that there is no editor of any newspaper in the kingdom, who will not deem it *justice to me*, and especially to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, to publish the above.

A WELCOME

TO

MR. SPRING RICE.

Normandy Farm, 20. April, 1835.

SIR,— "*Welcome to Ireland*" were words that met my ears from many thousands of your countrymen, last autumn; and, on no spot more cordially than on the banks of the Shannon, where the lord of the manor makes his wretched tenants pay him 1s. 6d. a car-load for the *sea-weed* that the tide casts on the shore. In return for this welcome, I now welcome you to your office of *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, you being the *thirteenth* that I have had to address in that office; and, if I be right in my calculations, you are within about *two* of the *last*. I do not think that the pan will stand above *two more skimmings*; the milk is got very blue: by the time that you have done with it, it will not be worth quarrelling for.

Now, then, it is to you that we are to look for measures to "*deliver*" us from the "*difficulties and dangers*" of a profound peace of twenty years' duration, preceded by a twenty-two years of "*glorious and triumphant war*," to the **HERO** of which we have been compelled to pay, as a reward for his victories, a million of money; to whose "*companions in arms*," as he calls them, we have paid, on the same ground, about a hundred million, and to whom (there being about 450 generals amongst them) we now pay about *five millions a year*! It is to you that we are now to look for "*deliverance*"; and, therefore, to you I address myself now, it being my intention to talk to you in a friendly way about these same "*difficulties and dangers*."

But, to start fairly let me first observe, that the order of Jacobins, Democrats, Radicals, and Destructives, have had *no hand* in producing these "*difficulties and dangers*." I could show that they

never could have existed, if we had been listened to in time; nay, if we had been listened to so late as 1817. But that is no matter: it is enough that it is notorious, that the "*difficulties and dangers*" are the work of the ARISTOCRACY and the PARSONS; theirs was the *war*; theirs the *loans and debt*; theirs the paper-money; theirs the *Peel-bill*; theirs the Robinson-Goderich-Ripon prosperity; theirs the *panic*; theirs the bill of 1826; theirs even the *American bank*; theirs the *wheat at 4s. 10½d. a bushel*; PITT and SIDMOUTH, and PERCEVAL and CASTLEBRAGH and LIVERPOOL and CANNING and PEEL, were all *theirs*; and YOU are *theirs* now; and we of the "*disaffected*" and "*designing*" and "*scrambling*" order have had nothing at all to do with the matter, from the beginning up to the present hour.

Having settled this point, having agreed upon the proposition, that the affair is *all your own*; that the mess has been mixed up solely by the aristocracy and parsons, I shall now make some remarks on the *component parts* of the mess, and on your probable management of it. The mess consists of *church reform, corporation reform, surplus tithes, "spiritual wants."* (I am serious: I don't laugh; indeed I don't!) "*Spiritual wants,*" commutation, church-rates, law reform, "*ancient institutions*"; finally, *fifty-two millions of taxes a year, wheat at 4s. 10½d. a bushel at Mark-lane, and NATIONAL FAITH."*

"*Ah, Spring, Spring*"! as I used to say, when I read about you and Sir HENRY PARNELL being about to *establish* a bank, by the means of which Irishmen and Scotchmen were to "*ease the currency*" in *England*. "*Ah, Spring, Spring*"! This last is the thick part of the mess. All the rest might be got over, somehow or another; but this swamps your occupation, as sure as you are a living man; and your luck will be good if it does not swamp you. You may bawl about Radicals, Jacobins, and *Destructives*, as long as you please; sitting upon that cheer-inspiring bench, and with millions to finger, you may challenge me "*foot to foot*" and "*shoulder to shoulder*." I will bring a bushel of

wheat and toss it down upon the table before you, and if you beat that I'll say, as Mr. BULWER's "*boor*" says in the "*Blue Lion*" story: "*You be's a good un, SPRING*"! You will call this laughing at you. Why, at the end of thirty-two years (for that's it) of abuse and ridicule, bestowed on me by the whole crew of aristocracy and parsons, it must be allowed, I think, that a little arrear of laughter is my due.

You have sworn to maintain "*national faith*"; you (I lump all the aristocracy and parsons together, and all the whole crew of tax-eaters, numerous as the sands by the sea, Hanoverian half-pay-people and all) have sworn to maintain "*national faith*"; that is to say, to pay the fundholders, pensioners, judges, and all the tribe of tax eaters; but above all, the fundholders their present salaries, annuities, pensions, allowances; pay, in *full tale*, according to the nominal sum, and in gold of *full weight* and fineness. This is "*national faith*"; and if you hold to this faith for two years longer, at the end of that time I will say, in the words of Mr. BULWER's *Sussex boor*, "*You be's a good un.*" But mind, we will have no tricks, no "*easing of the currency,*" no cheating of the devil, by giving the fundholders bits of paper, of which they must give nine or ten nominal shillings for the bushel of wheat; none of these tricks, but a full, fair, and conscientious keeping of your faith, like a true Protestant of our church, when our *spiritual wants* are properly supplied. No mental reservations, no shuffling the cards, but an honest payment of the money down in full tale, and in gold of full weight.

Sir, do you recollect my republishing an American pamphlet, entitled, the "*Curse of Paper-Money,*" with an introduction of my own, and a dedication to the Speaker? You do recollect it; for I did myself the honour to present you a copy, and put it into your own hands in the House of Commons. Do you recollect that I showed you a little bill of exchange that I had got from America, which proved that our money was become of less value than the American money, instead of being, it had been for years,

14 per cent. above its value. Perhaps you do not; for I am not sure that I showed the bill of exchange to you, though I am sure I did to Mr. ELLICE and to Mr. ALEXANDER BARING; who, by-the-by, has had the precaution to get away from the Essex people a little more adroitly than Mr. WESTERN did. I showed this little bill to them, as a proof of the certainty of the ruin of agriculture in England, unless "national faith" were abandoned, and that right speedily. I remember telling Mr. BARING that I should not wonder to see English wheat come down to *three-and-sixpence* a bushel. I forget what he said, but I do not suppose that he believed it; men are so very apt to reject a belief in that which they are afraid of; but I gave you the book: if you did not read it, you ought to have read it. You are wilfully blind, you sin against the means of conviction, and there is no excuse for you. If you did read it, and still hope that you can continue to make the nation pay the interest of this debt *in full*, then you may still be a "*good un*"; but a *foolish un* you are, if there be a foolish un on this earth.

When I was in Long Island, whither I went to avoid the dungeons of CASTLE REAGH and SIDMOUTH, the clever Whigs (for PEELE'S Bill really was theirs more than it was that of the Tories) recommended and urged a law to compel the Bank to return to cash-payments. The old pensioned hack TIERNEY was the spokesman upon this occasion. This was in the spring of 1818. The account of the debate reached me in the month of June 1818. TIERNEY had described the sort of bill that ought to be passed. I addressed a letter to TIERNEY, which was published in America in the month of July, and in England in the month of September, predicting in the most confident manner the dreadful ruin that would be brought upon all the industrious part of the country, if such bill were to be passed. I told the old pensioned hack that such a bill would bring down wheat to FIVE SHILLINGS A BUSHEL. But I observed, "I say to *five shillings* a bushel; but I by no means mean to limit the fall to that, for I believe that

"it may bring it down a great deal lower, so that the nation which has borrowed money, twelve shillings of which it took to purchase a bushel of wheat, will, if such a bill pass, be made to pay the interest in money, five shillings of which will purchase a bushel of wheat; the nation will, therefore, have its taxes more than doubled by such a bill."

This was quite enough to cause them to bring in and pass the bill, though my threatening them with the *puff out* had indeed something to do with the matter. When they passed the bill they exulted as if they had had another Waterloo; their shouts vied in point of loudness with those of the quarter of a million of big-headed and knock-kneed Cockney pickpockets, when they beheld the "defeat of the American fleet by our gallant tars" on the *Serpentine River*! "After long deviating from the straight track of our ancestors," said PEELE, "we have got back again into the right course; the haven is right before us, and there requires only one effort to bring us safely into port and to anchor." "Only three and a half per cent," said RICARDO, "will it make prices fall." "What," echoed back auditor GRENVILLE in the other House, "are noble lords frightened at *three and a half per cent*. abatement in prices"? "Here then," exclaimed the brazen and empty-skulled CANNING, "the wisdom and integrity of the House set the question at REST FOR EVER."

Now sir, let us turn again to the concern as you find it. At the time when I said that wheat would come down to five shillings a bushel, enemies called me fool, jackass, numb-skull; and particularly the bull-frog farmers, and greedy landlords, so called me. My friends smiled, gave a little shake of their head on one side, and observed: "He is gone a little too far here." The year 1818 was a most prosperous year for farmers, the crop was large, the summer fine, and at the suggestion of MATTHIAS ATTWOOD (I believe it was) VANSITTART had caused bales of paper-money to be poured out, as a *remedy* (now mark what I say); as a *remedy against the workings of the evil-minded and designing men, who were urging*

the people on for parliamentary reform.

A pamphlet, in a quarto form, urged the necessity of putting out of paper in great quantities, in order to cause the working people to have employment, and to take them out of the hands of designing and evil-minded men who were pushing them on to demand parliamentary reform. A copy of this pamphlet was brought to me in the month of February 1817, accompanied with an assurance that Mr. MATTHIAS ATTWOOD was the author of it, which I believed at the time, and which I believe still; imputing no blame, but very great error, to the author; for if our petitions had been then attended to, instead of producing for us those gags and dungeons, of which WILLIAM LAMB (now Lord MELBOURNE) was one of the loudest advocates, never would the nation have heard of a PEARL'S Bill; never would there have been that multitude of calamities which the nation has undergone, and has yet to undergo; and never should we have heard of "surplus tithes" in Ireland, and the "spiritual wants" of the Protestants: for though there must have been some great change in both these churches, the people would have been at their ease and in good humour, and in a mood to wait patiently for the correction of abuses; and not in such a state of torment that they are pushed along, as it were, to save their lives, not being allowed time even to think of the endless changes that are proposed and projects that are afloat.

The price of wheat in 1818 and 1819 vibrated between ten and eleven shillings a bushel. Therefore, to say positively that it would come down to *five shillings* seemed, even to my friends, to be playing a hazardous game. It came down to less than five shillings, however, in four years from the day when the prediction was uttered, and in three years from the day of passing the bill; and now it is even lower than it was then; and that, too, after a harvest by no means singularly abundant, but the contrary. And, sir, we shall not stop here be you well assured. Not a sovereign in gold can you keep here, if you add to the amount of the currency.

The wheat is now, at MARK-LANE,

4s. 10½d. a bushel, which bushel, the capacity of which is regulated by the invention of the Scotch quacks, who had a rich job in contriving that the capacity of the bushel should be regulated by the beating of a pendulum in a heat of sixty degrees of the thermometer of FAHRENHEIT. . . . Let me stop here, while I think of it, and ask how it can have happened that the "noblest assembly of freemen upon the face of the earth," as GRAHAM called them, were able to ascertain the capacity of the farmers' bushel, by the beating of a pendulum; were able to dive into matter so profound, so very learned, as this; as they had, before, been able to ascertain, by the application of a two-foot rule, that the way to prevent men from oversetting the constitution by writing, was to compel them to print upon a paper 22½ inches long and 17¾ inches wide, as expressed by the Act of Parliament, for the prevention of seditious and blasphemous publications! One would think that nothing was impossible to such men, who, one would imagine, are fit to tackle the devil himself.

It occurs to me, while I think of it, to ask; how such a very simple thing as the price of a bushel of wheat is beyond the reach of men like these to tackle? Leaving you, at your leisure, to explain this to me, if you will be so good, I proceed to observe, that the Scotch-quackery-pendulum bushel, called by the beastly name of *Imperial* bushel, even in the Act of Parliament, in the way of adulation, no doubt, to the big and "beneficent" SOVEREIGN of that day, who left so many walking sticks and snuff-boxes and shawls behind him, as the newspapers told us; this Scotch quackery bushel, which together with other new measures and weights have cost the people of this country more than a million of money, is somewhat *larger* than the *Winchester* bushel; and, if I am rightly informed (for one of the big Sovereign's bushels I never will possess), it makes the price of the WINCHESTER bushel, at Mark-lane, 4s. 7½d.

Now, then, sir, CAN YOU CAUSE THIS PRICE TO BE RAISED, and preserve your "national faith" at the same time? I say that you cannot; and

yet, without it, you cannot carry on this system. You are now in possession of too much power for any man that comes about you to tell you the truth. With regard to the state of the country, Sir ROBERT PEEL never heard (except by some accident he got hold of some of my writings) one single word of truth, all the time that he was in office. One would think that he would have heard truth from Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL. Ah! but men disguise it even from themselves. Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, doubtless, entertained the hope of being able to assist in retrieving the affairs of the country, without resorting to that from which all of you shrink. If Sir ROBERT PEEL had not been grossly misled, he never could have said what he did say in the debate upon the malt-tax. In the first place, nobody will suspect him of deliberately contriving and uttering a string of falsehoods, or even one falsehood; and I do not so suspect him. Yet all that he said in the way of fact was false. I should not state this so positively; but I subjoin to this address a publication of Mr. JOHN MOSELEY, of GLEHAM-HOUSE, near SAXMUNDHAM, who is the chairman of the agricultural associations of Norfolk and Suffolk. This gentleman's paper is a circular, and he has sent one of them to me. You will see by his paper, that he says, in answer to Sir ROBERT PEEL, all that I said in answer to him, and something more. He shows the misstatement of Sir ROBERT PEEL with regard to the prices at Mark-lane; and, in short, he proves that Sir ROBERT PEEL was uttering a string of falsehoods from the beginning to the end, in the way of fact, as far as facts went. Yet, I acquit Sir ROBERT PEEL of falsehood; he believed that which he stated to be true; I myself, proceeding upon information that I believed, might have done the same thing. As to his arguments, they were sophistical in two or three instances; but he brought the falsehoods from his informers, and laid them before the House, believing them to be truths.

Now, sir, this ought to be a lesson for you; and if it be a lesson, and if you be diligent in your inquiries, you will find that, upon that bench you will not long

sit, unless you can effect such a change in the financial affairs of the country as will better the lot of men engaged in business and in farming. To the paper which I have just mentioned, which comes from a country gentleman and a considerable landowner, and whose politics are not discoverable from his writing, you will find added, a paper from Mr. JOHN RICHARDSON, of HEYDON, in Norfolk. This gentleman is a Whig, avowedly; and you will find him saying this: "I have no fear as to the result of the elections, or the permanency of a Tory administration. A power, a spirit, is abroad, that will crush a Tory administration, or, indeed, *any administration* to atoms." After the paper of Mr. RICHARDSON, which is an Address to Owners and Occupiers of Land, in Norfolk, you will find a letter of a farmer of five hundred acres, in the Isle of Wight, who tells me that wheat is selling there for nine pounds a load; that is to say, about 4s. 3½d. WINCHESTER bushel; that is to say, four-and-sixpence a bushel of the Scotch-pendulum-big-Sovereign-measure. This correspondent tells me of a curious thing; namely, that sovereigns are selling in the Isle of Wight at twenty-five shillings each, at the least, in exchange for paper. To you this will appear incredible; because you know that the law compels country bankers to pay in gold, any note of five pounds, or under, of their own; and that the old mystical hag in THREADNEEDLE-STREET must pay her notes in gold, if presented to herself. But, sir, people are in the Isle of Wight, *going to America*. They have the paper; they have no time or means of getting it changed into gold, without paying for it. They know that the paper is not worth a pin in America. It is the last sacrifice that they have to make; and they make it.

But, sir, this is a matter for you not to dismiss off-hand. As far as I can learn, specie is becoming the common currency in America, and particularly gold. This gives your affair a twist, and presents it to us in a new aspect. You know, or you ought to know, that America never had a gold circulation before. You know, or you ought to know, that

there is only a certain quantity of gold and silver in the world; you know, or you ought to know, that every nation will have its due share, according to the number and amount of its pecuniary transactions; you know, or you ought to know, that if any nation attempt any trick, in order to dispense with keeping this share, it is sure to suffer for the trick, in the long run; you know, or you ought to know, that America is now entitled to a very great share, and you see her with the wisdom and the virtue to sweep away all the tricks, by which knaves were cheating her into an attempt to dispense with it.

Well, then, she taking her share, must take away a considerable part of what we had, or yet have. Every one that goes to America takes gold. The state of commerce of that country sends gold from this country to that. There is a great deal less of gold and silver in the whole of the civilised world, than there was forty years ago. The supply from the mines now, owing to the revolution in South America, is by no means equal to the wear and tear; and, while this supply has been gradually decreasing, the great American republic has been creating; has increased in her population from three millions to twelve; and in maritime commerce is the rival of England herself.

These are matters for you to consider; and, instead of advising the King to make useless representations about the distress of agriculture, the part becoming you and your high office, is, frankly to state to us the cause of this depression, this terrible ruin; and having placed the cause fairly before our eyes, call upon us to adopt a remedy. This is what would become you, and this is what you have not the political courage to do. Indeed, after all your revilings of me; after all the mockery of the two Arrwoods, it does require no common portion of courage to propose the only remedy that can afford you a chance of escape from your difficulties and dangers. Yet, even now, late as it is, it would be better to bring your stomachs down, than to attempt to go on in the present way. For, you will observe, that the real price of wheat,

taking the kingdom throughout, is by no means four-and-sevenpence a bushel. In the county of Norfolk, the average price of wheat is not quite six and thirty shillings a quarter, Scotch-quack measure; and, in the county of Suffolk, the average price of wheat is only thirty-five shillings one penny farthing; and you will relieve agriculture, will you, by the Poor-law Bill, suggested by a brace of bishops, permy-a-lins CHADWICK and Co., you will relieve the agriculture of England, by making the millions live on potatoes and salt. A hell-featured brawler, brim full of laudanum and brandy, will teach you how to raise the price of wheat by choking off the millions from eating of bread. By heavens, if I were not the most placid creature in the world, to think of your tricks would drive me stark mad.

The average of farms in England, at this moment, are held at a rent, computed on the supposition of wheat at eight shillings a bushel, or thereabouts. I know a farmer who took his farm on that calculation, a few years ago. He grows about two thousand bushels of wheat. Suppose him to sell it at five shillings a bushel, he has then three hundred pounds for his wheat less than he ought to have; but he has grown more than two thousand bushels; and he does not sell it for five shillings a bushel. He receives four hundred and twenty pounds less than he had a right to calculate upon; and as to paying rent, in such a state of things it is utterly impossible.

That's "your case," as the lawyers say. There are the facts for you. They are undeniable. Rents cannot be paid now; and what is to happen if wheat comes down to three-and-sixpence a bushel, as I verily believe it will. The drain of gold must keep on: that blessed republic of America has stirred up all the old tyrannies: she has declared war to false money; war to the grand fraud, by which men are made slaves, without perceiving the means. Heavy as the blow was which she dealt our THING in war, the blow which she has dealt it in peace, is a thousand times heavier. When the wheat comes down a shilling lower than it is now, then you will hear the storm;

and, if you be wise, you will prepare for it. It will not be then; and, indeed it is not now, a set of defenceless reformers, or a set of rioters for bread, that you will have to contend with, and that you have now, indeed, to contend with. We, the "evil minded and designing men," and our "*deluded*" followers, against whom the big and *beneficent* George the Fourth used to thunder out; we, who used to beseech you to reduce the interest of the debt, and to lop off pensions; we who used to be so "*inflammatory*" are now as quiet as so many mice munching in the inside of a cheese. You answered us, and particularly the report in 1817, made to the House of Lords by RYDGE; you answered us, by calling us robbers, wishing to "plunder the public creditor"; and by an expression of your resolution to adhere to "national faith." Adhere to it, then, by all means; only do not make us pay for it; you adhere to it, in the *stamp-laws*, and we pay for it. It is a droll sort of faith, in order to fulfil which, you make other people pay. However, this is another matter. Adhere to your national faith, I say; and I want to be told nothing as to the nature of your *termination*, and very little as to the time of it.

I am now going, sir, to introduce to your acquaintanceship "Wm. MADDLAY, Esq., of IVER, in the county of Bucks," who you will find to cry out very loudly. Sir, are you fond of music? I am, when it comes from the trees and the bushes. If you be fond of the other sort of music, the next time you hear it from the ablest hands and the very sweetest of voices, imagine the delight which I feel at hearing the howlings of these monsters of yeomanry cavalry, who for years past have been paying their labourers, to whom they owe their all, out of a *kitchen window*, or over a low wall; in front of the grass plot before their door. It is very true that these monsters have been created by the abominable system of paper-money, but they are monsters nevertheless. They had a sufficient teacher in nature herself, and from the bottom of my soul I abhor them more than any other description of the creatures of God; and their howlings are sweeter to my

ears than the whistling of the blackbird, the song of the skylark, or even the notes of the nightingale. I do not forget their base, their cowardly, their brutal conduct towards myself. I do not forget by any means that AYLESFORD (*Earl* I think they call him), and parson FINCH his brother, together with a band of base yeomanry cavalry, sent a notice to the landlord of the inn at MERIDEN to turn me (who was ill at the time) out of his house, on pain of losing their custom. I do not forget this, and several other instances of their brutality, but I can take vengeance. I am not a poor defenceless creature, as their skin-and-bone labourers are. When I hear the wretches howl, my feelings are like those which I have when I hear the squeaking of a rat expiring in the mouth of a terrier, after having devoured my corn; or rather, like the feelings which I have when I see a serpent cut asunder that has bitten the hand of a child. And really, if I were not pretty sure that this perverse Government would act contrary to the advice that I give, I do not know that I should not hold my tongue; and I should do it after all. From hatred to them I should abstain from writings that must add to my own literary fame, were it not that there are some few amongst them who merit all the good that I can do them, and who are an honourable exception, and a most honourable exception, to the main mass of this base and greedy description of men. However wheat at four-and-sixpence a bushel will mollify the hard-hearted ruffians and bring them to something like humanity. Persevere, good sir, with *national faith*, and by making them suffer you may perhaps, in the end, make them feel for others. It is a race which has been created, absolutely created, by the paper-money fraud. They feel this without being able to tell you the why or the wherefore of the matter; and you will find them all in one tone about the paper-money. They all want small notes again. Theirs is a sort of instinct. Let a cow have a good bait for a night or two in a meadow, take her away for six months, and then drive her along the road by the meadow, and see if she does not go up to the gate. These

wretches are just like the cow. They remember how jovial they were in the time of the small notes, and they want small notes again. The base dogs sent enormous cheeses and oxen to WELLINGTON as a testimony of their applause for his having beaten BUONAPARTE. Finding that wheat grew cheap after BUONAPARTE had fallen, and had been sent to ELBA, they were as gay as larks, and actually rejoiced at the prospect of seeing dear wheat again. Whether this 'Squire MEDLEY be a bull-frog farmer or a money-jobber I cannot tell; but he writes an address to the *agriculturists* (formerly called husbandmen or farmers) of the county of BUCKINGHAM. Be he what he may, he is most desperately bent on having small notes again, which he says is an "*amelioration of the currency*." He laughs at a repeal of the malt-tax, he scorns all other remedies but his own, and says that nothing can save the country unless Whigs and Tories have virtue enough to join, in order "to raise prices, in order to enable producers to support their burdens, and to effect this object it is necessary that the currency of the country should be again depreciated."

It is curious that not one of these greedy farmers or country gentlemen ever talk of a *reduction of the interest of the fundholder*. They show, and this man shows at second or third hand, what I so clearly showed five-and-twenty years ago; and particularly what I showed thirteen years ago, in my letters to WEBB HALL, at which time I left nothing of sense unsaid that could be said on the subject. Take the following as a specimen, and bless yourself, cross yourself, at the impudence of the vagabond, who in another part of his pamphlet says, that the Messrs. ARTHURWOOD were the very first and foremost in predicting the fatal consequences of this disastrous enactment, the evils of which I exposed a year before the enactment took place; and when both these gentlemen (and Mr. THOMAS ARTHURWOOD in print) have acknowledged that it was I that first turned their attention to the subject. However, never mind this. Take the following instances of the judicious selection of 'Squire MEDLEY.

They are two tables, or statements, containing matters fully expressed by me, in my letters to WEBB HALL, and the principles of which are so fully laid down in "*Paper against Gold*." Take these first, and then we will talk about 'Squire MEDLEY's reasons for shunning the real remedy.

"The '*Pound Sterling*,' or Current
"Legal Instrument in which Monied
"Obligations are contracted.

"A Table showing the value of the
"pound sterling' during the war, as
"compared with its present value; and
"thereby exhibiting the degree in which
"the national debt, and all taxes, rents,
"tithes, and debts of all kinds, have been
"raised in value and increased in bur-
"den, by the act of confiscation com-
"monly called Mr. Peel's Bill.

"Price of the Winchester bushel of
"wheat, on the average of 93 years,
"ending with the year 1793, as given
"in the Lords, 5s. 4d. per bushel.

"Value of the '*pound sterling*' dur-
"ing the above period in heavy Mint
"shillings, 20s.

"Price of the Winchester bushel of
"wheat, on the average of five years,
"ending with the year 1813, as given in
"the Bank, 14s. 4d. per bushel.

"Value of the '*pound sterling*,' dur-
"ing the last five years of the war, as
"compared with wheat, the first neces-
"sary of life, and the most important
"article of trade, 7s. 7d. per bushel.

"The '*pound sterling*' being worth,
"during the latter period, only the same
"quantity of wheat as 7s. 7d. was worth
"during the former period.

"Present price of the Winchester
"bushel of wheat, as per the last average
"returns of the whole kingdom, 4s. 9d.
"per bushel.

"Present value of the '*pound ster-
"ling*,' as compared with wheat, 22s. 5d.
"per bushel.

"The '*pound sterling*' being worth
"now the same quantity of wheat as
"11. 2s. 5d. was worth on the average
"of 93 years, ending with the year 1793,
"and as 3l. was worth on the average of
"five years, ending with 1813.

"It thus appears that all public and

" private obligations of all kinds are raised in real value and in real burden, upon the country and individuals, as far as concerns the important article of *wheat*, from 7s. 7d. to 22s. 5d. in every 'pound sterling' of obligations existing at the end of the war. This is an absolute *net profit*, as near as can be calculated of just 200 per cent. upon their gross capital, into the pockets of all fundowners, placemen, mortgagees, lessors, and creditors of all kinds, who happen to possess *good securities* for their respective claims. Every one of these persons who, during the last five years of the war, was receiving from his debtor *wheat* equal in value to 20s. sterling of the money in use during the war, is now receiving *wheat* equal in value to 3l. sterling of the money of the war, which, as far as concerns this leading article of English consumption, is exactly the same thing to him, and the same burden to the country, as giving him in money 300l. sterling for every 100l. sterling which he was in the habit of receiving during the war."

" *A Table showing the profit which has been made by loans to Government, advanced in depreciated currency under the war prices of property and labour, and now made repayable in undepreciated currency, under the low prices which the attempt to restore the ancient measure of prices necessarily occasions.*

" Price of the Winchester bushel of wheat, on the average of five years ending with 1813, as given in the Bank Reports, 14s. 4d. per bushel.

" Price of the 3 per cent. Consols in 1813, as given in Wettenhall's Stock List, 57 $\frac{3}{4}$ s., or 57l. 7s. 6d.

" Eighty bushels of wheat, at 14s. 4d. per bushel, makes 57l. 7s. 6d., or 57 $\frac{3}{4}$ s. the then price of 100l. Consols.

" In 1813 it thus required the value of only 80 bushels of wheat to obtain a credit upon the Government of 100l. 3 per cent. Consols; and the value of 80 bushels of wheat being all the consideration given, is evidently all that

" ought now to be repaid. But observe what is the fact:—

" Present price of the Winchester bushel of wheat, as per the last week's average of the whole kingdom, 4s. 9d. per bushel.

" Present price of the 3 per cent Consols, as per Wettenhall's Stock List, 82 $\frac{3}{4}$ s., or 82l. 7s. 6d.

" Three hundred and forty-seven bushels of wheat, at 4s. 9d. per bushel, produces 82l. 7s. 6d., or 82 $\frac{3}{4}$ s., the present price of 100l. 3 per cent Consols!

" It is thus a *positive fact*, that the fundowner who lent the value of eighty bushels of wheat to Government in 1813, is now in 1832 literally repaid the value of three hundred and forty-seven bushels of wheat, or more than four times the value in wheat, that he is really entitled to! Thus the riches of the public creditor are *quadrupled* on the one hand, whilst public and private burdens are *quadrupled* on the other!"

I thank the 'squire, who, I verily believe, carries a black pen behind his ear; I thank him for having got these tables together. Nothing can be truer; nothing can well be clearer. But, sir, is it not strange, that while this man is citing passages from others to show, to prove, that the fundholder is receiving two for one; is it not strange, that, while he is showing that the fundholder, in fact, lost only 7s. 7d. instead of a pound; is it not strange that he never seems to think of the only remedy that manifest justice and common sense point out; namely, that of *ceasing to pay the fundholder so much*. If any individual finds that he is, by a long process in error, paying another individual more interest than he ought to pay him, what does he do? He explains the thing to him, and proposes to pay him less, to be sure. The receiving individual not liking to cease to enjoy the sweets of double payment, says, "No: the law gives it me." "Well," says the other, "then I must go to *equity*"; and he files his bill; the other is compelled to answer; and then, if he have equity on his side, an *equitable adjustment* takes place.

Now come, sir, you are a lawyer; and is not this the natural course for a man to pursue. 'Squire MEDLEY, however, seems not to have the most distant idea of this. He is for depreciating the money of the whole country; he is for making heaps of small paper-money; or for giving us a small or base coin, instead of the present coin. The fundholders are receiving double what they ought to receive. They are robbing the rest of the community; and, as a *remedy* he would set all the rest of the community to rob one another; and enable all foreign nations to rob this nation. Servants would be robbed of their wages, mortgagees of their *just* interest, in many cases, depositors at banks of their deposits, tradesmen with book-debts of their book-debts, landlords of their rents; in short, he would plunge the whole country into a state of pecuniary confusion and uproar, which could not end otherwise than in a convulsion, and a shifting of property almost universal.

One would think that the 'squire must see this. It is manifest that the 'squire can read; and, I suppose he wrote his pamphlet himself. To be sure a man may scrawl such a parcel of words down upon paper, with very little assistance of the brain; but, at any rate, the 'squire can put two ideas together; and, is it not strange, that a man that can do this should have a whim like this come into his head? Alas! sir, it is no whim. The 'squire sees the real remedy; but the 'squire, like Sir JAMES GRAHAM, when schooled by me, looks back at the Norfolk petition; sees the pensions, sinecures, half-pay, allowances, grants, salaries, full pay; sees that there must be dreadful havoc amongst all these, before any equitable adjustment of the debt can take place. Sees that there may be a surplus revenue in the church of England as well as of Ireland; sees that the scores and scores of parishes in England, which have no church, and can have no parson in the parish, cannot stand in need of a great clerical revenue to provide for the "spiritual wants" of the people! And who will bet me ten to one that 'Squire MEDLEY has not three or four relations, if not a dozen, who are not, under one

name or another, tax-eaters or tithe-eaters.

This is the rub, sir. Hence it is that you never hear of the straightforward proposition to cease to pay men that which they ought not to receive. So large a part of the people above the working classes are, directly or indirectly, participants in the taxes, that "*national faith*" is the most popular thing in the world; and such it will be to the last possible moment of delusion.

Thus, sir, have I welcomed you to your office, in which I wish you health, with all my heart; for you will have a great deal to do; and

I am, sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Mr. BARING, now "LORD ASHBURTON," from, I hear, some sort of *relationship*, by head or tail, to the bothering, bawling, brawling Whig-lawyer, of the name of DUNNING, who got that title about 60 years ago; Mr. BARING had begun a measure for *putting a stop to the smuggling in of corn "from GUERNSEY and JERSEY"*! I subjoin (in another part of this Register) an *answer* of the Jersey and Guernsey people to the *Report* on which this precious humbug is founded. This answer is *complete*. But, the question of interest is, *Why is this glaring humbug played off?* Why is this *silly lie* propagated? This is the motive, to keep the eyes of the stupid farmers from the *real cause* of the *low price of corn*; and to enable the *tax-devourers still to go on devouring in quiet*. You, sir, *must* know that this is a humbug; you *must* know that it is only intended for purposes of deception; and I shall be curious to see how you deal with it. Mr. CAYLEY, member for some part of Yorkshire, had a notice upon the books on the first day of the session; for an *inquiry into this smuggling affair*. I expressed my surprise at this; to somebody, knowing it to be a lie from beginning to end, and thinking that every other man of sense did the same; and I was told that Mr. Cayley knew it to be a lie too, and that he in-

tended by his motion *to expose the lie!* Mr. Cayley *refined* too much: this was a sort of irony *not broad enough* for farmers to understand. They would to a certainty look upon him as *serious*; so that his notice of motion, by the *fineness* of its irony, will have operated something like the fribble, who made love to the girl; she *took him at his word* (as they are very apt to do) and he had to *explain away* his meaning, than which, nothing in this world can possibly be more *awkward*; and Mr. Cayley will never be able to rub out the effect of his notice from the minds of the stupid farmers, who will attach great weight to it, coming, as it does, from one of the members of the great, big, crack-skull county of York. What tricks you are playing, good God! and yet the bushel of wheat keeps going down. Bread is selling at St. Alban's three four-pound loaves for a shilling; just the price of it sixty years ago. A miller in Norfolk, who gathers in about two hundred pounds a week, receives about seventy pounds in silver, about sixty pounds in local notes and the rest *in copper*, and never sees one bit of gold. The big devil of a Bank has lost its power of retaining gold in the country for any emergency! And in this state of things you are bawling *about national faith*, and *about stopping the smuggling of corn*; and you have adjourned for three weeks in order to get time to settle your wrangles about office! Both sets of you have now tried your hands; and you are going to try again along with William Lamb: and BROUGHAM too, I hope! You three, with two thousand a-year Lewis, and penny-a-line Chadwick, and their long train of runners, will at last do justice to this aristocracy; or, at least, prepare the way for that justice. I don't know that I can say anything more at present that would be of any use. I see the mess that you are in, with delight that I cannot express: I have long been waiting to see it: it is come, and I thank God for it. How you will get out of the mess; whether you will try to do it; whether you will abandon the thing altogether; what you will do, or what you will not do, I cannot say; I know that the end must come, and that at no distant day; and I

know that the more distant it is, the worse it will be for the aristocracy.

To the Editor of ———.

SIR,—Having taken an active part in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, upon various occasions, to obtain the repeal of the duties on malt, from a belief that those duties are more injurious than any others to the labouring classes, by depriving them of a wholesome and nourishing beverage, and by substituting the enfeebling drink of tea, and the demoralizing use of spirits for beer; and having lately, as chairman of the general meeting, at Framlingham, of "The East Suffolk Society for the Protection of Agriculture," signed a petition to the House of Commons for the abolition of those duties, it may be expected that I should offer some comments on the *unanswerable* (as it is called) speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 10. instant, in support of the duties on malt; for the arguments in that speech, if correct, prove the propriety of perpetuating that impost. In making these comments, the paragraphic order of Sir Robert's speech will be followed, except where the same remark may apply to more than one paragraph.

The first objection to the removal of the duties on malt is based upon the impropriety of time: that Lord Chandos had moved their repeal *before* the *financial budget* was produced. In the last session of Parliament the Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to the motion for their repeal, because the financial budget *was* produced, therefore it was too late for Ministers to arrange new Ways and Means; and (unless my memory fails me) Sir Robert Peel supported Lord Althorp on those grounds. According to these arguments, no time will suit Chancellors of the Exchequer for abolishing so productive a tax, which the present Chancellor stated at—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Gross amount for the year ending 5. Jan. 1835 | £ 5,150,000 |
| Net amount for the same period | 4,812,000 |

Which leaves a loss to the public by cost of collection, &c., of £ 338,000

The following is taken from Bell's Weekly Messenger, dated March 9. inst. (viz.):—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Weekly average price of barley per quarter sold for malting in London, in the week ending 7. March, 1835. | *36s. 6d. |
| Weekly average price of barley per quarter sold in counties, which governs duties to Feb. 27. ult. | 32s. 3d. |
| Say, that, fit and used for malt, at per quarter | 34s. 0d. |
| London price per quarter for malt, as stated by Sir Robert Peel | 66s. 0d. |
| Ditto ditto of barley as above 36s. 6d.; duty 20s. 8d.; charges for malting, 3s. 4d.; gain by duty to maltsters of 5s. 6d; exclusive of increase about one twentieth part | 66s. 0d. |

Country price per quarter for malt (not published) but computed at 64s. 0d.

Ditto cost of barley per quarter 34s.†; duty, 20s. 8d.; charges for malting, 3s. 4d.; gain by duty, 6s., exclusive of increase as above.. Total.. 64s. 0d.

The gross duty of 5,150,000l. at 20s. 8d. per quarter, will require 5,000,000 quarters of malt; and taking the gain by that duty at only 5s. per quarter, it will

* 40s. per quarter is a price only obtained for *Chevallier* barley, of which the proportional quantity to the whole amount of *Malting* barley is very small in London or the country markets.

† 34s. is much beyond the annual average—and high, considering the inferior qualities of barley malted since last crop.

amount to 1,250,000l., which added to the cost of collection, &c. (viz.) 338,000l., will cause a loss to the public of 1,588,000l. The Chancellor of the Exchequer extols, in his speech, the exemption from fraud peculiarly belonging to this tax; this is a bold assertion! Do we not all recollect, within these few years, the prosecutions by Government against maltsters for defrauding the revenue? and do we not know of the various modes adopted by the operative classes to defeat this impost?

The right hon. Gentleman observes, that the price of barley now approaches nearer to that of wheat than at any former time. He is reported to have stated, that the price of barley, with a high duty, had been progressively increasing for four years. I shall observe in reply, that the approaching prices of barley to wheat arise from the deficiency of the crop of the former, and the abundance of the latter; and in reference to the increased consumption of malt, that the repeal of the duty on beer in 1830, and the act permitting beer to be sold at beer-houses, had greatly increased the consumption of malt; these seem to me more probable reasons for the increase than the high duty on malt, to which (according to the above argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer) it is attributable.

A comparison is made between the increased consumption of tea, coffee, and spirits, and the decreased amount of beer; which Sir Robert Peel attributes to the *change of taste* in the public; but it is more rational to attribute this change to the heavily increased duties on malt, which duty, previously to the year 1802, was only 10s. 4d. per quarter, and the annual consumption of malt, from 1790 to 1802, was 3,625,000 quarters. The duty was, in the latter year, increased to 18s. 8d. a quarter, and further, in 1804, to 34s. 8d., when a diminution of the annual consumption for the next six years amounted to 750,000 quarters, with improved cultivation and increased population. What could cause this diminution of consumption, but the augmentation of taxes?

In reference to the rate of imposts on spirits and malt, the Chancellor of the

Exchequer is reported to have exulted at the increased consumption of the former, notwithstanding the higher rate of duty; but it might be as well contended, that double the tax on a pound of gold, to that on a pound of lead, was equivalent to their relative value.

Sir Robert asks, what hinders the poor man from brewing his own beer? The answer is, that he cannot command a sufficient sum to pay for malt *and duty*; although he may be able to purchase the former without the latter; and if he had a sufficient sum to pay for both, he would, if there were no duty, buy double, or nearly so, of the quantity of malt, which he can now purchase.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer continues, "that poor men prefer drinking at beer-houses for the sake of society"; this cannot be altogether denied, but yet there may be another cause: that he may be better able to pay for a pot of beer for *himself only*, than to brew a cask, subject to taxation, for his whole family.

The right hon. Baronet is stated to have remarked "that if they took off the pre-sent duty, it would only make a difference of about a *halfpenny* a quart." Insignificant as that sum may appear to him, it is equal to the poor man's consumption of beer for one day out of eight; now, whether he shall work one day in eight *without* it, or have one-eighth less in *every* day to renovate his strength, exhausted by severe labour, either of them is of vital importance to a workman.

But Sir Robert appears to me to understate the amount of deduction from the cost; for, if beer be brewed from malt and hops *only* and the duty should be taken off the former, it would reduce the price *two-fifths*, that being about the proportion of duty to *malting* barley for the two or three years preceding last harvest, viz price of barley 30s. a quarter, and amount of duty 20s. 8d. thus, so far as malt is exclusively considered, *two-fifths* or 1*3*d. $\frac{1}{2}$ would be taken off price; but, as capital, labour, fuel and skill form component parts of price, I will calculate the deduction at only a penny, which is double of that stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This diminution would enable the operative classes to buy

one quarter more beer at the *same* cost, as now paid for that beverage, so essentially required to support their strength and to administer to their comfort.

From this subject Sir Robert proceeds to descant on the advantages to the public by the privilege granted to maltsters, of not being called upon to pay the duties; and that, in effect, about three millions are lent to them. Now this sum, so lent, is taken from the pockets of the people, by maltsters making their customers pay, not only for the malt, but for this amount of *duties* which *they* have *not* paid to Government; thus finding a capital for maltsters, for which loan they charged their customers in last year 12s. a quarter extra, besides increase by the manufacture, and about half of that sum in this year. Is it politic, or equitable, to compel the community to find capital for the trade of any one branch of manufacture?

Sir Robert observes, that in consequence of this practice individuals with small capital are enabled to engage in the manufacture of malt. To this it may be replied, that the security required of bondsmen by the Exchequer, *before* a person shall be permitted to malt, and the dread of extents from that court, have caused a monopoly in that manufacture, in which inferior barley would be converted into malt, but that the same tax is charged for the worst and best qualities.

From considering the manufactured article, Sir Robert turns to the growth of the raw material, and is reported to state, "that the clay lands were suffering more than mixt soils; but the latter were more adapted to the growth of barley; so that the relief would be partially given to those, which least needed assistance." This is a plausible argument, but not incontrovertible, for should the tax on malt be repealed, more beer would be required, and more malt to make it, consequently a greater demand for barley; this would raise the price of it until an increased supply equalled the demand. Now this increased supply would require a greater proportion of the land, applied to the growth of barley and oats, for the former grain, than hitherto allotted for it; therefore less would remain for oats, of

which less would be grown; and a greater price obtained for that, sent to market; hence the clayey soils would ultimately be more benefited than the lighter lands, which is consonant to the wish, but contrary to the opinion, of Sir Robert Peel, who asks: "Would not a diminution of county rates, and other charges, be of more advantage to the *whole* than the repeal of the malt tax?"

The arguments on both sides, in the House of Commons, have been too narrowed by confining them to the agricultural interest; whereas, the greater part of the community would be benefited by the removal of this tax; especially the middle and labouring classes of society.

The remainder of the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is chiefly occupied by objections to other taxes in lieu of those on malt: but, as that tax is continued, observations on them do not seem to be required from

Your obedient servant,

JOHN MOSELEY.

23. March 1835,
Glenham House, near Sazmundham.

TO OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF LAND.

GENTLEMEN,—We are again very unexpectedly (and in my opinion very unnecessarily) upon the eve of another general election, for the purpose of trying to fix upon the country again the regular old Tory hack administration, with Sir Robert Peel and his famous Currency Bill of 1819 at its head—a measure that has produced more evil, more injustice, and mischief, than any other within the memory of man; and, as Sir Robert and his tail have assumed the name of Reformers, I wish particularly to draw your attention to this subject, in order to see if we are likely to obtain any relief from a measure that must bring destruction upon the country, if not stayed in its further progress. Sir Robert still clings, with all the affection of a parent, not because it is his own bantling, but because it has increased his, and all monied men's and pensioners' property, at the expense of the other classes of the community, but,

especially of the agriculturists. This I hope to prove to you very shortly and satisfactorily from the following statement, taken from official documents, and may therefore be relied on.

A return of the annual average market-price of the quarter of wheat, and of 100*l.* three per cent. stock, from 1804 to 1834, and the number of quarters of wheat the stock would purchase in each year respectively.

| Years. | Price of Wheat per quarter. | | Price of 100 <i>l.</i> 3 per Cent. Stock. | | Quantity it would purchase. | |
|---------|-----------------------------|----|---|----|-----------------------------|------|
| | s. | d. | £. | s. | qrs. | grs. |
| 1804 .. | 60 | 5 | 56 | 16 | .. | 18 |
| 5 .. | 87 | 1 | 58 | 14 | .. | 13 |
| 6 .. | 76 | 9 | 61 | 2 | .. | 16 |
| 7 .. | 73 | 1 | 62 | 17 | .. | 17 |
| 8 .. | 78 | 11 | 66 | 11 | .. | 17 |
| 9 .. | 94 | 5 | 68 | 1 | .. | 14 |
| 10 .. | 103 | 3 | 67 | 16 | .. | 13 |
| 11 .. | 92 | 5 | 63 | 12 | .. | 13 |
| 12 .. | 122 | 8 | 58 | 18 | .. | 9 |
| 13 .. | 106 | 6 | 58 | 15 | .. | 11 |
| 14 .. | 72 | 1 | 64 | 11 | .. | 18 |
| 15 .. | 63 | 8 | 58 | 13 | .. | 18 |
| 16 .. | 76 | 2 | 58 | 13 | .. | 16 |
| 17 .. | 94 | 0 | 62 | 6 | .. | 13 |
| 18 .. | 83 | 8 | 76 | 16 | .. | 18 |
| 20 .. | 65 | 10 | 71 | 19 | .. | 22 |
| 1 .. | 54 | 5 | 68 | 12 | .. | 25 |
| 2 .. | 43 | 3 | 74 | 15 | .. | 34 |
| 3 .. | 51 | 9 | 79 | 15 | .. | 31 |
| 4 .. | 62 | 0 | 80 | 5 | .. | 26 |
| 5 .. | 66 | 6 | 91 | 3 | .. | 28 |
| 6 .. | 56 | 11 | 90 | 0 | .. | 32 |
| 7 .. | 56 | 9 | 79 | 8 | .. | 28 |
| 8 .. | 66 | 5 | 84 | 12 | .. | 28 |
| 9 .. | 66 | 3 | 85 | 14 | .. | 26 |
| 30 .. | 64 | 3 | 88 | 15 | .. | 27 |
| 1 .. | 66 | 4 | 89 | 15 | .. | 27 |
| 2 .. | 58 | 8 | 78 | 0 | .. | 27 |
| 3 .. | 52 | 11 | 83 | 0 | .. | 31 |
| 1834 .. | 45 | 0 | 92 | 0 | .. | 41 |

Now, gentlemen, look at and examine and mark the destructive operation of this Tory Premier's bill, and Tory measures to the agriculturists. The moment this bill is agitated and passed, from that moment does the price of money go up, and the price of your wheat and produce come down, to an extent that without this proof would be incredible. In order that we may argue the question

fairly, I have taken fifteen years previous, and fifteen years since the passing of that bill, which shows the price each year, both of increase and decrease, and the quantity of wheat this 100*l* stock would purchase. Taking the two periods of fifteen years, and comparing them, we find the average price of wheat per quarter from 1804 to 1819 was 85*s*. 6*d*., and stock 62*l*. 18*s*. 4*d*.; since 1819 to 1834 wheat is but 58*s*. 2*d*., and stock 82*l*. 14*s*. 2*d*. This money for the first period would on the average purchase *fifteen* quarters of wheat, and for the last *twenty-nine* quarters, so that here is a revolution in the intrinsic and relative value of property of *one hundred per cent.*, and all in favour of the drones and pensioners, and against the industrious, frugal, and beneficial husbandman. But the injustice and injury is still more evident, by observing that in 1817, the year before the question was agitated, wheat fetched 94*s*. per quarter, the 100*l*. three per cent. 62*l*. 6*s*. 0*d*., and which purchased thirteen quarters of wheat, whereas in 1834, yes, at this moment, the same sum will purchase *forty-one quarters of wheat!* Here is an alteration of upwards of three hundred per cent. between those years. The stock, in fact, is part of the national debt, so that, instead of having a debt of eight hundred millions, we, in point of fact, have a debt of *more than twenty-four hundred millions*, if we are to pay it in wheat. This mode of calculation applies with the same force, and in the same ratio in all our fixed payments—for instance, suppose I have one hundred pounds to pay in taxes, or pensions, or half-pay, or any thing else, am I not *obliged* to sell three times as much wheat now to raise that hundred pounds as I did in 1817, before this unjust and destructive bill of Tory policy passed? Can any thing be more oppressive and destructive to the agriculturists than this, and to the nation generally? The debt, the pensions, the taxes, and all the evils of the Tory policy, were contracted in a currency, when the pound note was not worth more than 13*s*. 4*d*., and now the country is called upon to pay 20*s*. in a gold and silver currency. By such means the

sources of industrious wealth have been dried up—the price and produce of land have enormously decreased—the farmer has been ruined, his house become desolate, whilst but too many have been actually pauperised. Look at this, you sticklers for Tory rule and misrule, and I dare you to the proof. Look at this, I say, and vote for candidates to uphold Sir Robert Lurncoat and his train, who have declared that too many taxes have been repealed—that the malt-tax shall not come off—that tithes are no grievance—that corporations are pure—and that Ireland wants no relief. I say, vote for such men if you like, but for ever after hold your peace. I have greater faith in your judgment and integrity than to believe you will do so, although an evil example is set before your eyes in high quarters, showing a dereliction in principle in some of our senators, which would be disgraceful to one of our destitute and demoralized paupers. But I have no fear either as to the result of the elections, or the permanency of the Tory administration—a *power, a spirit is abroad, that will crush the Tory administration* (or, indeed, any administration) *to atoms, unless relief be given to the country, and speedily.* But for men of wealth and station to prostitute themselves for the sake of office, and violate principle unblushingly, is an abomination. Look to measures, and not men; indeed, this weak and silly cry is seen through—look to men and measures—this is the point—every body knows one good volunteer is always worth half a dozen pressed men.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Yours obediently,

J. RICHARDSON.

Heydon, December 30, 1834.

Newport, 6. April 1835.

SIR,—Excuse the liberty I take in writing to you. I occupy 500 acres of land in this island. Wheat last Saturday was sold at 9*l*. a load in our market, weighing 62*lbs* per bushel; not more than will pay labourers and the poor-rates, not one shilling for king's taxes, landlord, or the

parson; they must go unpaid. Times are looking very bad indeed; landlords and their tenants must all be ruined; but tenants will go first, and then the lands will go into the hands of the fundholder, unless something is done, and very shortly, too. The whole of the agricultural distress is caused by that *shameful Bill of Peel's*, withdrawing the one-pound notes; for had not that taken place, we should now have sold our wheat at not less than fifteen or sixteen pounds per load. Farmers would then have paid their way, and got a living for their families; but now we are all going to the workhouse as fast as possible. *Sovereigns* here are selling at twenty-five shillings each at the least, and *going over to America very fast*. The five and ten pound notes will not travel out of our town, having lost their legs; the one pound notes. What are the *Members of Parliament* about? that they do not do something for the relief of the country, and not spend their time about *sabbath-bills* and other nonsense; put that off until next session, as we are *parson-ridden too much already*, God knows. Where is Mr. T. Attwood, Member for Birmingham, that he does not bring forward the *currency question* again, as he, I am sure, is of opinion. *nothing will relieve the country but that*; as neither king nor anything else can be paid, but a very short time, unless some great measure is carried to give life to the country.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,

To Mr. Cobett.

Observations on a Report of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs on the Corn Trade in the Isle of Man, and the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

This Report was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 23. March, 1835. Notice was given by Mr. Baring, President of the Board of Trade, of a bill, founded on that Report, to be brought in on Tuesday, 14. April.

Before that time, the Channel Islands

felt considerable alarm and excitement at the groundless charges preferred against them, and at the projected invasion of their rights. They named deputies to defend those rights, and the deputies from Jersey, arriving first in London, discovered the fallacious nature of the Report, represented it to the Board of Trade, and communicated the same to the deputy from Guernsey. He, with the advice of the said deputies, wrote immediately to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State, to solicit the protection of his Majesty's Government.

The deputies rely on that protection; and whatever may be the wishes and attempts of interested parties, they know it to be impossible that any government should lend its influence to the adoption of legislative measures injurious to any part of his Majesty's dominions, when known to be grounded on a mis-statement.

The deputies are ready to prove the grossest errors in the Report; they can do so by means of the Report itself. The quantities of corn exported from the Channel Islands to Great Britain are so very insignificant, that ridicule must have attached to any attempt to legislate on that ground; even, when erroneously magnified, as they are in the Report, the amount would not warrant interference; it is only the proof of fraud that could do so. And that proof is attempted to be established by representing the quantity exported from Guernsey as exceeding by one-half the whole quantity grown. No legislative interference or prohibition could be too strong for such a fraud. We deny its existence, we solemnly protest against the charge, and by this appeal to men of all parties who still prefer truth, justice, and fair play to party views of any question, we are anxious to remove the false impression left on the minds of those members to whom the Report has been distributed, and to rescue the character of our country so cruelly, so unjustifiably aspersed.

To every man able and willing to investigate the question, it will appear that on the score of fraud there is not even a shadow of suspicion; and on the quantity exported from the islands to Great

Britain, proved to be so very insignificant, that a legislative measure is totally uncalled for. *De minimis non curat Lex.*

For the assistance of those who examine the Report of the Commissioners of Customs, we beg leave to refer them to page 3 of that Report, where the annual quantity of grain exported to the United Kingdom is stated to be :

| | Wheat. qrs. | Barley. qrs. |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| From Guernsey | 6444 | 226 |
| Jersey | 7358 | 2037 |

Whereas the true statement, taken from Mr. Weston's own returns at pages 10 and 12, is

| | Wheat. qrs. | Barley. qrs. |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| From Guernsey | 539 | 86 |
| Jersey | 1611 | 1 |
| | Report. | Real export. |
| From Guernsey | 6444 | 539 |
| Jersey | 7358 | 1611 |
| | 226 | 86 |
| | 2037 | 1 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 16065 | 2237 |
| | 2237 | <hr/> |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 13,828 | |

Being an erroneous return of 13,828 quarters against the two islands, instead of the correct average of five years, amounting for the two islands to 2237 quarters exported. Or the produce of an estate of seven hundred, or seven hundred and fifty acres.

(Signed) T. LE BRETON,
J. LE COUTEUR,

Deputies of the States of Jersey.

Colonnade Hotel, 15. April, 1835.

D. DE LISLE BROCK,

Deputy of the States of Guernsey.

Colonnade Hotel, Charles Street,
9. April, 1835.

Sir,—Whenever absent from my post in Guernsey, it is my duty to communicate to you the cause officially. In the

present case, the states of that island have deputed me to London to watch over the rights and interests of the inhabitants, and I have the honour to solicit for them your protection, and that of his Majesty's Government.

Such protection was never more required than at this time, when notice has been given by the President of the Board of Trade of a bill tending to deprive the islands of their undoubted rights, and when that notice has been preceded by assertions in the public prints, attributed to the same high authority, that the proofs of fraud from Guernsey in the exportation of corn were indisputable.

My motive, in accepting the trust reposed in me by the states, was to examine and refute those assertions; many gentlemen were better qualified than I was, by their ability and knowledge, to discuss the merits of the question; but having had from my situation the making out of the returns, the passing of the certificates of produce, having, I may say, followed the whole process of cultivation and shipment of the corn exported, no other man could speak with the same precision to the facts of the case. It may well be supposed that, on my arrival here last night, I was extremely anxious to discover the grounds of the imputation alleged against us. The Report of the Commissioners of Customs, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 23. March, 1835, was however only put into my hands this morning by the deputies of Jersey, who had themselves just discovered the extraordinary circumstances connected with that Report, which it is my duty, Sir, to lay before you. The annual quantity of wheat grown in Guernsey is stated at 4505 quarters, and the quantity exported to the United Kingdom at 6444 quarters; after which the Report is made to observe: "Thus it would appear that the quantity of wheat annually exported from Guernsey to the United Kingdom has exceeded the quantity grown in the island by upwards of 2000 quarters, and it is manifest, therefore, that a considerable portion of the wheat so exported has consisted of foreign wheat; and the only way in which the fraud could have been effected has been by the exporters making

false declarations as to the produce of the wheat."

A false view of the growth and exportation of corn is taken in a similar manner with respect to Jersey; and on these false views the Report proceeds throughout. It is clear that the aggregate amount of the corn exported for five years has been mistaken, and represented as the average of the annual exportation during that period. If the error had been confined to one table, and to one island, it would naturally be ascribed to accident; but where the error is repeated for both islands, and the whole of the argument against them is grounded on such double error, it bears a mysterious appearance difficult to be accounted for, since the subsequent tables were of a nature to remove all doubts on the subject. Those tables prove, not that 6444 quarters were annually exported from Guernsey; not that the exportation exceeded by 2000 quarters the amount of all the corn grown; but truly and simply, that out of 4506 quarters grown annually, the average exportation had amounted annually to 539 quarters.

The commissioners have been much more ready to accuse the island of fraud than they were warranted to be; for independently of their own gross and manifest error already noticed, by which the whole country have imbibed unfounded prejudices against us, they refer to the letters they had received from Mr. Weston, a very intelligent officer, whom they had sent from Weymouth to investigate the matter: and he says, that in prosecuting his "inquiries, it appeared to be the opinion of those with whom he had an opportunity of conversing, that foreign corn had so found its way into the United Kingdom, although a single instance could not be adduced in which it could be substantiated, or even a surmise as to its probable extent, and after a strict inquiry and a close investigation of the means which must have been resorted to by those engaged in this species of fraud, I am fully satisfied that it cannot have been carried on to any extent."

And farther, Mr. Weston adds: "But on no occasion could I discover rents so paid had ever been exported as of island

produce, the Royal Court, by their practice, strenuously opposing any infringement of their privileges; an instance of which was brought before me by an officer of the Court, subsequently corroborated by others, of an individual who had purchased a quantity of tithe corn, not being allowed to swear to its produce so as to entitle him to its free exportation into Great Britain, as the practice of the Royal Court, in requiring in each case the oath of the grower, could not be dispensed with." And yet, in the face of such a letter, the commissioners do not scruple to accuse the island of fraud. Mr. Weston does indeed say that it was the opinion of some that foreign corn had found its way into the United Kingdom. If the opinion of the agricultural electors all over England were asked, they would probably say the same thing, and it would be found, as Mr. Weston found in Guernsey, after a strict inquiry, that not a single instance could be adduced, or substantiated.

Is it upon such grounds that persons or communities shall be deprived of their rights; and are those possessing the largest masses of property ready to give such an example of disregard to the rights of property and the first principles of civilized society, by trampling in the confidence of their strength, on the rights and property of the weak, although held by titles as valid and as sacred as the richest individual can exhibit for his own wealth?

It has been shown, from the tables in the Report, that the quantity of corn exported from Guernsey to the United Kingdom is only 539 quarters. Shall such a quantity be a sufficient ground for legislation—much less for spoliation? Let us suppose a case of modern date, that of the Mauritius annexed to the British Crown by the last treaty of peace; under the compact that her colonial produce should be admitted into the United Kingdom on the same terms as the produce of Jamaica; Would England be justified in breaking that compact because of the complaints or prejudices of the Jamaica planters? Our compact with England, in its origin still more sacred, has been ratified not by one treaty, but by every

treaty of peace concluded since the conquest, every war that preceded such a peace having been marked by our devotion and loyalty to the British Crown, and by the performance therefore on our side, of the conditions under which the compact was formed, and has since been held.

It is unfortunately true, that the agricultural interest is depressed. It is wrong, it is ridiculous to ascribe any part of that depression to the Channel Islands. The four islands do not contain twenty-five thousand acres fit for cultivation, meadows, orchards, and gardens included. How can this, with any man of reflection, be held up as an object of jealousy to the landholders, many of whom are owners of estates to a larger extent! Our connexion with England can indeed in no way be injurious to her; her commodities, produce, and manufactures are freely admitted, to an amount exceeding tenfold the value of our produce which she so reluctantly takes in return. The trifling quantity of corn exported from the islands, and which the Commissioners of Customs cannot make to be more than 2151 quarters of wheat and 86½ quarters of barley annually from all the islands, on the average of five years, is not sufficient to feed one-half, or anything like one-half of the persons employed in England for the supply of the islands. England trades with no part of the world so advantageously as with the islands in proportion to their extent. The goods exported by her to the islands amount to at least 500,000*l.* while the produce she takes back does not amount to 120,000*l.* Must we receive all and send nothing back? Such a system is too barbarous for the nineteenth century, and how it could enter into the thoughts of those specially appointed for the encouragement of trade is inconceivable. Some persons are disposed to account for it by reasons unconnected with trade, and dependent only on local and agricultural prejudices; if so, it is in vain to argue; and all I must say is, that I cannot think it possible that any statesmen should be found, in this country, ready to sacrifice the rights and interests of the smallest community, for the purpose of flattering such prejudices, and should

venture to do so, because the community injured is weak and helpless.

Confident in the justice of our cause, and in the honour as well as justice of his Majesty's Government,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK,
Bailiff of Guernsey.

The right hon. Henry Goulburn,
&c. &c.

*Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden,
April 14, 1835.*

My Lord,—We feel it to be our duty to call the attention of your lordship to some very important errors contained in the Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs respecting the Corn Trade in the Isle of Man, including also the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, dated 29 July, 1834.

The Commissioners, in page 3 of that Report, say—"From the best information we have been enabled to obtain, it would appear that the annual quantity of grain grown in Guernsey and Jersey is as follows:—"

| | Wheat. qrs. | Barley. qrs. |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Guernsey . | 4595 | 3789 |
| Jersey . | 10347 | 2897 |

The above amount, as far as relates to Guernsey, is correctly stated; but we have to complain that the same accuracy does not exist in the statement of the average for Jersey, which is taken from an abstract (page 15), made from a return (page 14) signed by Major-General Thornton, showing the proportion of land then under cultivation of wheat and barley; the average produce per acre, and the total quantity of wheat and barley at that average which the island may be expected to produce from the crop of 1834. This document, which if complete would be undeserving of attention, unless no other means of procuring correct information could be found, is very imperfect, as appears by the return itself, wherein it is said "that no statement of ground under cultivation had been received from the parishes of St. Laurens and St.

Helier." Thus two very fertile parishes are entirely omitted from the calculation, the produce of which amounted in the year 1833 to 2093 quarters of wheat and 451 quarters of barley. The difference between the estimated and the real produce will be fully accounted for when it is considered that the estimated average produce of a vergée is stated at only thirty cabots, when it is a well known fact that good lands yield generally forty, and those of an inferior description seldom less than thirty cabots per vergée. We cannot understand how the Commissioners, in their Report to the Board of Trade, could have been induced to take the average produce of the Island of Jersey, from this evidently incorrect and incomplete return, rather than from an authentic document prepared by a committee of the States, the accuracy of which is unquestionable. This return (page 10) proves the average for five years, from 1829 to 1833, to be annually 12,499 quarters of wheat and 3227 quarters of barley, instead of 10,347 quarters of wheat and 2897 quarters of barley, as stated in the Report, thereby erroneously representing the annual produce of Jersey in corn, as less by 2152 quarters of wheat and 330 quarters of barley, than is really the case.

We also beg to bring under your notice another extraordinary error in the Report (page 3), where the annual quantity of grain exported to the United Kingdom is stated as follows:—

| | Wheat. qrs. | Barley. qrs. |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Jersey . . . | 7358 | 2037 |

We are unable to discover the source whence this amount has been obtained. It is, however, correctly stated by Mr. Weston, in another part of the Report (page 10), to be wheat, 1611; barley, 1. It is therefore quite clear that no reliance can be placed upon a report containing such a variety of palpable misstatements.

We also consider ourselves bound to protest against the reasoning and conclusions of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, who, without any just or sufficient grounds, assume that frauds have been committed in Jersey, similar to

those with which they charge Guernsey, although Mr. Weston, in his communication to them, says,—“ I could not obtain any proof of the fact, or the slightest information by which it could be corroborated.”

It is not now our intention to prove, as we have the means of doing, that the measure proposed to be submitted to Parliament would be a direct infringement of the rights of his Majesty's subjects, inhabitants of Jersey, and a violation of the charters and immunities granted and confirmed to them by a long line of kings. We reserve for a future occasion the particulars of these privileges, and the foundation on which they rest.

We request, on behalf of the people of Jersey, whom we represent, that a measure founded on a report, manifestly erroneous and deceptive, may not be precipitately carried, and thereby irreparable mischief done to our island. We trust that such a postponement as may allow of correct information being obtained and considered by the Members of the British legislature will be granted to us; feeling convinced that his Majesty's Government cannot desire to proceed upon a statement so fallacious as that which is alleged to be the ground of the intended bill.

● We have the honour to be,
Your lordship's
Most obedient humble servants,
(Signed) THOMAS LE BRETON,
J. LE COUTEUR,
Deputies of the States of Jersey.

*To the Right Honourable
The President of the Board of Trade,
&c. &c. &c.*

HOUSE OF LORDS,

18. April.

The Earl of SHAFESBURY, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, took his seat upon the woolsack at five o'clock.

The Commissioners of the Metropolitan Roads brought up papers relating to this subject.

SHARP v. SHARP.

Lord BROUGHAM gave judgment in this case. It was a Scotch appeal, His

lordship said it was expedient that judgment should be given on it before the recess.

Whilst Lord Brougham was giving his judgment, the Lord Chancellor entered the House, and took his seat upon the woolsack.

The usual change consequent upon a change of Ministry took place this evening. The late Ministerial benches were comparatively empty. The only peers we observed upon them were, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Charleville, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Albemarle.

The Duke of Wellington sat on the woolsack with the Lord Chancellor.

The Duke of Gordon presented petitions in favour of the church of Scotland.—Ordered to lie on the table.

The Duke of Richmond presented a petition from the Lord Bishop of Chichester praying for a private bill, the purport of which we did not hear.—Ordered to lie on the table.

Lord BROUGHAM presented petitions, praying their lordships not to accede to the proposed grant of public money to the established church of Scotland.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

The noble and learned Lord, in presenting a petition upon this subject, said a misrepresentation had been made relative to himself, to which he begged to give a most direct and peremptory contradiction. He should not now call their lordships' attention to that misrepresentation, as he had other things of much greater importance to occupy his mind.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

Lord MELBOURNE then rose and said, that this day his Majesty had been pleased to appoint him First Lord of the Treasury, and he had been sworn into that office. It was not his intention to expatiate upon the cause which had led to the dismissal of the late Government, nor upon the difficulties which he had had in forming a Ministry. The present Government would be carried on upon the same principles which had formerly actuated it; Measures having for their object a safe and prudent reformation of the institu-

tions of the country would be brought forward. With regard to ecclesiastical reform, he would say that a measure promoting true piety and religion throughout the King's dominions would also be submitted to the consideration of Parliament. The noble Lord said that under the pressure of public business it would be impossible for the persons who were to conduct the Government of the country in the other House of Parliament to be in their places before the 12. of May. If their lordships did not wish to adjourn to that period, he had no objection to consent to a shorter adjournment.

Lord ALVANLEY wished to know if the noble Lord at the head of his Majesty's Government was to have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell. The noble Lord read some letters of Mr. O'Connell upon the subject of the repeal of the Union, and was proceeding in a strain of disapprobation of that gentleman's political career, when

Lord BROUGHAM rose to order, and said the noble Lord had been guilty of an irregularity unequalled in any House of Parliament. (Here great confusion arose, which drew forth some most cutting observations from Lord Brougham, who advised his noble Friend not to answer the question of the noble Lord).

Lord MELBOURNE said he had not taken any means to secure the assistance of Mr. O'Connell.

The NOBLE LORD said, in reply to a question from the Duke of Buckingham, that he considered himself pledged to act upon the appropriation clause in Lord John Russell's resolution.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said that when the House met after the recess he would present a petition, signed by sixty thousand Protestants, resident in the North of Ireland, praying to be allowed to emigrate, even as paupers, to some place where they would be allowed to enjoy their religious opinions. The noble Marquis said that Mr. O'Connell and his Radical crew, and a section of the House of Commons, were the greatest curse that had ever befallen this country.

The Earl of WICKLOW spoke in the same strain.

The House then adjourned to the 12.

of May, but it was understood that it would meet again on the 30. for the dispatch of some private business.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

18. April.

The SPEAKER took the chair at half-past three o'clock.

Sir JOHN BYNG brought up the Report of the Cork City Election Committee, declaring Dr Baldwin and D Callaghan the sitting Members, in the room of Col. Chatterton and Joseph Lester, Esq., and that neither the petition nor the opposition thereto was frivolous or vexatious.

Mr. CALLAGHAN then took the oaths and his seat.

Mr. ROBINSON presented a petition from the East India maritime officers, praying for compensation. The hon. Member said that this petition would have been presented to the House before but for the unsettled state of public affairs; he would avail himself of the earliest opportunity to bring the subject before a select committee, after the recess.

Mr. PRAED said, that among the fifty-five persons who had signed the petition, there were not more than twenty-seven who had any claims to compensation.

Mr. O'CONNELL supported the prayer of the petition.

Mr. TOOKE presented a petition against the London and Greenwich Railway Bill.

CANTERBURY ELECTION PETITION.

Mr. O'CONNELL moved that the ballot for the Canterbury Election Petition be postponed from the 30. of April till the 14. of May.—Agreed to.

Sir R. Peel at this time entered the House and took his seat on the Opposition bench; on the same side of the House were, Mr. Hume, Colonel Evans, Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, Mr. Ruthven, Mr. Roebuck, and other members of the late Opposition. Mr. C. W. Wynne and Sir W. Follett soon after entered, and took their seats on the same side of the House.

THE MINISTRY.

Mr. F. BARING rose, and moved that a new writ be issued for South Devonshire, in the place of Lord John Russell, who

had accepted the office of Home Secretary. The question was then put from the chair. The honourable member also moved for new writs for the following places:—For the borough of Cambridge, in the room of the Hon. Spring Rice, who had accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; for the county of Northumberland in the room of Lord Howick, who had accepted the place of Chief Secretary-at-War; for the borough of Nottingham, in the room of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, who had accepted the place of President of the Board of Control; for the borough of Manchester, in the room of the Hon. C. P. Thomson, who had accepted the office of President of the Board of Trade; for the city of Edinburgh, in the place of Sir John Campbell, who had been appointed his Majesty's Attorney-General; for the borough of Penryn, in the place of the Hon R. M. Rolfe, who had been appointed his Majesty's Solicitor-General; for the county of Kirkcudbright, in the room of Cutlar Fergusson, Esq., who had been appointed his Majesty's Judge Advocate General; for the borough of Totness, in the place of Lord Seymour, who had accepted the office of Lord Treasurer of the Navy; for the borough of Newport, in the place of the Honourable Henry Ord, who had been appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Treasury; for Stirling (burghs), in the room of Lord Dalmeny, who had been appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty; for the borough of Elgin, in the room of Colonel Leith Hay, who had been appointed Chief Clerk of the Ordnance; for the borough of Leith, in the place of Lord Archibald Murray, who had been appointed Lord Advocate of Scotland; for Dundee, in the place of Sir Henry Parnell, who had been appointed Treasurer of the Navy and Paymaster-General of the Forces; for Cashel in the place of Sergeant Perrin, who had been appointed Attorney-General of Ireland; for Dungarvan, in the place of Michael O'Loughlin, Esq., who had been appointed Solicitor-General of Ireland; for Clackmannan, in the place of Admiral Adam, who had been appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Mr. HUME trusted that these appoint-

ments would prove satisfactory. The hon. member inquired when the other writs would be moved for.

Mr. BARING said that on Monday that would take place; and that he would then move an adjournment of the House until the 12th of May.

The House adjourned at five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 20. April.

The SPEAKER took the chair at half-past three.

Mr H. MAXWELL presented a petition from the county of Cavan, praying for a revision of the General Registry in Ireland.

The Marquis of CHANDOS gave notice that on the 18. of May, on the order of the day being read for the House to go into Committee of Supply, he should call the attention of the House to the distressed state of the agriculturists, with a view of moving a resolution thereupon.

Several notices of motions were postponed till after the recess.

NEW WRITS.

Mr. F. BARING then moved that new writs be issued—

For Inverness-shire, in the room of the Right Hon. C. Grant, who had accepted the office of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (Colonies).

For Taunton, in the room of Mr. La bouchere, who had accepted the offices of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint.

For Haddington Burghs, in the room of Mr. R. Steuart, who had accepted the office of Lord of the Treasury.

For Berwick-upon-Tweed, in the room of Sir R. Donkin, who had accepted the office of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.

For Sandwich, in the room of Sir T. Troubridge, who had accepted the office of Lord of the Admiralty.

And for the West Riding of York, in the room of Lord Morpeth, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds; it having been found impossible to make out the noble Lord's appointment to the office of Secretary for Ireland in time.

Colonel SIBTHORP wished to know whether it was really the intention of his Majesty's present advisers to adjourn the House till so late a date as the 12. of May. He, for one, should altogether protest against such a proceeding.

Mr. F. BARING said that considering the time which would necessarily be consumed in the elections, and the difficulties which naturally attended the Ministry's first entering into office (a loud outcry of hear, hear, hear, from Colonel Sibthorp, which elicited general laughter), he really did not think the House would object to allowing them a few days after the election to prepare themselves for office. The recess now proposed was but a day or two longer than the recess which, under somewhat similar circumstances, was assented to by the House two or three years since, and he trusted therefore that no objection would be made to adjourning till the 12. of May.

Col. SIBTHORP had heard no reason why he should not persevere in his protest against so long an adjournment. He knew very well that it would be not merely three weeks but several months before the ministry were seated comfortably in their places. (A general laugh). When he looked to his Majesty's gracious speech, in which he promised so much relief to the agriculturists (laughter from the ministerial benches), when he looked to the state of trade, and considered that agriculture would be left without hope, trade without support under the renewal of the fructifying system of the (for a brief space) restored President of the Board of Trade, who would doubtless open our ports to the inundations from foreign markets—he thought it incumbent on him to raise his voice, and to object to so long a postponement of public business. It was most unwarrantable that such a stagnation of public business should be allowed, merely because twenty-three gentlemen wanted to start on a race, which he was pretty sure would be a hopeless one—spavined and broken-winded race-horses as he doubted most of them to be. (A general laugh). The gallant member then introduced what he described as the old saying, “of one boy saying he had not stolen an article, and

another boy saying he had not got it ;" but the text we could not collect. He had seen in the newspapers accounts that the honourable and learned member opposite (Mr. O'Connell) was the prompter and counsellor of the new ministry. (Laughter). This was a circumstance which, if it were true, was to his mind most alarming; and he trusted that it was not the case. He was no party man (Shouts of laughter from the ministerial benches), and in what he said he was guided solely by public principle. He by no means liked the countenances of the honourable gentlemen opposite (loud laughter from the ministerial benches), he believed them to be the index of their minds (continued laughter), and he should sedulously oppose them in every thing they might bring forward, from a full conviction that they would do nothing for the good of the country, or the dignity of the Crown. He trusted the country would soon be rid of such a set. (Laughter).

Mr. O'CONNELL much admired the good-humour and politeness which the gallant Member had displayed in his effective speech. (Loud laughter). He did not, however, see that the countenances of the gentlemen on the Ministerial benches were so very much more remarkable than the gallant Colonel's own. (General shouts of laughter). He would not bate the gallant Colonel a single hair (continued laughter) in point of good humour. It was pleasant to have these little matters discussed in good temper and politeness which so eminently characterized the gallant officer. (Renewed laughter). Elsewhere they seemed to be treated in a very different style. Men, declared by a resolution of that House unfit to hold office, elsewhere presumed to talk of the Irish Members with an indecency which, if it were not contemptible, would be insufferable. (Hear, hear, hear). No where else but in the place in question, would any man, half idiot, half-madman, though he were, presume to hold such language. The bloated buffoon also who dared to ask what terms had been given to himself (Mr. O'Connell) was incapable of understanding the difference between independent men and

those whose votes were not worth buying in the market. (Loud cheers). Very different, however, was the tone of the gallant Officer (loud laughter); and since it was impossible for them to have him as a friend, it was almost equally good and pleasant to have him as an enemy. (Laughter).

Mr. SINCLAIR was sorry that the good temper with which the hon. and learned Member had, as he said, commenced, had not extended to the observations he made in reference to individuals in another place. (Oh, oh). He had always admired the laudable desire evinced by the hon. and learned Member of avoiding personal collision with individuals, but he could not help thinking that this feeling should at the same time point out to him the necessity of being peculiarly circumspect in the language he made use of. (Hear, hear, from the opposition). He (Mr. Sinclair) had refrained from making any observations as to the new Ministerial edifice (a laugh), till it stood complete before them in all the symmetry and stateliness of its proportions. (A laugh). He was ready to admit that consummate dexterity and admirable discretion had been used as to the choice of materials; he was only surprised at not seeing in the full front of the wondrous building the colossal granite column from the Giant's Causeway. (laughter).

An hon. Member asked (as we understood) whether the honourable gentleman referred to the Doric column of which he had spoken the other night. (Shouts of laughter).

Mr. SINCLAIR said, that whatever the column, he firmly believed that if a deep trench were dug around the new ministerial edifice, the foundation stone, without which all would fall, would be found to be composed of the material of which he had spoken. The hon. Member then, after eulogizing the ex Chancellor of the Exchequer, concluded by prophesying that the new Ministry would be wrecked between the Radical reefs of Scilla on the one hand, and the Conservative sands of Charybdis on the other; and that on some future day some new edition of Moore's almanack best could tell when there would be an ominous conjunction

between the Wellington Mars and the O'Connell Jupiter, attended by all his satellites, and that the Ministry would fall by a vote of want of confidence moved by Sir Edward Knatchbull, (Order, order)! well, by the Member for Kent, seconded by Mr. Andrew Carew O'Dwyer, and carried by a majority of 420 over 138. (Continued shouts of laughter).

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BILL.

Mr. C. BULLER wished to ask whether the late Law Officer, of the Crown intended to proceed with this measure.

Sir H. HARDINGE, in the absence of the hon. and learned Member referred to, could not answer the question.

IRISH CHURCH.

Mr. SHEIL gave notice, that on the Order of the day being read for the House going into Committee of Supply, he should move, "That no person who might hereafter be appointed to any ecclesiastical benefice or dignity in Ireland, should be considered as having a vested right in it, which might entitle him to compensation in case the House should subsequently think proper to suppress it."

Sir R. INGLIS, with some warmth, rose and said—If the hon. and learned Member does make such a motion, I shall move that the oath he has taken be read. (Cheers from the opposition).

The House then adjourned at a quarter to five till Tuesday, 12. May.

ADDRESS FROM LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF DEVON.

GENTLEMEN,—The acceptance of an office under the Crown renders it necessary that I should again appeal to the judgment of the independent and public-spirited body by whom I have been already three times elected.

Since the last of those elections, a period short in time, but important in events and fruitful in consequences, has elapsed.

Placed, however undeservedly, at the head of the largest and most powerful opposition which was ever united against a Minister of the Crown, I have endeavoured

to make the influence which that proud position gave me conducive to the interests of the country.

The attitude assumed by the late ministers, and their professions in favour of reform, to which many, indeed the greater part of them, had always been hostile, offered a tempting occasion for invective and crimination. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid that course. The ministry of Lord Melbourne had contemplated large and, as I believe, necessary improvements in our institutions in church and state; it was my first and main object to see that these reforms were not endangered or obstructed in their progress by the late ministry.

In conformity with these views Lord Morpeth proposed and carried an amendment to the address to the Crown, in which a hope was expressed "that the liberal and comprehensive policy which restored to the people the right of choosing their representatives, and which provided for the emancipation of all persons held in slavery in his Majesty's colonies and possessions abroad, will, with the same enlarged views, place without delay our municipal corporations under vigilant popular control, remove all the well-founded grievances of the Protestant Dissenters, and correct those abuses in the church which impair its efficiency in England, disturb the peace of society in Ireland, and lower the character of the establishment in both countries."

With respect to the municipal corporations, the report of the commissioners, which has since appeared, has abundantly confirmed the opinion of the House of Commons. It is clearly proved by experience, that self-elected corporations tend to violations of trust, perversions of justice, the abuse of charitable funds, political jobbing, and the injury of the communities for whose benefit they were established. The true remedy for these evils, in my opinion, was to adapt the principle of free election, known to our ancient laws, and established in the Reform Act, to our municipal corporations. In this principle Lord Stanley and all the members of Lord Grey's ministry cordially concurred. The late Ministry, on the other hand, confined

Fitzsimon, Chris
 Fitzsimon, Nicholas
 Fort, John
 Fox, Lieut-Colonel
 Gaskell, Daniel
 Gishorne, Thomas
 Gordon, Robert
 Grattan, James
 Grattan, Henry
 Grosvenor, Lord R
 Grote, George
 Grant, Rt Hon C
 Grey, Hon Colonel
 Grey, Sir Geo, Bart
 Guest, Josiah John
 Gully, John
 Hawes, Benjamin
 Hall, Benjamin
 Harvey, D Whittle
 Hay, Colonel Leith
 Hawkins, J Heywood
 Harland, W Charles
 Handley, Henry
 Heathcote, R E
 Heathcote, John
 Hindley, Charles
 Hodges, Thomas Law
 Hodges, T
 Hoskins, Kedgwin
 Howard, Philip H
 Howick, Viscount
 Holland, E
 Hurst, Robert Henry
 Hume, Joseph
 Hutt, William
 Jervis, J
 Kennedy, James
 Kemp, Thomas Read
 King, Edward B
 Lambton, Hedworth
 Langton, G
 Leader, J M
 Lefevre, Charles S
 Lennard, Thomas B
 Littleton, Rt Hon E J
 Lister, E C
 Long, Walter
 Lushington, Charles
 Lushington, Dr.
 Lynch, A H
 Martin, T
 Marshall, William
 Macleod, Roderick
 Macnamara, Major
 Marsland, H
 Maule, Hon Fox
 Mangles, James
 M'Cance, John
 Milton, Viscount
 Mostyn, Hon E
 Moreton, Hon A
 Molesworth, Sir W
 M'Taggart, John
 Murray, John Arch
 Majoribanks, S
 Maher, John
 Mullins, F W
 Nagle, Sir R, Bart
 O'Brien, Cornelius
 O'Brien, Wm Smith
 O'Connell, Daniel
 O'Connell, Maurice
 O'Connell, John
 O'Connell, Morgan J
 O'Connell, Maurice
 O'Connor, Feargus
 O'Dwyer, A C
 O'Ferrall, R M
 Oliphant, Laurence
 O'Loughlin, Sergeant
 Ord, William Henry
 Ord, William
 Oswald, R A
 Oswald, James
 Paget, Captain
 Palmer, General C
 Parker, J
 Parnell, Rt Hon Sir H
 Parrott, Jasper
 Pattison, James
 Pease, Joseph
 Pelham, Hon C A
 Perrin, L
 Pepys, Sir C
 Phillips, George R
 Phillips, Mark
 Phillips, C M
 Ponsonby, Hon J
 Ponsonby, J
 Potter, Richard
 Poulter, J S
 Power, P
 Power, James
 Price, Sir Robert, Bart
 Pryse, Pryse
 Ramsbottom, John
 Ramsden, John C
 Rice, Rt Hon T S
 Roche, William
 Roche, David
 Roebuck, J
 Rolfe, R M
 Ronayne, Dominick
 Roper, J Bonfoy
 Russell, John
 Russell, Lord
 Russell, Lord C J F
 Ruthven, Edward
 Ruthven, E S
 Schofield, Joshua
 Scott, James W
 Scrope, P
 Seale, Colonel
 Sharpe, General
 Sheil, Richard L
 Simeon, Sir R, Bart
 Smith, Benjamin
 Smith, —
 Spiers, A G
 Stewart, Robert
 Stewart, P Maxwell
 Strutt, Edward
 Stuart, Lord D
 Talbot, J H

Talbot, C R M
 Tancred, H
 Tennyson, Rt Hon C
 Thomson, Hon C P
 Thorneley, Thomas
 Tracey, Charles H
 Trelawney, Sir S L
 Trowbridge, Sir T
 Tulk, Charles A
 Tynte, C J K
 Vivian, John Henry
 Villiers, Charles P
 Verney, Sir H
 Vivian, Major
 Warburton, Henry
 Williams, Sir J
 Ward, H G
 Winnington, Sir T
 Winnington, H
 Wilson, Henry
 Wood, Matthew
 Walker, R
 Walker, CA
 Wallace, Robert
 Wyse, T
 Wigney, Isaac N
 Williamson, Sir H
 Wilde, Sergeant
 Westenra, Hon H
 Westenra, Col
 Whalley, Sir S
 White, Samuel
 Wakley, Thomas
 Williams, Wm A
 Williams, William
 Wrottesley, Sir J
 Wilks, J
 Teller.
 Wood, Charles

PAIRED OFF FOR THE MAJORITY.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Beaumont, T W | Heron, Sir R, Bart |
| Blunt, Sir Charles | Howard, E |
| Bowes, John | Humphrey, J |
| Burdett, Sir F | Morpeth, Lord |
| Burdon, H | Musgrave, Sir R, Bart |
| Burkeley, Sir R B | Pendarves, E W |
| Conyngnam, Lord A | Phillips, G R |
| Colborne, R | Pryme, G |
| Crawford, — | Speirs, A |
| Denison, Wm J | Stuart, Lord J |
| Edwards, J | Surrey, Earl of |
| Fitzgibbon, Hon R | Talfourd, T N |
| Gillon, Wm Downe | Tooke, William |
| Hector, J M | Tynte, Colonel |

Just Published.

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO PARSONS ;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

WITH

A Dedication to BLOMFIELD, Bishop of London.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

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N. B. There are some copies on fine paper, gentlemen may have them bound to suit their own taste.

CONTENTS.

LETTER.

1. How came there to be an Established Church?
2. How came there to be people called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to *reform* it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separation of them?

DEDICATION.

TO JAMES BLOMFIELD, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Normandy Farm, 9. March, 1835.

BISHOP,

About six and twenty years ago, you drank tea at my house at BOTLEY, when you were a curate of some place in Norfolk; or a teacher to the offspring of some hereditary legislator. How rugged has my course been since that time: how thickly has my path been strewed with thorns! How smooth, how flowery, how pleasant, your career! Yet, here we are; you with a mitre on your head, indeed, and a crosier in your holy hands; I, at the end of my rugged and thorny path in a situation to have a right, in the name of the millions of this nation, to inquire, not only into your conduct, but into the utility of the very office that you fill.

It is now become a question, seriously, publicly, and practically entertained, whether you and your brethren of the established church should be legally deprived of all your enormous temporal possessions; and also, whether your whole order should not, as a

thing supported by the law, be put an end to for ever. These questions must now be discussed. They are not to be shuffled off by Commissions of Inquiry, or any other commissions: the people demand a discussion of these questions, and a decision upon them: the Parliament must discuss them; and, this little book, which I now dedicate to you, is written for the purpose of aiding us all in the discussion; so that we may come at last to a just decision.

I select you to dedicate my book to: first, because you were a zealous defender of the DEAD-BODY BILL, which consigns the corpses of the most unfortunate of the poor to be cut up by surgeons, instead of being consigned, with double and treble solicitude, to the care of a really Christian clergy, and provided with all the means and circumstances of the most respectful Christian burial.

Another reason is, that you were a *poor-law commissioner*; one of the authors of that book, which was slyly laid upon the table of the House of Commons, by the Whigs, in 1833; and one of the authors of that voluminous report and appendix, laid upon the table of the same House last year; on which report and appendix the *coarser-food bill* was passed; and in which report and appendix, you have communicated to the House of Commons the most infamous libels against me by name.

Another reason is, that you are a *church-reform commissioner*, under the present set of Ministers; and that I find, that, while you were Bishop of CHESTER, you made a G. B. BLOMFIELD, a prebendary of CHESTER, and that he now has, in addition to that prebend, two great church livings; namely, the rectory of CADDINGTON, and the rectory of TATTENHALL, each worth, probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a year. Now, bishop, this is a very solid reason for addressing my little book to you; for, if you can talk of "*church-reform*," and about seeking for the *means of providing for the cure of souls*, while this BLOMFIELD has a prebend and two great rectories, it is pretty clear that you want a great deal of *enlightening* on the subject. If you do not, however, many other people do; and therefore it is, that I write and publish

this little book, which is my **LEGACY TO PARSONS**, and which I most earnestly hope will very soon be amongst the most valuable of their remaining temporal possessions. You will find the little book go to the **VERY BOTTOM** of the matter; that it will unveil all the mystery that has hung about this church for so many years; that it will leave the people nothing more to ask about the matter; and put them in a situation to determine reasonably, at once, either to submit to the most crying abuses that ever existed upon the face of the earth; or to put themselves in motion for the purpose of legally, but resolutely, effectually, and for ever, putting an end to this abuse.

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.

INSOLVENTS.

BARWISE, G., Crowland, Lincolnshire, scrivener.

TERRY, T. L., Cornhill, vintner.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

TIPPER, S., Landogo, Monmouthshire, paper-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

GUNNING, W. B., Egham, Surrey, brick-layer.

PARMENTER, J., Melbourne, Cambridge-shire, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

GORTON, W., Gutter-lane, Cheapside, fish-monger.

JOHNSON, R. W., Gloucester, merchant.

KIRTLAN, T., and **W. Bruce**, Blackman-street, Borough, woollen-draper.

PELL, G., Weston Favel, Northamptonshire, victualler.

TARDIEU, E., Berners-street, Oxford-street, dealer in lace.

WILSON, J. S., Milton, Kent, miller, Portsmouth, coach-proprietor, and Agnes-place, Waterloo-road.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BALFOUR, J. L. G., Edinburgh, writer to the signet.

GIBB and **MACDONALD**, Edinburgh, shawl-manufacturer.

M'KEAN, D., and **Co.**, Glasgow and Busby, merchants.

TUESDAY, APRIL 21.

INSOLVENTS.

JONES, J. S., late of Ramsgate, Kent, dealer in fancy articles.

THOMSON, W., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-Hill, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

HARRIS, W., Fareham, Southampton, sheep or cattle-salesman.

ORD, R., Bishopthorpe, Yorkshire, dealer.

RAYNER, T., Manchester, Lancashire, victualler.

RODBARD, F., and **C. Massina**, late of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, but now of Turnhamgreen & Hammersmith, Middlesex, school-masters.

SAYERS, W., Horsham, Sussex, baker.

SMALLWOOD, T., Birmingham, Warwickshire, grocer.

WILLIAMS, W., Pontymvile, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE. April 20.—We have had a good supply of Wheat since this day week. Wheat sold readily this morning at last Monday's prices.

The little choice English Malting Barley offering was taken readily at the rates of this day week, but all secondary descriptions and foreign were full 1s. per quarter lower. In prices of Grinding Barley, Beans and Peas, no alteration.

We had a good supply of Oats fresh up this morning, in addition to a good many left over from last week; we experienced a free demand for Oats on Wednesday at an improvement of 6d. per quarter over last Monday's prices; this advance was sustained to-day, but the trade was not so brisk as on Wednesday.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 40s. |
| Old | 44s. to 48s. |
| Red, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 34s. to 38s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 34s. to 37s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 37s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| New | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 24s. to 27s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 27s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 26s. |
| Black | 24s. to 27s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 26s. to 27s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 28s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 24s. to 25s. |
| Feed, new light | 21s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 25s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 23s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed | 13s. to 16s. |
| Brew | 17s. to 19s. |

SMITHFIELD, April 20.

In this day's market, which, as is usual on holiday Mondays, was, throughout, but moderately supplied, trade was with prime Beef and Mutton somewhat brisk, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d.; with Lamb very dull at a depression from 6d. to 8d. per stone; whilst for Veal and Pork there was a steady demand at Friday's quotations.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------|----|----|----|------|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | to | 2 6 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 2 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 10 | to | 3 2 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | to | 4 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 10 | to | 4 6 |
| Veal | 3 | 6 | to | 5 0 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | to | 6 0 |

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USEFUL INVENTIONS.

J. READ, Instrument-maker to His Majesty and the Honourable East India Company, Patentee of the Stomach-pump, &c., after forty years experience in the practice of Horticulture and Agriculture in all its bearings, and having been honoured by the Horticultural Society of London with a Silver Medal, for the invention of his Garden Syringe, now begs leave to inform every person interested in the cultivation of fruit-trees and choice plants, that he has obtained his Majesty's royal Letters Patent for the United Kingdoms, for certain improvements in raising and forcing of fluids. These machines are upon an entirely new principle, suited for every purpose of Horticulture during the summer months, and in winter a most useful and powerful auxiliary against the dreadful effects of fire in Chimneys, Houses, or Agricultural Buildings. The valvular action can never be out of repair; and if unused for months the Engine would, when wanted, be *instantly available*; and it is so constructed that it can be worked by one person, or increased in dimensions to that of a powerful local FIRE ENGINE worthy of public attention. Manufactured by the Patentee, 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.

MORISON'S MEDICINES.

* Cases of Cure of Choloera in America.
To Dr. H. Shephard Moat.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of announcing that I have abundant evidence of the wonderful effects of the Universal Medicine during the last fortnight. It is impossible for me to collect an account of all the good the medicine has done; suffice it to say, I am confident that upwards of one hundred and fifty persons have been cured of the Cholera. I will, at a future time, but now I have not a moment to call my own. Every satisfaction I can will be cheerfully given to the sceptic, or any person who will call upon me, being in constant readiness to assist any person who may call for my services in that dreadful disease, the Cholera Morbus.

I remain, yours truly,
W. MORRIS.

Washington-street, Buffalo,
Sep. 3, 1834.

Cure of a severe Billious attack, attended with
Cramp, &c.

To Mr. Charlwood.

Sir, — It is my wish that my case should be made public if you think proper. On Saturday, 5. September, I was suddenly taken ill, with violent pain in the stomach, attended with cramp and sickness; I requested my mistress to give me some pills; she gave me five, but my sufferings being so great I begged of her to give me what medicine she thought proper; she directly gave me fifteen more, No. 2, which caused me to throw up a good deal of thick yellow bile, and the pain a little abated, but I was very ill all night with cold shiverings and cramp; at five o'clock in the morning I took fifteen more pills, No. 1, and after breakfast got up, but could not stand upright for pain. My mistress desired me to go to bed again, and continuing very sick she gave me twenty more pills, No. 2, as I told her before a neighbour that I trusted to her treatment, under the blessing of God, for my recovery; I was very ill all night, and threw up more bile, after which I felt better and slept; the next day I was better, and the doses were reduced five pills at a time; on Tuesday the sickness and pain left me; Wednesday I was able to come down stairs, and felt grateful to Almighty God, who, through the kindness of my mistress and the use of Mr. Morison's invaluable Medicines, has restored me to health; I never will take any other medicine, let what may happen, if I can get this, and for the safety of those I live with, I beg you will keep this as a pledge of my word, to prevent my friends being injured, should it please God I should be attacked again.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,
ELIZABETH SAMPSON.

Servant to Mrs. Pawsey, Agent for Dorking
September 20, 1834.

RHEUMATISM.

HIS Majesty's Royal Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a Medicated Band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary of one of our London Hospitals, whose case had baffled every medicine that was quack, and every medicine that was not quack, has sent Mr. Coles his written testimonial, which may be seen at 3, Charing-Cross; wherein he admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease; and he declared that there was not a man upon the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. Lord Skelmersdale, had a coachman suffering under this complaint, who declared (when he paid Mr. Coles), ere he had worn the Rheumatic Band five days, he was more free from pain than he had been during the preceding five years. The Duchess of Sutherland's gardener, Mr. John Soar, could not walk from West Hill, Surrey, to order the Rheumatic Bands, but he was able to walk that distance, 12 miles, to pay for them and back again; and he begged Mr. Coles would let the world know that. The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY. Read Coles on Rheumatism. We recommend to persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's Invention 3, Charing Cross (Truss Maker to his Majesty's forces), from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence and simplicity of his Patent Truss by the first Practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. It is gratifying to learn that the victims of this distressing malady are thus rescued from their sufferings! Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. M.P., in Boyle's Court Guide; Coles's Gazette, on Rupture, and Coles on Rheumatism.—Published and sold by Sherwood and Co., and William Strange, London. Each one penny, or sixpence per dozen.

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No. 139, Holborn Bars.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 88.—No. 5.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 2ND, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



LETTER II.

TO

MR. SPRING RICE.

Normandy, 29. April, 1835.

SIR,—Hating the smoke of London as I do; my ears, violated as they are by the rattle of the infernal hackney coaches; my eyes, blasted as they are by the sight of the seventy-five-thousand-pounds gateway, and by the hundred-and-fifty-thousand-pounds picture gallery, the expenses of which are extracted from the sweat of those working-people, whom the aristocracy wish to reduce to a coarser sort of food; still such is my eagerness to have to address you in your new office; that, abandoning the sweet air, the singing of the birds, and the coming-forth leaves, I really sigh for the 12 of May, as much as any *maiden bride* ever sighed for her wedding-day.

But, sir, are we to meet then? I will tell you what the people think; and that is more than anybody else will tell you. They think that the meeting will be put off again; that there will be adjournment after adjournment, on one pretence or another; and that the thing will finally *go out* in this way; just as a candle goes out in a socket, in a room where a parcel of drunkards are half asleep, and regardless of the smell. It sometimes appears to be quite out; then it sends up a little glare, which appears to have no base; then there is darkness again; by-and-by the glare appears no more; nothing but a stench is left behind, and the drunken crew are left to grope and roll about in the dark; to scold, to swear, and claw

one another about at hap-hazard, till some sensible person comes, and drives them out upon the pavement, or on the common. This, sir, is a figure of rhetoric which the learned call a simile; and you know that, to rhetoricians, a good deal of latitude is allowed as to the extension of facts; but, upon my soul, I do believe, that the popular opinion, which I have here been endeavouring to describe, has in it a very small portion of exaggeration; for, what did either we or our fathers ever see, resembling this state of things? The King is advised, and well advised, to point out to the Parliament the depressed state of agriculture, and to call upon it to apply some remedy, if possible. The Parliament answer his speech, and assure him, that the depressed state of agriculture shall have their best attention. He tells them that eighteen-twentieths of his subjects are in a state of distress (for eighteen-twentieths it is, observe); he tells them that *that* is in a state of deep distress, without the prosperity of which there can be no prosperity in any nation; he sees landlords without rents; he sees the tenants sinking into poverty; our own committees have told us that lands are falling out of cultivation, for want of a sufficiency of labour employed upon them; while the King sees this, he sees that we have actually passed a bill to authorize the raising of money upon the land to send labourers away from his kingdom. While he sees this, he thinks it his duty to call upon us to do something for the relief of agriculture. We meet; and how do we obey the voice of the King, and listen to the cries of the people? We divide ourselves into two factions, and begin a desperate contest, not for the preference in obeying the King, and providing for the wants of his people; but for a preference as to who shall have the wielding of the powers of Government, and who shall possess its patronage and emoluments. In one thing, however, the two factions cordially agree; and that is, our King has had the satisfaction to learn, in rejecting, by a

"great enterprise and superabundant prosperity of the country"; as, indeed, LIVERPOOL and RIFON (I think they call him now) did the breaking of the banks in 1825; as to this gentleman, he would not surprise me if I were to see him with a serious project in his hands to propose to the House to open a free trade with the moon; or, which is much about the same in point of common sense, to assert, that the earnings taken from tradesmen, farmers, mechanics, and labourers, and making them bankrupts and beggars, and giving their earnings to greedy speculators wherewith to make rail-roads, was the best possible way to provide for internal content, and for the defence and power of the kingdom. On the part of this gentleman nothing would surprise me. Very likely sensible, very likely just, as to all other matters, he is on these points as unfit to have anything to do with the management of the affairs of a nation as would be any poor creature taken out of Bedlam.

On WILLIAM LAMB's capacity or statesmanship, decorum, and even common decency, forbid me to speak; and I will not speak of it. I should have a tolerably high opinion of the capacity of Lord Howick did I not remember his unfortunate speech on the uselessness, and even injuriousness, of "*gold and silver as currency*"; and his curious Ricardo-idea, that, if we kept twenty millions of gold in circulation, we lost the use of it; for that, by letting it go abroad and supplying its place with paper, we should clear the twenty millions by trading with those nations who obstinately persisted in having a gold circulation; his lordship forgetting all the while that two could play at this game as well as one; that what was good for one nation in this respect was good for all others; and that my pig hearing your pig cracking peas would pretty soon be through the hedge to do the same. In short, that other nations would make us buy the gold back again, or very soon reduce us to beggary and shame. I have with great pleasure heard several speeches from Lord Howick, but this cursed Ricardo-nonsense has always come into my mind when I have heard him speaking. His father well

knows what nonsense it is, and if he have got it out of his head it is a very fortunate circumstance for him; for if there be one particle of it remaining, it will leaven the whole lump of his understanding. With regard to you yourself, sir, I should have been surprised, as I said before, if I could forget your holding a sort of public meeting with Sir HENRY PARNELL, and other Irishmen and Scotchmen, and proposing a scheme for relieving the distresses of the nation by some sort of paper that you meant to issue. I published your speeches and remarked upon them at the time. I have not time now to refer to the *Register* to see the precise nature of your scheme, but I remember well that I was astonished that you could suffer any publication on the subject to take place, the substance of the scheme being to add to the quantity of paper-money afloat, and to leave the whole without legal tender. Recollecting this scheme, and your speech in commendation of it, I am not surprised, especially as Sir HENRY PARNELL is one of your colleagues, that you entertain the hope of being able to get along with fifty millions of taxes, and wheat at four-and-sixpence the bushel.

In the meanwhile, however, every trick and contrivance is put in motion to make the stupid landlords and farmers believe that the Government and Parliament have had nothing to do in causing the evils, and can do nothing in the way of cure. Sappy LIVERPOOL, when agricultural distress rung in his ears in 1822, used to say this; and he was scholar enough always to have at his fingers' ends the following couplet:

"Of all the ills that nations can endure,
How few are governments the cause or cure."

"Oh, oh!" used I to say, "Sappy! take care what you are about, Sappy; for, if governments cannot cure national ills, what the devil do we pay fifty millions a year for government for? Oh, oh, Sappy! if bad government cannot produce ills, why the devil all this boasting about 'glorious revolution,' 'happy constitution,' 'House of Brunswick,' and the like. If governments cannot cure evils, we may as well save

"the fifty millions a year: and why do you have about ten thousand a year yourself, Sappy"? This was the way that I used to answer sapient LIVERPOOL; and this is the way I shall answer you, to be sure. This was a very silly expression from a generally very sensible man. The fact is precisely the contrary. Government is every thing in this case; the laws do all; out of savages they make civilized people; they make slaves freemen, or freemen slaves: they make a people industrious, or lazy; they make them cowards, or brave men; they make them happy or miserable. Of the former of these two we have an instance in the case of America; in the latter, in the case of Ireland, and very nearly in Scotland and England. Wheat at four-and-sixpence a bushel is about the proper price. That is a thing regulated, not by law, but by the seasons; but it is the laws that make men miserable, amidst abundance and cheapness. That's your point: keep that in your eye, and you will never repeat the couplet of old sapient LIVERPOOL: you will let that lie as quietly as he is now lying, never to be heard of again, except by those who read my writings. That "*stern path-of-duty*" man had the governing of us for nearly twenty years. Under his and PERCEVAL's and GRENVILLE's and ADDINGTON's and PITT's sway, your fathers ate the sour grapes. CANNING, Prosperity-GODERICH-RIPON-ROBINSON, WATERLOO, GREY, PEEL, and your teeth are set on edge; I congratulate you with all my heart on the delectable feeling of your grinders.

As to the "*curing of ills*," don't jostle! no jibbing; there are the ills; cure them, state-doctor: there are the fifty millions of taxes, and the wheat at four shillings a bushel: set to work upon them. Do you shy? do you say with your colleagues, that I mentioned just now, that they are evils beyond the reach of Government? Now, if you have any regard for me, do not say so; and what is more, if you have any regard for the *kingly government of this country*. For what do we behold at this moment? what have we seen just pass before us? why a people steeped in greater difficul-

ties than we are steeped in. The very semblance of gold and silver banished from the whole country; the whole of the industrious classes devoured, or being devoured, by the atrocious bands of usurers. This was the ill. The country was reduced to that state by these atrocious usurers, that contracts were not worth a straw, and that the word property was almost without a meaning. These were the ills. How were they put an end to? not by crying and cant, but by an honest and sensible *Government*, listening to the voice of the people, and putting down the bands of usurers. Why cannot you do the same? This is what is wanted, and this you must do; or you may as well abandon your post at once, and a great deal better for you. Instead of this, you are instituting inquiries; or, at least, your predecessors were, into the *smuggling of corn from the Guernsey and Jersey islands, and from the Isle of Man*, whence, every man of sense knows, that not one single sack ever was smuggled.

But the deceivers, as to this matter, and as to the effects of the Corn Bill, have open and willing and greedy ears, into which to pour their deceptions. The Prophet said of the Israelites that "they loved lies"; that they said to the prophets, "Prophecy to us smooth things, prophecy to us lies"; and when the Prophet told them the truth, they scarcely ever failed to handle him prettily roughly. I used to wonder why the beastly landlords and greedy and beastly bull-frog farmers so hated me, it being my constant endeavour to take the crooked fingers of the Jews out of their pockets. Ah! but I found out that they had pensions, sinecures, retired allowances, grants, half-pay, crown-lands; and that they very clearly saw, and heard me say, indeed, that, if the crooked fingers of the Jews were chopped off on New-year's day, their own pretty white fingers must be chopped off on New-year's eve. I found, too, that the greedy bull-frogs, though apparently dependent solely on the plough, had sons and brothers and nephews and daughters' husbands, and the like, upon one list or the other list of the tax-devourers; and that very fre-

quently they were Jews themselves! Sadly divided in their desires! If I could have taken the fingers of the Jews out of their pockets, and have left the fingers of all these greedy devils in our pockets, I should have been a fine fellow with them; but not being able to do this, and it being contrary to my nature to wish it; they have always hated me like poison.

Daddy Coke was a most striking instance and illustration of all this. I had always been an advocate for uprooting the land and the landlords, in preference to the hands of usurers. I had, for years, been proposing a reduction of the interest of the debt, and one of my reasons was, to prevent the Jews from swallowing up the estates of the nobility and gentry. In January, 1823, I proposed a petition to a county meeting in Norfolk, which prayed for a reduction of the interest of the debt. This petition was agreed to by thousands of people with the dissent of only seven or eight; and it was voted that Coke should present the petition to the House of Commons. To my great astonishment, he set himself to work; first, to prevent the high sheriff from signing the petition. Not having succeeded in that (the high sheriff being a Tory, and not lost to all sense of honour and truth) he next set to work, to call hole-and-corner meetings of his tenants and the parsons; sometimes in public houses, and sometimes in barns; at which meetings the county-petition was reprobated; and I myself most foully abused; and when I carried the petition to Coke to present, he treated me in the manner that any other interested and rude black-guard would have done. I was really astonished at this. I was pleading his cause, as I thought. The petition did, indeed, pray for an abolition of *pensions, sinecures, and so forth*, as well as for a reduction of the interest of the debt; but he was no pensioner, or sinecurist; therefore his deadly hostility to me appeared to be the most unnatural thing in the world.

In this state of surprise with regard to Coke's conduct I remained until the year 1829, I think it was; when the Daddy, being in his cups at a dinner at LYNN, called the "good old king" a

"bloody king." The Tories, who were then in office, pulled forth from their pigeon-holes, the grant of a light-house to the Daddy, called DUNGENESS light-house; a grant from the "bloody king," I believe, and enjoyed by the Daddy, or some predecessor of his, during the whole of the "bloody king's" reign. The grant had expired, not long before; and the patriotic Daddy had stickled for a *penal*, which the Tories had refused; but they offered him one-half of the grant, which the lofty-minded Daddy accepted of! The Daddy used, at his humbug harvest-homes and sheep-shearings, to give the toast, "*Live and let live.*" That toast the Tories now applied to him. At the time of the Norfolk petition he was receiving double the sum that he is receiving now, amounting, probably, to five or six thousand pounds a year. Norfolk petition prayed for the abolition of all unmerited pensions and all sinecures; and hence the Daddy's hole-and-corner meetings, and hence his abhorrence of me. At the time when the Daddy talked of the "bloody king," the Tories had taken away half his grant. From his ungovernable rage you would have thought him ready to drink warm blood. His folly, however, was equal to his rage; for his attack on me swamped him, in spite of his acres.

When one of my readers finds a tradesman, or farmer, or any body else, abusing me very violently, let him make inquiries; and he will find that the wretch is either a tax-eater himself, in some shape or another; or that some of those dependent on him, or that he is dependent upon, are tax-eaters. Society in this country consists, as far as relates to the rich and the idle, of a chain of dependents, such as the world never saw before. Even men who are ruined by the taxes fear to destroy them, in many cases, lest their tax-devouring connexions should suffer. The nation is divided into two sets of persons, *tax-earners* and *tax-eaters*. The former have been suffering long enough. The day of suffering to the latter is to come. To save this country from actual convulsive revolution requires a man with political courage sufficient to face the effect of that suffering, and with weight

also with the country to make them confide in him, while he is inflicting the suffering; and, sir, without any want of respect for you, personally; without any suspicion that your motives are not what they ought to be, I must be permitted to say, that you are not that man.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE ELECTIONS.

TO
THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

THERE appears to be a doubt whether Lord JOHN RUSSELL will be re-elected for Devonshire. The Tories appear to be mustering in great force: it is a great and fertile country, all over studded with parish churches: the small farmers are very numerous in most parts of it: they are, like the rest of the Western people, very obstinate, as it is called; but as I call it, very honest, and resolute in adhering to their opinions. If you look at the statistical account of England and Wales, at the end of my "*Geographical Dictionary*" (which book, if you have not, you ought to have), you will find, that there are four hundred and sixty-five parishes in this fine country. You will find that the country contains 2,579 square miles; and, of course, that there is one parish church to every $5\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; and, of course, that the churches, on an average, are only about five miles apart. You will next consider that there is one parson, who officiates at every one of these 465 parish churches; for, though in some cases, a journeyman parson does the work at a couple or three churches perhaps; still, either as rector, vicar, perpetual curate, chaplain endowed, or stipendiary curate, there is one, or more, parsons that have to do with and have an influence in, every one of these parishes. Now lay your account with this, that every one of these parsons; that every one of their sons, nephews, and brothers, the whole of whom are half pay officers,

full-pay officers, tax-officers of some sort or other, retired-allowance people, and the like; lay your account that every one of these; then behold (pulling off your hats and ordering yourselves lowly and reverently) the bishop, the dean, the archdeacon, the chancery of the diocese, the rural deans, the prebendaries, the precentors, the singers, the residentiary canons: look, in short, at the whole of this body; add to the male-body, all the parsons' wives, daughters, and sisters, and sisters and brothers of the wives. Look at all this immense body; and then you will have some idea of what my Lord JOHN has to contend against. Think a little, too, of the characters and persevering dispositions and powerful interests of this immense body; joined, too, by all the tabbies and the old shuffle-breeches creatures that have retired from business, as they call it, and who are become zealous for the church, after years of proceedings meriting the fate of Dives. Look at it all; and, if you be a friend of Lord JOHN, you will tremble for him.

There is not a soul of these who would scruple at almost anything to defeat Lord JOHN, whom they look upon as the leader of those who have pledged themselves to execute, with regard to Ireland, that which must find its way to England in a very short time. Observe, that the principle of Lord JOHN'S RESOLUTION is, that the Parliament has the rightful power of taking away any portion of the tithes, the amount of which is more than necessary for the "*spiritual wants*" of those who go to church. I beseech you to read my little "*Legacy to Parsons*." There you will find an account of the parishes of England that have no churches, the parsons having suffered them to tumble down. There can be no *spiritual wants* supplied where there are no churches: there can be no grain sowed where there is no place to sow it in. The people may hunger and thirst after righteousness; but if there be no place for them to come to to have their wants supplied, why should they pay anybody for supplying those wants? Mr. SPRING RICE (Lord JOHN'S colleague, and who is now to be our master-man) received wonderful applause for a speech in which he mentioned

several parishes in Ireland, in which there was not a single Protestant. He was cheered to the skies; or, at least, up to the roof of the place; and when he asked, whether a reformed Parliament would tolerate such an abuse, as to suffer the people to have tithes extorted from them, to be paid to a parson who had no flock at all, the cheers broke out into a shout, and I myself joined in the shout. But, my friends, I joined in the shout, because I knew that if it were so monstrously unjust to give tithes to a parson, who had no flock, but who had a church, and the doors open ready to receive a flock, it was still more unjust to give tithes to a parson who could have no flock, because he has no folding-place; as I well knew to be the case in those parishes of England, which you will find mentioned in the "*Legacy to Parsons*."

Of all God's creatures none have noses so fine as parsons. I have related, somewhere or other, that I had a sow in Long Island that could smell the wind, at the distance of several hours before its coming. Some people think that pigs see the wind at a great distance. Though not belonging to any *Mechanics Institute*, I am philosopher enough to know that they smell the wind; but gifted as they are in the snout, their scent is not finer than that of the parsons, whose prescience in regard to everything in which they have an interest, positive and contingent, is truly astonishing: they clearly perceive how they shall be affected by my Lord JOHN'S RESOLUTION; though they are unable to undo it, they know that the rejection of the author of it, by such a county as Devonshire, would go far towards marring it for the present.

It is a very curious thing to contemplate. The FOUNDER of Lord JOHN'S family was one of the great makers of this very church. His name was JOHN RUSSELL; HENRY the Eighth made him a lord, and he was called Lord RUSSELL; when EDWARD the Sixth came to the throne, he, being one of the executors of the will of HENRY the Eighth, was one of the councillors of the young king, and one of the advisers of making this church and this common prayer book. When MARY succeeded her brother, he

was one of those who begged pardon of God and the Pope for having made this church and the common prayer book, and he was one of the chief advisers of that MARY, commonly called the *bloody queen*. When ELIZABETH came to the throne, he was one of those who re-enacted this church and this common prayer book: the particulars of all which acts you will see in "*Legacy to Parsons*." From HENRY the Eighth he got the grant of those immense estates belonging to the priory of TAVISTOCK, the abbey of THORNEY, and the abbey of WOBURN. From EDWARD the Sixth he got the grant of COVENT GARDEN, and all the way sweeping up into BLOOMSBURY and so forth; and he thus acquired the power of making me, when I am in London, pay the Duke of BEDFORD a tax on every cabbage and carrot that I buy at COVENT GARDEN; a power acquired by his obtaining a grant of that which before belonged to the Catholic church and the poor.

But I am not come to the most curious part of this history yet. It was at EXETER itself that this man performed the memorable exploit, which, very likely, obtained him COVENT GARDEN. The people all over England were discontented with the change of religion, in the reign of EDWARD the Sixth, and particularly with the graspings of the nobility and gentry, who had taken the property of the poor, as well as that of the church, into their own hands. There were insurrections in many parts of England, demanding a restoration of the rights of the poor, and complaining that they were made pack-horses by the nobility and gentry, who were wallowing in wealth belonging to them. The most formidable of these insurrections was in the fine county of DEVON. Forces were sent against them; and they resisted and defeated the forces. At last German troops were sent for and sent against them. These troops defeated them at, and near, EXETER; and the commander of these Germans, amongst other acts of pretty nearly a similar character, took one of their leaders, who was a Catholic priest, and hanged him in his robes on the steeple of one of the churches in EXETER: and this commander was

that Lord RUSSELL, whose name was JOHN, and who was the founder of this family! Is it a superintending Providence; is it retribution provided by that power; or is it chance that has made a descendant of that Lord RUSSELL the official leader amongst those who are now proposing to take the revenues from this same prayer-book-church; in order to support which church his ancestor hanged a Romish priest from the steeple at EXETER!

So much for the Devonshire election. The newspapers seem to suppose that Lord MORPETH will have difficulty in Yorkshire, and that there will be other of the new Ministers that will not be returned. I beseech my readers not to bestow one moment of thought about this matter. It is of no consequence to us which party triumphs. Neither party is disposed to do anything to relieve us of our burdens; and that is all that we need care about for the present. Both parties are determined to make us pay malt-tax, hop-tax, soap-tax, tobacco-tax, and to continue to take from the working man one-half of his earnings, wherewith to pay pensioners, sinecure-people, half-pay people and the like. Both parties cordially join in resisting the demands of the people to lighten their burdens, and in adopting measures to make those burdens heavier than they are. The words Whig and Tory are merely kept in use to amuse the people. The two parties understand one another perfectly well; and I despise the man who bids me hope for any good to the people to be suggested by, or to be got by, the consent of either of the parties.

Each party has its set of phrases, and its set of professions. Both talk of principles (in many cases without appearing to know the meaning of the word); both make beautiful speeches; to hear them, when they are in a pious strain, you would think them the veritable elect; for my part, I am lost when I hear these evangelical effusions, and am ready to go upon my knees. At other times you would think them really bursting with indignation at the thought of any attempt to undermine the "happy constitution" of the country, or to invade any of those "sacred institutions" which compose

our ancient form of government; which, "under Divine Providence," has caused this nation to enjoy such unexampled prosperity and happiness.

You are lost when you hear this; your brains appear to be addled, and to be swimming about in your head; but having taken a little time to steady yourself, and the fumes being gone off, you tell the sublime orators that you have grown a patch of barley in your little field; that it will make you fifty bushels of good malt; that this would find you and your family in drink for the whole year, and give you a barrel of ale for Christmas, and one for Whitsuntide; but that the laws that they have passed forbid you, under ruinous penalties, to turn this barley into drink; and that, therefore, you beseech their oratorships to alter the law, so that you may be able to have drink out of the fruit of your own labour. Tell them this plain story; watch them; and you will see how they will jostle and wriggle; you will see their shoulders rise up and down; you will see them change from one side to the other in their seat; you will see them simper first; then affect surprise; then look grave; then begin to gabble about the revenue; about the small sum that they have loose; about their disposable resources; about the vested interests, of BURKE's executors, and of the Reverend THOMAS PENROSE, who has twenty-two years pension for having been a pretended *charge d'affaires* at FLORENCE for five months, while he was tutor to EGREMONT-WINDHAM's children; you will hear them gabble about the "exigencies of the public service," including, of course, the 75,000*l.* gateway; you will see tears almost come into their eyes, while they are beseeching you to think of the war-worn defenders of their country, and of their widows, and their valuable offspring. At last having exhausted all other sources, you will hear them come to "national faith," a breach of which you will almost believe, before they have done, is worse than sacrilege or murder! And all this in order to prevail upon you to be quiet, while they put you above half to death for attempting to turn your own patch of barley into drink. However, this is the only way of deal-

ing with them; and in this respect the two parties are as much alike as any two peas that ever grew upon one and the same spot. Therefore, give yourselves no trouble about who is elected and who is rejected. All the taxes and all the abuses of every description, will live as long under the Whigs as under the Tories. The Parliament must resolve at last to take the thing to pieces by law, with equity, and then it may be done quietly; and if the Parliament will not do this, that must come, and will come, which I am resolved not to describe in this place.

I am, your friend,
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
SIR ROBERT HERON.

Normandy, 29. April, 1835.

SIR,—I address you upon the subject of a Whig-scheme, which is on foot, for preventing the necessity of re-election, in the case of those Members of Parliament whom the king may appoint to some office, after they are appointed to office. I know that you gave notice of a motion to this effect; and as the scheme seems to be pushed forward by the Whig-newspaper, called the *Globe*, but which I call the ball of horse-dung. I take the liberty to exercise my right, as pamphleteer, and as "Sovereign of the press," to remonstrate with you on the subject; and to endeavour to show you, that, if you could effect this object, you would do the people a vast deal more harm than the Reform Bill has done them good; while, at the same time, *their right of resistance would arise, seeing that, if this proposition were acted upon, it would not be an endeavour (as that of JAMES the Second was) to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom; but that it would actually be a subversion of those laws.*

Let us look at the laws (a thing which, God knows, we very seldom do) which relate to this matter. If there be any such thing as fundamental laws, they are *foundation-laws*; laws that form the

basis of those measures and enactments, by which the people are to be governed; and if there be in the statute-book any law of this description, it certainly is the act, chapter 2, of the 12th and 13th year of WILLIAM the Third; for, by that act, and by that act alone, his Majesty has a right to reign in this kingdom; and in that act are laid down the conditions upon which he is to reign in this kingdom.

The history of that act was this, JAMES the Second and family had been set aside, because he had *endeavoured*, as it was alleged, to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. A man had been brought from Holland, and made king, by Act of Parliament, which Parliament, as you know very well, consisted of a parcel of people got together without writ or summons from any recognized authority. However, allowing all this to be right; and that the affair really was a "glorious revolution." On the nation went, under this Dutchman, who and whose parliaments, first tickled them with the malt-tax. However, unhappily, the Dutchman had no children. The Parliament enacted, that the heirs of his body should reign over the people of England; but there were no heirs of his body, nor any likely to be. The Parliament, rather puzzled, passed the law, of which I am speaking, which provided that a daughter of King JAMES, whose name was ANNE, should be queen, after the death of the Dutchman. But, NANCY might die, without having a child, too; and then, what was to be done, old King JAMES and his son, or sons, being still alive? Why, King JAMES the First had a daughter, who became, by marriage, Queen of BOHEMIA. This Queen of BOHEMIA had a daughter, whose name was SOPHIA. Now, it was enacted, that this SOPHIA, who was at the time, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover (Ah!), should, in case of Queen ANNE dying and leaving no heirs, be Queen of England; and, in case, of her death before that of Queen ANNE, then her heirs should be kings or queens of England. And thus it was that the family of Hanover came to reign in this kingdom.

Now, sir, all this is contained in the

act, chapter 2, 12th and 13th year of WILLIAM the Third. But the act did something more than declare this business of succession to the throne. The people of England were going to have a new set of foreigners brought in to rule them; and their recent experience had taught them, that it was prudent to make certain conditions, upon which these foreigners were to rule. These conditions are expressed in the same act of Parliament. Amongst these conditions was this: "*That no person, who has an office, or place of profit, under the king, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons.*" This was a part of the bargain made with the people of England, in virtue of which bargain this present family was put upon the throne. This act is entitled, "*An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the people*"; and the act concludes with these words: "*Whereas the laws of England are the birth-right of the people thereof, all the Kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm, or to administer the government of the same, according to the said laws, and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same.*"

If, then, there ever were a fundamental law, this is such law. Nevertheless, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen ANNE (chapter 8), the Parliament, in despite of the people, took the liberty to repeal this part of the fundamental law. But, seeing what terrible use might be made of this power; seeing that by it, any king might stuff the House of Commons with retired-allowance people; and if they were found troublesome, get them to break their pledges to their constituents, it was still thought necessary to expose them to a new election after accepting of an office. The words of the act are these: "*Provided always, that if any person being chosen a Member of the House of Commons shall accept of any office of profit from the Crown, during such time as he shall continue a Member, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be void, and a new*

writ shall issue for a new election, as if such person so accepting was naturally dead. Provided nevertheless, that such person shall be capable of being again elected; as if his place had not become void as aforesaid." Now, sir, this is the law to this day. It is a scandalous departure from the bargain made with the house of Hanover, to be sure; but it is the law; and, if the people really have the choosing of the Members of the House of Commons, I see no very great harm in this; because the people have the power, at any rate, of not trusting any longer a man who is appointed to an office. While the boroughmonger Parliament lasted, it was all a clear cheat. The newly appointed man might be crammed in anywhere. If he were chosen, and freely chosen, for certain principles that he professed, by a public-spirited city, for instance. Having broken his pledge to the city, he could not show his face there again; but there were fifty corrupt and stinking holes to send him back to Parliament, to fill his place, and to fill his pockets with money. This was one of the benefits of this present reform: to get rid of this farcical and insidious cheatery was one of the benefits of reform, and always so represented by me; and, therefore, repeal this part of this act, and you make our situation worse than it was before the reform; for then, as soon as a man is found a little troublesome, a sop can be given him, and there he sits for seven years, in defiance of his constituents. He can be put out of his place, and have a retired allowance, and another put into it; and so on, till the whole House, though as smooth on side as a swan's-egg pear, is as rotten within.

By a construction given to this act, the act, in my opinion, is constantly violated now. According to the plain meaning of words, any man who accepts of any office of profit from the Crown, shall vacate his seat. Yet the Under-Secretaries of State do not vacate their seats! Why not? "Oh, they do not accept of their office from the Crown, but from the head Secretary of State"! What a shuffle! What a bare-faced pretence! Why, then, they

are impudent vagabonds, are, they, when they call themselves "*His Majesty's Under-Secretaries of State*," which they invariably do? There are whole crowds of them that ought to have tumbled out now, to go and face their constituents again, instead of sneaking behind this miserable subterfuge, as you see a rat squatting, and holding his breath, behind a truss of straw, or a shovel. By Heavens there wants a good Radical terrier to rout them out! What a squeaking there would be; the whole homestead of WHITEHALL would be in an uproar; and there would be their boarding-school wives, and there would be their Austrian-Hanoverian-dressed children, and there would be such a squalling, and the delicate females would be so shocked at the idea of being sent back to be bothered and bully-ragged by the fellows in leathern aprons. "From the Crown"! What an impudent shuffle, to say that an Under-Secretary of State does not receive his appointment from the Crown! Suppose a soldier were to say that he owed no duty to the King, the King not having presided at the enlisting of him! Suppose you were to knock down a constable, saying, You beggar, the King did not appoint you; you were appointed by a set of beggars like yourself, met at a court-laet, or at Guild hall; you use the name of the King; what the devil does the King know of you? Now, Sir ROBERT HERON, is it not monstrous that men with good coats upon their backs, and able to read, which the greater part of them are, should not know, or should have the blasphemous impudence to pretend not to know, that they possess, and can possess, no more authority than so many bugs, except they derive that authority from the King?

In short, the thing is bad enough as it is: the scheme which is ascribed to you would make it a great deal worse than it is. To pass the proposed law would sink the reformed Parliament a great deal lower than it already is; and, which is the great danger of all its bad measures, would lead the minds of the people to a thorough conviction, that *they had nothing to hope for from the Parliament*; and if they should, unhappily, arrive at that conviction, I need not, in addressing

an experienced person like you, even hint at the consequences.

I am aware, sir, how delicate a thing it is, even to hint at the constitution, laws, and practice of America, where there are no gateways costing seventy-five thousand pounds, and no starving creatures, who have had their earnings taken away to pay for such gateways. But, aware as I am of the delicacy of the thing, and inadequate as I feel my capacity to touch it as it ought to be touched; big as I feel my fingers, blunt as I know my hatchet to be; I must, in this case, refer to America. There, sir, not only can no tax-receiver sit in the Congress; not only can no person, receiving any public money whatsoever, sit there; but he cannot receive emolument from any office, or from any source, *until two years after he has been out of the Congress*, if the office, or source of emolument, has been created *while he was sitting in Congress*! So cautious were the Americans; so resolved were they, that nobody should sit in Congress *to vote the people's money into their own pockets*.

Ah! say you, but America is a republic! For the love of God, sir, take care. Pray do not tell us that we must have a republic, or have members to vote our money into their own pockets! Pray do not tell us that we must have gateways to cost 75,000*l.*; that we must pay pensions for five and-thirty years to the executors of a pensioner, after the pensioner is dead; that we must pay a pension, for twenty-two years, to a parson who has two livings in the church, for having been *Chargé d' Affaires* for five months at Florence, he being a tutor to a man's children all the while. Pray do not tell us that we cannot adhere to the old law, and shut bastards out from dignities in the church; in the name of all that has common sense belonging to it, do not tell us that we must submit to all this or have a republic. I do not want a republic, but I want not to submit to these things; submit to them I will not any longer than I am compelled; and that, I boldly say, is a base Englishman who is not of my mind.

America is a republic, is it? America

cannot have such gateways, and such swarms of insolent pensioners, and half-pay people. She cannot have heroes of WATERLOO to have a million of pounds sterling a piece. She can have better things, she can have fleets and armies to beat those who have these fine things, and she can have a working people not robbed of half their earnings, nor of any part of their earnings. She can have ten ambassadors sent to Europe more able than England ever sent, and ten times as able as those that she sends now. ANDREW JACKSON, who has no cream-coloured horses to draw him along amidst starving tribes, or hired hussars; who calls himself the "*fellow-citizen*" of the Senate and House of Representatives, can make fund-dealing LOUIS PHILIPPE, and his jabbering and noisy "*Chambres*," eat their words, as hearty as a ploughman eats his luncheon. If these be the effects of republicanism, we shall begin to say, by-and-by, that a republic is not such a very frightful thing.

Now, sir, I do not *know* that you have on foot any such project as that which I have described; but I do know that the newspapers have ascribed such project to you. I do know that it was my duty to remonstrate with you upon the subject; and as I have done it without any feeling of disrespect towards you, I hope that this address will give you no offence; and

I am, sir,

Your very obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

In another part of this *Register* there are two pretty long papers. The first is an account of the affair of STOKES-POGES, containing a refutation of BROUGHAM's assertions relative to that affair. The second, is a letter addressed to myself by Mr. SHEAHAN, of CORK; both which papers I beg leave most earnestly to commend to the attention of my readers.

POOR-LAW BILL.

AFFAIR OF STOKES-POGES, IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

A Pamphlet, published in refutation of the Assertions of Brougham.

LORD BROUGHAM having thought fit, in a speech on the 17. of March, to call in question the allegations of a petition presented to the House of Lords, from certain rate-payers of the parish of Stokes-Poges, in the county of Bucks, it was thought necessary to transmit certain documents to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of the county, in vindication of such petition; and his Lordship having again, on the 24. of March, repeated his opinions, the documents are now published with the petition, which, together with the following observations, will tend to prove that the parish is not in the neglected and mismanaged state which his Lordship is pleased to represent. The principal parts of the speech (as reported in the newspapers) which require particular notice, are most of them refuted by the petition itself, or by the affidavits.

His Lordship states that the union in question was established in consequence of a petition from the paupers of a number of parishes in the hundred, of which Stoke forms a considerable part. It is believed that an application was made to the commissioners from the parish of Burnham, by no means numerous signed, that no other parish had to do with it, much less any parishioner of Stoke.

His Lordship alludes to the assistant commissioner, and to the meeting at Salt Hill. Four affidavits prove that objections were distinctly made to the proposed union at that meeting, which were reported, it appears, to his Lordship as unanimously in its favour: they also prove that it was generally understood at that meeting that the paupers would be classed, and divided, and their respective families separated, on being received into a central poor-house. His Lordship states that this information was derived

from the clergyman of the parish: this is distinctly contradicted by one of the affidavits. His Lordship afterwards expresses himself strongly on this point, considering it entirely ideal and imaginary. Besides the evidence of the four affidavits as regards the assistant commissioner (who also, in a conversation which took place expressly for the consideration of the proposed union of parishes, stated what was eventually to become of the furniture and goods belonging to paupers received into the central poor-house), it is to be remarked, that the letter from the commissioners to His Majesty's Secretary of State, dated 27. of March, does not state that the married couples will not be separated, even if in the same house; nor that the children will not be taken from their parents after the age of nurture (whatever that age may be). It appears, indeed, difficult to imagine how the new law is to be carried into effect without some such classification; which has been, upon good grounds, supposed to have been the intention of the commissioners, and also the purport of the act of Parliament.

His Lordship states, that the principal objection of the parish was to the erection of a central house on their common: the petition will prove that it was to the union itself. It will likewise show, that the poor-house was not held up as a pattern for other parishes, although it would well bear a comparison with that of Cookham, mentioned in the letter of the commissioners; and as for Dawney, instanced by his Lordship, there is not at present, nor most probably ever was, a workhouse in that parish, which is by no means well managed in other respects. The affidavits will, however, show the opinion entertained by the assistant commissioner himself of the management of Stoke workhouse; and the affidavit of the medical attendant will strongly corroborate his testimony.

His Lordship states, that three bastard children were, at the time of the assistant commissioner's visit, living in the workhouse with nineteen diseased individuals; that the children were dirty and neglected; and that one of them did not know his alphabet. An affidavit will

prove, that there were at that time only nineteen individuals, including the two bastards, in the house; that the boy in question regularly attended the Sunday-school, could say his Catechism as well as other boys; and that they were accidentally dirty at that time, from having been employed in sifting turf for the use of the workhouse; and that there was not one sick individual, excepting one person, infirm from age and consequent debility.

It is proved by affidavit, that the expenses of the paupers in the workhouse of Stoke parish, at the time of the assistant commissioner's visit, were two shillings and tenpence per head, as was to be seen by the parish accounts. They are now stated as under three shillings; and it may here be mentioned, that during the last year four one-shilling rates at rack-rent (which are only collected as ninepenny rates) have been received; and that at the close of the year, every bill having been paid, excepting the lawyer's, which could not be got in, two thirds of the fourth rate were in hand. The expenses of the parish, owing to the care and superintendence of its most excellent clergymen, are much diminished; several beneficial institutions, such as loan funds, coal funds, savings-banks, &c., have been by him established; and the poor are in the habit of contributing from their wages in summer to the support of their families in winter. These are facts, and can be proved. It may be added, that the poor are, upon the whole, orderly and well conducted, and attached to the rich and to their homes.

The poor-law commissioners, in a letter addressed to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, dated 17. of March, 1835, having been pleased to consider the memorial addressed to them as proceeding from a portion of the inhabitants of the parish, who were disinclined to be included in the union, and who desired to be left in the undisturbed management of their parochial affairs, and not as declaratory of the general and united prayer of all classes of the parish (although it was signed by one hundred and fifty-six out of two hundred and sixteen rate-payers,

many of those who did not sign being widows, &c.) the following petition was signed by one hundred and forty-two inhabitants, labourers, and others of the said parish who did not sign the before-mentioned memorial and petitions; the whole population of the parish being about twelve hundred and fifty-two persons, of which eight hundred and sixty are stated to be women and children. The general disinclination of the parish towards the intended measure cannot, therefore, be doubted.

The observations on Lord Brougham's speech, and the references already made to the accompanying documents, will supersede the necessity of many remarks upon the commissioners' letter.

Their attention to the many applications made to them by the parish is fully acknowledged. The parish, as the memorial shows, never requested to be exempted from their superintendence and control; but from being involved in a union, from which it appears much hardship and inconvenience will eventually arise to the poor, and much increase of expense to the parish in general, and which the state of the parish is proved not to require. It is, however, to be observed, with reference to this letter, that, although the central poor-house is not erected within the parish, the paupers must, when taken into it, wherever it may be built, be inevitably mixed with those of other parishes; and also that the central position of the parish, and the boundaries of the union by the Beaconsfield Hills, &c., appear entirely arbitrary, and at the control of the commissioners; and that it appears hard that the interests of the parish should be sacrificed, because by arrangements, which might apparently be easily altered, its position has been made central.

The expenses of the parish, and also the eventual separation of the married and their families, have already been alluded to.

It only remains, therefore, to notice the strong recommendation made in the commissioners' letter of the workhouse at Cookham, as a pattern for other parishes, which recommendation will, it is to be hoped, justify the following observations,

which are reluctantly made out of sincere respect for the person who has had the superintendence of it; but where the future welfare of the poor is concerned of that parish in which the adoption of the system at Cookham is recommended as peculiarly applicable by such high authority, and where it is believed correct information has not been given to the commissioners, it appears necessary to state, that in a letter which it is much to be regretted cannot be made public, it is stated that in the early part of last year, part of the select vestry went from Aylesbury to Cookham, in order to obtain all the information it could to guide them in the system of the management of their poor. They waited upon the person who had the sole management of that parish, and he gave them every information. Upon asking him how the poor fared in the poor-house, he remarked it was desirable to make that as irksome as possible, to deter paupers remaining any length of time in it. And no place could appear less calculated to give comfort to poor and indigent persons: it appeared very ill conducted, without any system or regularity; the few persons in it were mixed together, and did not appear to be at all classed.

Now it is manifest, from what has been already stated, that this system of coercion, however called for in other parishes, is not required in that under consideration. Refractory and idle poor should undoubtedly be punished, and brought to a sense of their duty to themselves and to the public; but to apply the same system to all who, from misfortune and want of employment, may become paupers, is another question. It is to be believed, that want of employment, proceeding from various causes, which have long and heavily pressed upon the higher and middling classes of society, has been one of the chief causes of the distresses of the poor; at least it may be asserted that the poor of Stoke parish will, generally speaking, be always satisfied and contented if they can find employment; but how that is to be found for such numbers as will, according to the new arrangement, be sent to the central poor-house in its immediate neighbourhood, it is difficult to imagine, without taking away employ-

ment from the regular labourers. It is said, that if discharged they are not to be again admitted without a fresh order; they will naturally, in that case, all ties of home and place being broken up, either seek for work on the spot, at any wages they can get, and thereby probably throw out of work the regular labourers, who, having families to support, cannot work for such wages; or they will be thrown upon the charity of the public, or they will have recourse to dishonest means for subsistence.

A pauper is at present relieved by those who know and are peculiarly interested in his exact situation, and he remains with his family, and in his house, till circumstances enable him to do without relief: under the new system, as explained by the assistant commissioner, he might be taken from his family to the central poor-house, his family be broken up, his furniture and goods taken possession of, and all his former connexions for the time interrupted. It may be asked, how the landlord is to recover his rent, and whether it is not likely that he would immediately enter a distress upon the pauper's property, and also whether the rents of such cottages would not probably be much increased from their occupation becoming eventually so precarious.

The assistant commissioner stated, as appears by one of the affidavits annexed, that the expenses of these central houses were partly to be paid for from the proceeds of property belonging to the several parishes in the proposed union; the property of one parish might, therefore, in many cases, be applied to the uses of others, and not exclusively of that to which it belongs. Many other objections to this part of the arrangement might be urged, particularly as regards the parish in question, which possesses land, secured to it by act of Parliament, for the right of turbary.

Under present circumstances, in the case of illness or of accident, comforts of various kinds, provisions, &c., and more especially the personal consolations and superintendence of their friends (particularly that of their own clergyman, so constantly and efficiently bestowed in the parish in question), are never-failing

resources. Under the new generalised system such relief will, by the proposed removal of paupers, be either impossible or with difficulty applied; and it may be doubted whether such charities will not, for the most part, be discontinued, when they can only be exercised under the superintendence of a distant board of commissioners, delegated to persons who, however benevolent and well-disposed, can neither be acquainted with, nor have any particular interest in, the circumstances of each individual case. These observations, it may be said, do not apply to all parishes; they do to the one in question. It is, therefore, most earnestly prayed, that the union as regards this parish may be prevented; that those habits which have so long subsisted, equally beneficial to the rich and to the poor, that identity of interest which was formerly an inherent quality of the British constitution, and one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the state (for upon the comfort and welfare of the poor not only the happiness of the rich, but the stability of Government, are founded); that those habits of contented attachment to home, and of subordinate respect to their employers as the sources of their happiness, may not, in this instance, contrary to the express desires of all concerned, be hazarded by an experiment which cannot be productive of any good, and from which it appears much evil and inconvenience may ensue.

DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Owners and Occupiers of Land, and others, Rate-payers, in the Parish of Stoke-Poges, in the County of Bucks,

Showeth,—That your Lordships' petitioners, viewing with great alarm the proposed union of the parish in which they reside with eighteen other adjacent parishes, under the Act passed in the last session of Parliament for the better administration of the Poor-laws, beg leave

most strongly to draw the attention of your honourable House to the following Memorial, which was transmitted by them to the commissioners under the said Act, and a copy of the same to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, the 6. of February last, in consequence of the arrival of the assistant commissioner employed to carry into effect the provisions of the said Act:

" To the right honourable the Commissioners for the Administration of the Poor-laws of England and Wales, &c. &c.

" We, the undersigned resident nobility, clergy, gentry, farmers, and other rateable inhabitants of Stoke-Poges, in the hundred of Stoke, in the county of Bucks,

" Understanding that it is in the contemplation of your honourable board to form a union of the parishes in the hundreds of Burnham and Stoke, under the discretionary power given to your board by the twenty-sixth section of the Act; and that the said parish of Stoke-Poges is comprised in the said contemplated union; and that it is the intention of your honourable board to make this parish the central board of the said union; and moreover, to erect within it a general or common workhouse, for the reception of the able-bodied, but unemployed, paupers of the several surrounding parishes of the said union;

" We, the undersigned, being deeply impressed with the conviction that both these measures will prove, in the highest degree, detrimental to the interests, internal comfort, and well-being of our parish, most earnestly solicit the favourable attention of your honourable board to the peculiar state and circumstances of our parish, and to the evil consequences which must result to it from being incorporated into the said union: and moreover, from being made a focus for the confluence of strangers from all the surrounding districts.

" We therefore respectfully represent, that the actual and habitual state of our parish is one which, by the blessing of God, is free from most of the evils which the projected union of parishes and the

general workhouse system, are intended to correct, in consequence of the many resident gentry in the parish, and other persons of substance, who have it in their power, and who make it their constant care to relieve the wants of the poor and the burden of the parish rates, by private charity, and by furnishing employment, so far as lies in their power, for the labourers; and that there does not exist in the parish that system of intimidation which is one of the chief evils proposed to be corrected by the union.

" That we, the undersigned, entertain the most decided objection to our poor being removed, in the event of distress or sickness, out of their own parish, and from under the eye of those who have always sympathised with them, and contributed to their well-being in times of prosperity and health; or to their families being broken up, and their members separated, in the event of failure or misfortune obliging them to seek for parish relief and to accept of the workhouse.

" That we further feel great uneasiness from the prospect of the ill effect of our able-bodied poor, who may be sent away to a general district workhouse of the union, forming connexions with, and introducing into this parish the habits of, the worthless of other districts, with whom they must necessarily associate in a general workhouse, and of the morals of our parishioners being deteriorated thereby. We entertain an equally strong objection to the erection of a general workhouse within our parish for the reception of the able-bodied and unemployed paupers from other parishes, as tending, not merely to our own permanent discomfort and annoyance, but to the serious injury of the moral character of our own poor, by the circumstance of their being thereby necessarily brought into still nearer and more extensive contact and connexion with stranger paupers; an effect which the circumstance of proximity to a general workhouse must, from various causes, necessarily produce.

" We further beg leave to represent, that we possess a well-conducted workhouse, which possesses many conveniences for the accommodation of our own aged poor, and that, with some additions and

alterations, which we are most willing and desirous to make, we shall be enabled to carry into due effect a principle of classification, and many other of the objects sought to be obtained by a parochial union; and we are ready to meet any suggestion which your honourable board may think it necessary to make respecting the improvement of our workhouse, the classification of its inmates, the treatment of the sick, and the instruction of the children, and to carry them into full effect.

"We therefore earnestly hope that your honourable board will take into your serious consideration the peculiar circumstances of our parish, and the general feeling of us, the rate-payers therein, respecting the aforesaid matters, and that the justice of your honourable board will not sacrifice the interests of an orderly and flourishing parish to any supposed advantage to accrue, from its local situation, to other adjoining parishes, so as to compel a union with them, and thus check, and perhaps extinguish, the spirit of internal improvement, and of social union, which now happily exists within it, and which, while it is in operation, is a cause the most conducive to the well-being of a community.

"We therefore most respectfully pray your honourable board, that our parish of Stoke-Poges may be exempted from all union with, or incorporation into, any other parish. And further, that no general workhouse for the reception of foreign paupers may be erected in our said parish; and that we may be permitted to manage our own poor and our own workhouse, under the direction of your honourable board, according to the provisions of the act.

"We beg leave to add, that we shall think it right to transmit a copy of this our representation to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

(Signed by)

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Earl Sefton | J. Welch |
| Lord Montague | J. Emery |
| Hon. and Rev. S. Godolphin Osborne | Th. Ettridge |
| Rev. J. C. Evans | Th. Brent |
| | J. Arnot |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Rev. R. Battiscombe | J. Allum |
| Rev. H. S. Atkins | Th. Archer |
| Lt.-Col. Howard Vyse | J. Archer |
| Lt.-Col. J. Rolt | Th. Buckland |
| Granville Penn, Esq. | Jos. Bursom |
| H. J. Willmer, Esq. | J. Broadhurst |
| C. T. Depree, Esq. | W. Brock |
| W. White, Esq. | J. Bennett |
| Thos. Botham | G. Bargas |
| W. Thompson | Ed. Bumby |
| W. Cooper | J. Bargas |
| J. Edgson | J. Benham |
| G. Burgiss | W. Bumby |
| J. Barton | B. Leopard |
| Am. Clarke | J. Lennington |
| J. Audrey | W. Mitchell |
| Ed. Clarke | Th. Mundy |
| Edmd. Clarke | S. Mason |
| J. Chilverd | J. Mason |
| J. Chipps | C. Mayner |
| Th. Cox | J. Nash |
| Jos. Carter | J. Pusey |
| Jos. Childs | W. Parker |
| W. Dodd | Jos. Peters |
| H. Deane | J. Plumbridge |
| W. Deane | W. Paxton |
| W. Elkins | W. Robinson |
| D. Edgson, sen. | — Redup |
| D. Edgson, jun. | J. Reed |
| W. Edgson | Jo. Reeves |
| Jos. Everidge | W. Sowerby |
| Wm. Elderfield | M. Stevens |
| W. Eales | H. J. Sutton |
| Thos. Fox | W. Sharp |
| Thos. Grove | J. Busby |
| Jos. Grove | Thos. Stevens |
| Jos. Garraway | Thos. Styles, jun. |
| Jas. Garraway | Thos. Timms |
| Rd. Harding | — Thimms |
| G. Hoskins | Thos. Twinn |
| W. Hutchins | Joh. Turner |
| John Hawkes | H. Woods |
| Rd. Harris | J. Winchester |
| W. Hare | W. Winchester |
| Joh. Hayell | W. Williamson |
| Th. Hutchins | W. Webster |
| W. Hutchins, sen. | John White |
| C. Luff | Will. Wassell |
| Th. Lack | Will. Banister |
| J. Littleboy | Jos. Bird |
| Jos. Baker | John Hoare |
| Jos. Brent | John Hindes |
| Md. Beaman | Jos. Hoare |
| Thos. Brooks | George Hester |
| M. Clarke | Will. Henson |
| Jonath. Caudrey | Thomas Henson |
| — Davis | H. Harbutt |
| Joseph Devonshire | Timothy Harris |
| John Deane | John Leader |
| Jas. Devonshire | Thos. Langley |
| Rd. Davis | Ed. Mitchell, jun. |
| W. Devonshire | Thos. Mitchell |
| W. Dawell | Hey Peters |
| Thos. Edgson | W. Peters |
| Thos. Fletcher | Thos. Porter |
| Thos. Groves | W. Pullen |
| Jos. Guttridge | Robt. Stannett |

Jos. Seville
Will. Gale
Will. Hester
Jas. Hester
Jas. Hause
George Hoare

Jos. Walding
Will. Woodcroft
Jas. Butt, Esq.
G. Dyson, Esq.
H. J. Chandler
— Tilbury.

Notwithstanding the reasons urged by your lordships' petitioners in this memorial, the commissioners have judged it advisable to decide on uniting our parish of Stoke-Poges to eighteen others of the adjoining and surrounding parishes; and they have accordingly sent down to the overseer their final order, that the union shall be effected and have operation from and after the 23. day of the present instant, March.

In addition, therefore, to the objections stated in the preceding memorial against the proposed application of the discretionary powers of the commissioners under the act in question to our said parish of Stoke-Poges, your lordships' petitioners beg leave further to state, that they contemplate with the deepest concern and regret, the general tendency of the said act to break up those local attachments, and reciprocal feelings of interest and regard, subsisting between the richer and the poorer inhabitants of parishes, which have hitherto been so peculiarly beneficial to both parties, and conducive to the tranquillity and prosperity of the country. These considerations hereon they must leave to the wisdom of Parliament.

Your lordships' petitioners, feeling convinced that it could not have been the intention of the legislature to inflict any injury on individual parishes by the provisions contained in the twenty-sixth section of the forementioned act, most earnestly pray that your lordships' honourable House will take this matter into your most serious and early consideration, that the provisions of the act may be so amended as to obviate the occurrence of the serious evils and distresses herein set forth by your lordships' petitioners, and to exempt their parish from any compulsory union with other parishes.

No. II.

Burnham, Bucks, 20. March, 1835.

At the request of the officers of Stoke-Poges, I feel it my duty to certify, that

the workhouse of that parish has at all periods been kept in a *very high state of cleanliness*; that the bedding has been always *well attended to*; and that every wish expressed by me for beneficial aid, in any shape, for the sick, has been cheerfully complied with; and that only six patients required my attention in the workhouse during the months of December and January, and those merely for temporary illness.

I am further desired to make attestation of the truth of the above, which I hereby do.

W. ROBERTS, Surgeon.

Sworn before me at Eton, this 21. of March, 1835.

Thos. Carter, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Bucks.

No. III.

Thomas Ettridge, of Stoke-Poges, in the county of Bucks, yeoman, maketh oath and saith, That he attended a meeting at the Windmill-inn, on Friday the 30. day of January last, which meeting this deponent was informed, and believes to have been convened by Mr. Gilbert, one of the sub-commissioners under the new Poor-law Act; when Mr. Gilbert, stated that the object of the meeting was to explain how the provisions of the new Poor-law Act were about to be applied in that district; and that the said Mr. Gilbert, in the course of his explanation, stated there would be a central poor-house erected either on Stoke-common or Gerard's Cross-common, for the able-bodied and working class; and that all the parochial poor-houses then belonging to the parishes in the proposed district or union were intended to be wards to the proposed central house, and that the inmates of the wards within the parishes of the district generally were to be classed; *videlicet*, the women in some houses, the children in others, and the aged and infirm in others; and that the central house was to be appropriated for unemployed able-bodied working men only. And this deponent further saith, that at such meeting decided objections were made to the proposed application of the provisions of the said new Poor-law Act to the said parish of Stoke-Poges; but that,

notwithstanding such objections, the said Mr. Gilbert, when closing the book to which he had been referring, said, "Now, gentlemen, I shall write to the board to-morrow, and say that you are unanimously agreed," or words to that effect; and that such meeting was immediately afterwards dissolved. And this deponent further saith, that the said Mr. Gilbert admitted at such meeting, that after having visited the parishes in the proposed district, he had found the workhouse in the said parish of Stoke-Poges the best conducted.

THOMAS ETTRIDGE.

Sworn at Windsor, in the county of Berks,
23. March, 1835.
William Legh, Mayor.

No. IV.

James Emery, of Stoke-Poges, in the county of Bucks, yeoman, and the acting overseer of the said parish, maketh oath and saith, That in consequence of verbal notice given to him by Mr. Gilbert, one of the sub-commissioners under the new Poor-law Act, on Wednesday, the 28. day of January last, he, this deponent, on the Friday following attended a meeting held at the Windmill-inn, Salt-hill, when Mr. Gilbert stated, that the object of such meeting was to explain how the provisions of the new Poor-law Act were about to be applied to that district; and that the said Mr. Gilbert, in the course of his explanations, stated there would be a central poor house erected either on Stoke-common or Gerrard's Cross-common, for the able-bodied and working class; and that all the parochial poor-houses then belonging to the parishes in the proposed district or union were intended to be wards to the proposed central house, and that the inmates of the wards within the parishes of the district generally were to be classed, viz. the women in some houses, the children in others, and the aged and infirm in others, and that the proposed central house was to be appropriated to unemployed able-bodied working men only. And this deponent further saith, that at such meeting objections were made to the proposed application of the provisions of the said new Poor-law

Act to the said parish of Stoke-Poges; but that, notwithstanding such objections, the said Mr. Gilbert, just before the meeting closed, intimated that he considered that such meeting had agreed to his plans. And this deponent further saith, that he hath derived no information whatever as to the erection of the proposed central house on Stoke-common, or on Gerrard's Cross-common; or as to the appropriation of the existing poor-houses as wards to such central house; or as to the classification of the poor, from the Honourable and Reverend Sidney Godolphin Osborne, the incumbent of the said parish of Stoke-Poges; but that the information deposed to by this deponent was obtained by him from the said Mr. Gilbert at the above-mentioned meeting. And this deponent further saith, that the said Mr. Gilbert admitted at such meeting, that after having visited the parishes in the proposed district, he had found the workhouse in the said parish of Stoke-Poges the best conducted.

JAMES EMERY.

Sworn at Windsor, in the county of Berks,
this 23. March, 1835.
Wm. Legh, Mayor.

No. V.

Samuel Whitmey, master of the workhouse in the parish of Stoke-Poges, in the county of Bucks, maketh oath and saith, That on the day when the said workhouse was visited by the poor-laws' commissioner, there was not one person on the premises under medical treatment, and only one who could be said to be unwell, and that his indisposition arose from natural weakness and old age; that since the said deponent has been master of the said workhouse, there never has been more than five persons ill in the house at one time; and that there is a sick-room, which is occupied by any that may fall sick. And this deponent further saith, that no persons able to work are permitted to be idle; that the children are, as far as the said deponent is able instructed; that the boy Adaway, who was asked some question by the sub-commissioner under the new Poor-law

Act, had been but six months in the said house, having come from another parish; that he was, at the time when the said sub-commissioner visited the said poor-house, able to say his catechism as well as most boys of his age, and that the said boy regularly attends the Sunday-school. And this deponent further saith, that the circumstance of the boys not being clean in appearance was wholly to be attributed to their having been employed in sifting turf-dust and ashes for the use of the said poor-house. And this deponent further saith, that the two bastards, sent to the said poor-house six months ago, are the only bastards that have been received therein during the last three years.

SAMUEL WHITMEY.

Sworn at Windsor, in the county of Berks,
this 23. March, 1835, before me,
Wm. Legh, Mayor.

No. VI.

Samuel Mason, of Stoke-Poges, in the county of Bucks, yeoman, maketh oath and saith, That he attended the meeting convened by Mr. Gilbert, one of the sub-commissioners under the new Poor-law Act, at the Windmill-inn, Salt-hill, on Friday the 13. of January last; and that the said sub-commissioner, in explaining at that meeting his plan for uniting the adjacent parishes in this district into a union, did state, that a large central workhouse would be erected on Stoke-common, or on Gerrard's Cross-common, to which the able-bodied paupers of the parishes included in the said union were to be sent; that the existing workhouses of the said parishes were to be considered as wards to the said central workhouse, to which wards the old and infirm, and the children, were to be sent. And this deponent further saith, that, amongst other objections made at the said meeting to the plan proposed by the said sub-commissioner, that complaint was made that proper notice of the said meeting had not been given; and that it was proposed, that another meeting should be called; to which proposition the said sub-commissioner, would not agree; but that the said sub-commissioner, notwithstanding

the objections then stated, upon closing the book to which he had occasionally referred, said, that he should write and inform the commissioners that the said meeting had unanimously agreed to his plans. And this deponent further saith, that the said meeting shortly afterwards broke up. And this deponent further saith, that on or about the 3. of February last, he had a conversation with the said sub-commissioner, about the land belonging to the poor of Stoke-Poges, situated on Stoke-common, and also about the proposed union of the said parish, when he, the said deponent, expressed his opinion of the hardship that would be inflicted by taking away the children of the paupers from their parents, stating, as an instance, the case of John Lowman, a parishioner of Stoke parish, who had lately been passed as a pauper to the said parish, and who, under the present law, was dwelling comfortably with his family; whereas, by the proposed new arrangement, the said John Lowman, notwithstanding an excellent character, would, on becoming a pauper, have been taken away from his family and children, to the proposed central workhouse, and his family would have been broken up. And this deponent further saith, that the said sub-commissioner, in replying to the said observations, said he saw no hardship in the case; from which reply, and also more particularly from what he, the said deponent, heard stated by the sub-commissioner at the said meeting at Salt-hill, he was and now is of opinion, that if the said union of the parish of Stoke-Poges be carried into effect, great distress and inconvenience will be experienced by those who may become paupers in the said parish; as, by the arrangements proposed by the said sub-commissioner, it appears that, in that case, they will be separated from their family and house, and will, in fact, be sold up.

SAMUEL MASON.

Sworn at Windsor, in the county of Berks,
the 23. of March, 1835, before me,
Wm. Legh, Mayor.

No. VII.

Charles Thomas Depree, Esq. of Langley Broom, in the county of Bucks. maketh oath and saith, That he is possessed of considerable freehold property in the parish of Stoke-Poges in the said county; that for above ten years past he has been in the habit of attending the vestries of the said parish; that he is well acquainted with the management of its poor, and with the state of the parish in general. And this deponent further saith, that, when conversing about the proposed parochial union with Mr. Gilbert, one of the sub-commissioners under the new Poor-law Act, on or about the twenty-seventh of January last, he, the said deponent, expressed his hope that the said parish of Stoke-Poges would not be comprised in any such union, because the said parish could not be better managed than it then was; that he, the said deponent, then also declared, that he did not approve of the separation of men from their wives in the new workhouse, which separation appeared to him, the said deponent, to be intended by the new Poor-law Act. And this deponent further saith, that the said sub-commissioner did not then at all contradict the said observations and remarks. And this deponent further saith, that, to the best of his belief, no regular notice was given of the meeting convened by the said sub-commissioner for Friday the 30th of January last, at the Windmill-lap, Salt-hill; but having accidentally heard of it, he, the said deponent, did attend such meeting. And this deponent further saith, that at the said meeting the said sub-commissioner did explain the plan of the intended union of the adjacent parishes, and did state that a central workhouse was to be built, able to contain several hundreds of persons; that the expense of the said building would be about two thousand pounds, of which sum nine hundred pounds were to be raised from property belonging to some of the said parishes; and that the said sub-commissioner, although then requested so to do, did not point out or specify the said property. And this deponent further saith, that the said sub-commissioner stated that he had found the workhouses of the

several adjacent parishes generally inconvenient, and badly managed; and that in the workhouse of Stoke-Poges the people were not properly classed; and that there was no sick-room in the said workhouse. And this deponent further saith, that he did then desire Mr. Emery, the acting overseer of the said parish, to produce a list of the poor in the said workhouse; by which it appeared that they amounted to nineteen persons, of which ten were between sixty and eighty-one years of age, four children under thirteen, two of sixteen, one of twenty-two, one of thirty-six, and one of fifty years of age; and that then he did distinctly state to the said sub-commissioner that there was a sick-room in the said workhouse fully capable of accommodating as many persons as would probably fall sick at any time in the said workhouse; that he likewise stated that the parish was well managed, that the poor were made comfortable, and that they did not cost the parish more than two shillings and ten-pence per head, as was to be seen by the last month's accounts. And this deponent further saith, that the said sub-commissioner did then distinctly allow, that the said workhouse was as well managed as it could possibly be under the existing circumstances. And this deponent further states, that he did at that meeting inquire of the said sub-commissioner whether or not it was intended to separate in the new workhouse the men from their wives: to which question no answer being returned by the said sub-commissioner, he, the said deponent, said that he had no objection that refractory persons should be punished, but that he should be sorry that infirm persons should be separated, and sent from their respective parishes. And this deponent further saith, that he then publicly told the said sub-commissioner that the union would be objected to by the parish of Stoke-Poges. And this deponent further saith, that at the said meeting no question was put, or other means resorted to by which the opinions of those present could be ascertained; but that the said meeting shortly broke up, notwithstanding the objections which had been made to the proposed union. And this depo-

nent further saith, that from the conversations which he has had with the said sub commissioner, from what took place at the said meeting, and from the enactments of the new Poor-law, he is now of opinion that the separations, and other ill consequences to which he objected, will certainly take place, if the arrangements of the said sub commissioner, respecting the union of the parish of Stoke-Poges, be carried into effect.

CHARLES DEEREL.

Sworn at Windsor, in the county of Berks, this 23. of March, 1835. Wm. LEWIS, Mayor.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from the Poor-law Commissioners to his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department; with a copy of the Directions issued by them; and also a copy of the Declaration by which the Eton Union has been formed.

To his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Poor-law Commission Office, Somerset House, 17. March, 1835.

Sir,—The attention of the poor-law commissioners for England and Wales having been directed to a petition presented to the House of Commons from the inhabitants of Stoke-Poges, they think it their duty to lay before you the following statement:

The first plan for bringing the poor-law amendment into operation, in South Buckinghamshire, which the commissioners had under their consideration, was the formation of a union, comprehending twenty-nine parishes in the hundreds of Stoke and Burnham.

This proposal was objected to by many of the parishioners of Stoke-Poges; by some, because it involved the necessity of building a new workhouse on Stoke Common; by others, because they deemed the interference of the commissioners to be altogether needless and uncalled for.

These objections were represented to the commissioners, both personally and in writing; and on the receipt of a memorial

from the parish, the commissioners thought it their duty to re-consider the arrangement. Having done so, they resolved on dividing the proposed union into two parts, by which means they obviated the necessity of building the workhouse on Stoke Common, and prevented the paupers of Stoke from being mixed with the paupers of more distant parishes, which some of the inhabitants thought likely to prove injurious to their character and morals.

Thus modified, it appeared to the commissioners that the union was liable to no valid objection. By any further reduction in its size, its management would have been rendered more costly and less efficient. Its boundaries appear to be natural and convenient; on the west and on the south it is bounded by the Thames, on the east, by the county of Middlesex, and on the north by the line of the Beaconsfield Hills. In the centre of this district the parish of Stoke-Poges is situated. To have excluded it from the union, would have disturbed and rendered imperfect the whole plan; and its position is such, that it could not have been left out in the hope of annexing it hereafter more conveniently to some other union.

It is true that the parish is not quite so highly rated as some of the adjoining parishes; but no union can ever be formed by the commissioners, if parishes are to be omitted solely because their present burdens, from temporary or accidental causes, may happen to be somewhat less than those of an adjoining parish. Whatever advantage Stoke may have in this respect, it will, when its average expenditure is correctly ascertained, continue to enjoy.

It will contribute to the repairs and management of the workhouse, in the proportion which its average expenditure bears to the like average expenditure of the rest of the union; and it will only be charged with the relief of its own paupers, whether in or out of the workhouse.

As soon as the union is completed, a board of guardians will superintend the relief of the poor, and they will be aided by proper and efficient officers. No unnecessary pressure on the paupers need

be apprehended, as the commissioners have not deemed it expedient to enforce the provision contained in the 52. clause of the Poor-law Amendment Act, which enables them to direct that no relief shall be given to the able-bodied paupers, except in the workhouse.

With reference to the workhouses, and the regulations to which they may hereafter be subject, it is necessary to point out, that the commissioners have not as yet issued, with respect to the Eton union, any positive rules for their management; though, as regards another union, they are shortly about to do so.

In framing such rules, they are guided mainly by the practice and experience of parishes in which well regulated workhouses already exist; and they think it will be their duty to act on that principle. They know no reason why a system of workhouse management, which has been found on trial to be perfectly successful in the parish of Cookham (only a few miles distant from Stoke-Poges), should not be equally applicable to the workhouses in the union in which that parish is situated.

When applied to for information on the subject of workhouse rules, the commissioners have on all occasions said, that they thought married couples should not be placed in different houses; that children under the age of nurture should not be separated from their mothers; and that the aged, infirm, and sick paupers, should be treated with care and tenderness, and not of necessity be forced into workhouses, as they now generally are, in preference to the sturdy and able-bodied pauper.

With respect to the question which was in reality to be decided upon by the commissioners, in reference to the memorial presented to them by the inhabitants of Stoke-Poges, the commissioners were fully aware of its great importance. It imposed upon them the necessity of deciding, whether, because a portion of the inhabitants of a particular parish were disinclined to be included in a particular union, and desired to be left in the undisturbed management of their parochial affairs, it became at once the duty of the board to acquiesce. It appeared

to the commissioners to have been foreseen and contemplated by the legislature, that parishes might frequently object to be included in proposed unions, and that Gilbert's Act having failed, principally because there was no power to compel parishes to unite, the commissioners had expressly been intrusted with a power to overrule such objections.

The commissioners, therefore, having deliberately inquired into the situation and circumstances of the parish of Stoke-Poges, and given to the representation of the parishioners the fullest consideration in their power, decided on including the parish in the Eton union; and they confidently believe that they have not erred in so doing.

Their attention has been drawn in a particular manner to the district in which the parish is situate, and their interference in the neighbouring parishes had been anxiously solicited.

The parish of Stoke-Poges itself, though the pressure of its poor is somewhat diminished by the extensive charities, and benevolent disposition of many of its inhabitants, must still be considered as heavily burdened for the support of its pauper population. The charge for the maintenance of its poor for the three last years for which the parliamentary returns are made up was as follows: 1830, 671*l.*; 1831, 515*l.*; 1832, 778*l.* Out of a population of 1,252, it appears, by a recent return, that 118 are paupers. Relief is stated to be allowed to the out-door paupers according to a scale (a practice which in itself calls for a remedy, inasmuch as it is one of the worst which has been suffered to establish itself), and the cost per head of the paupers in the workhouse exceeds 4*s.* weekly, being nearly double the amount in well-regulated workhouses, where ample provision is made for the poor. The state of the parish, as compared with others in the union, may be ascertained by a reference to the accompanying table, with respect to which the commissioners lament that the returns are not complete to a later date.

Though as yet the commissioners have refrained from issuing any rules which should apply generally to the kingdom at

large, they have thought it their duty to lay down certain directions for the guidance of boards of guardians, wherever a union of parishes is formed. A copy of these directions they have the honour to lay before you, together with a copy of the declaration by which the Eton union has been formed.

The commissioners have the honour to subscribe themselves,

Sir,

Your most faithful
and obedient servants,
T. FRANKLAND LEWIS,
J. G. S. LEFEVRE,
GEO. NICHOLLS.

(The documents for regulating the unions follow.)

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants, labourers and others, of Stoke-Poges, in the county of Bucks,

Showeth,—That your petitioners being informed that a petition of certain ratepayers of the aforesaid parish has been presented to your most honourable House, setting forth the objections they entertained to the union of the said parish of Stoke-Poges with the adjacent parishes, under the new Poor-law Act, and praying the interference of your honourable House, that the said union may not take place, as far as regards the aforesaid parish; beg to express their entire concurrence with the prayer of such petition, and most humbly to solicit that no such union of the aforesaid parish may take place.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

THE CORK TANNERS.

Case of the Cork Working Tanners; in a Letter to William Cobbett, Esq. M.P.—By THOMAS SHEAHAN.

SIR,—You are the labourer's friend, and you are the advocate of a legal provision for the poor of Ireland—therefore it is that I put you in possession of some transactions which have taken place in

this City.—In my opinion the labourer's friend should not be unacquainted with them, and they argue strongly in favour of a Poor-law for Ireland.

What transactions do you speak of? Transactions which have taken place between the masters and the Working Tanners of this city—exhibiting the miserably low rate at which labour is remunerated amongst us, and the cruel lengths to which employers or capitalists will go, when unchecked by the salutary influence of a Poor-law.

About the beginning of last November it became known to the public, through the journals, that the working tanners of this city had left their employment, and both conservative and reforming paragraphists agreed in condemning their conduct. These said, that the tanners were the best paid of Irish labourers (some of them getting nine, ten, and twelve shillings a week): they insinuated that the *turn out* was the result of the interference of Englishmen jealous of the ascendancy which the Irish tanners were gaining over them; and they inveighed against the habit of Irish workmen to make unreasonable demands of their employers whenever there is a stir in the business, or when they think they can do so with impunity.

I had heard that the working tanners of Cork were a very orderly body of men; indeed I mistake much if I had not heard their praises recited by more than one of their employers; I had myself personal knowledge of their being zealous reformers and warm-hearted Irishmen. These matters made me wish that the poor fellows should not put themselves in the *wrong*; and I accordingly procured an interview with a few of them, from whom I was sorry to learn that the masters had entered into a BOND, binding themselves under a penalty of 100*l.* never to give a day's employment to any individual of the several hundreds who had left their yards. I heard this, and I perceived from the language of my informants that if any person wished to be instrumental in preventing violence and in effecting a reconciliation between master and man, there was no time to be lost. Having inculcated peace and forbearance on the minds

of such of the working tanners as came my way, I advised them to place themselves in a proper light before the public, a considerable portion of whom had been prejudiced by the newspapers; and in furtherance of this advice the following was advertised in one of the public papers, and served on each master tanner in the form of a hand-bill:

From the Working Tanners to the Masters.

It being neither the wish nor the interest of the working tanners of Cork to injure their employers, or to hurt the trade of the city—their sole object being to obtain from their employers terms which they think their services entitle them to, and which their employers may give without injustice to themselves,—they, the working tanners, in order to effect a friendly arrangement of the difference now existing in their trade, propose as follows:—That a Committee of seven, neither masters nor working tanners, be appointed, three by the men, four by the masters; to which committee both parties shall state their case, promising to abide by its decision; or, the working tanners are content to submit their case to the arbitration of the six gentlemen who have been recommended to the lord lieutenant as additional magistrates.

Cork, November 11, 1834.

This proposition of the working tanners produced no effect on the masters; one of them said to me, that he did not think that the case called for arbitration—the men did not like the terms of the employers—there was an end to the affair, then. If he called into a draper's shop and did not choose to give the price which the shopkeeper thought fit to set on his cloth, as well might the shopkeeper invite the public to arbitrate between them, as the working tanners invoke a third party to come between them and their masters."

On the 14th November, the working tanners having received no communication from the employers, drew up the following paper, and gave instructions to their secretary to serve the principal employer with it.

From the Working Tanners to the Masters.

The working tanners, of Cork respectfully beg to be informed if it is the intention of the masters to accept the invitation held out to them in the advertisement of the working tanners published in *the Constitution* of Tuesday, a copy of which is enclosed; if such should not be their intention, the working tanners request that the master tanners will say if they have any, and if any, what proposition to submit to them.

This paper was handed to the leading man in the trade; I have reason to think that it was not laid before a meeting of masters.

The working tanners now came to me and told me that all their hopes centred in Mr. O'Connell, that he was to be in Cork in a few days, that the big fellows among the masters were his co-labourers in public and his friends in private, and that he would do everything for the poor. They requested of me to draw up an address, to be put into the hands of "The Man of the People." I said, "Mr. O'Connell's position requires that he should stand well with all classes in Ireland. He will not like to be dragged into an unpleasant difference between master and man; however, as you think he can be of service to you, and as there are so many hundreds of you suffering from idleness, you shall not say that I declined to assist putting him in possession of all the circumstances of your case." The following is substantially the statement which was presented to Mr. O'Connell; I write it from notes and memory, not having had time to make a copy, and having failed in recovering the original:—

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.

SIR,—We, the working tanners of Cork, beg leave to express to you our delight at seeing you once more amongst us: and to request your interference in a matter, in which we are deeply concerned, and in which the working classes, generally, feel a becoming interest.

We are a body of men, about five hundred in number, who, by living on a po-

tato diet for many years, have enabled our employers to drive the English manufacturer from the home market, to compete with him successfully even at his own door; to have carriages and hunters, to quaff claret and champagne, "to be clad in fine linen and feast sumptuously." The gains of several of those employers are notoriously immense; the regular losses in the trade are scarcely entitled to notice.

The rate of remuneration for our labour may be seen from the following table, which is the result of an inquiry into the number of hands employed and the amount of wages paid in 23 of the principal yards of our city:

| Men. | | £. | s. | d. |
|------|--------------------|----|----|----|
| 1 | employed weekly at | 0 | 13 | 6 |
| 2 | .. do. .. | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| 1 | .. do. .. | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| 1 | .. do. .. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| 4 | .. do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 20 | .. do. .. | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 11 | .. do. .. | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| 81 | .. do. .. | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| 12 | .. do. .. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| 134 | .. do. .. | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 5 | .. do. .. | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| 33 | .. do. .. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 3 | .. do. .. | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| 29 | .. do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 1 | .. do. | 0 | 4 | 0 |

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The average weekly pay of 200 of these men does not exceed 6s. What, sir, could you do with six or seven or even eight shillings for the seven days of the week, and what if you had a family? Thus it is that we are consigned to a potato diet, and that not of the best description.*

* I do not think that there was any mention in the address read by Mr. O'Connell of "THE PERQUISITES" of the working tanners. It is right to say that the omission is not attributable to the men. They had supplied me with information on that head; but in the hurry of throwing their case together it escaped my notice. The perquisites are not shared among all the men; one man, who represented the class of fleshers, told me that his share of the OFFAL of the hides was worth £2 a year, another man informed me that his perquisites arose out of the tan, and were worth to him 3d. a fortnight.

Our hours of labour render matters even worse. Of the 23 tan-yards of which we have spoken there is *but one* in which the working hours are from six till six, seven o'clock and half-past seven o'clock are the hours at which we are generally allowed to desist from our labour, and sometimes eight o'clock and even nine o'clock overtake us in our yards; moreover, we are liable to be called out even on Sundays; and employers are known to work us some hours on these days, and that without remuneration.

To relieve our condition, and to obtain a small portion of the fruits of our industry and long forbearance, we associated and resolved as follows:

That the man or boy theretofore

| receiving (per s. d. | s. d. |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| week) | 2 6 should have 3 0 |
| do. | 3 0 do. 3 6 |
| do. | 3 6 do. 4 0 |
| do. | 4 0 do. 4 6 |
| do. | 4 6 do. 5 0 |
| do. | 5 0 do. 5 6 |
| do. | 5 6 do. 6 0 |
| do. | 6 0 do. 7 6 |
| do. | 7 0 do. 8 0 |

There was nothing very extravagant in all this, nothing to which our services had not entitled us, and which our employers could not give with ease. Here we owe it in candour to you to state, that the more expert ones of our business had it in contemplation to form themselves into a trade like the tanners of Dublin and England. Right or wrong, they felt that in association alone has the labourer any protection against that cupidity which begins and ends in self, and makes of the poor its special victims.

It may not be unnecessary in this place to inform you that, whilst the tanners of Cork were meditating on this miserable increase of wages, fleshers were obtaining in Dublin and Bristol 18s. a week, and yard men 15s., and that in London fleshers were employed at 17. 1s per week, yard men at 18s., and helpers at 15s.

Our employers, on learning what we had resolved, but without any strike on our part, thought proper one morning to

discharge each two men, and one of these employers actually turned fourteen men out of his concern, because they said they belonged to that Consolidated Union of the Working Classes of which you, sir, are a member, and to which you tendered your services as law adviser.

Having the feelings of men within us, conscious that we sought nothing unjust, and viewing the seventy or eighty men who were dismissed from the yards as victims for the common good, we said we would go out with them, and accordingly we struck. This strike was immediately followed on the part of the masters by an agreement in which they bound themselves under a penalty of 100*l* never to give a day's employment to one of us. We pray your particular attention to this bond.

Rumours having been circulated that we were acting under English influence, and paragraphs of an injurious character to us having been inserted in the public papers; moreover, it being a clear thing that we had no interest in being idle, we invited an arbitration of our case by public advertisement: we said to our employers, "Let a committee of seven, neither masters nor working tanners, be appointed, *four* by you, *three* by us; let both parties state their respective cases to it, and abide by its decision; or, let our committee of arbitration be the six gentlemen whom you lately wished to have appointed magistrates." To this proposition no reply was given. We then called on the masters to say, if they had any proposition of their own to submit to us; no notice was taken of us; we merely heard it abroad that *the Bond* was regularly executed, and that it was lodged in the hands of an attorney, who was to pounce on the first subscriber, who should dare to violate it, and that none of us should ever again earn a shilling for ourselves in those yards, where we had made thousands of pounds for others. We submit to your good sense, sir, that, admitting even we had erred, this conduct of the masters was too high-handed; that there was none of the milk of human kindness or the unction of christian charity in it. As to the bond into which they entered, you will not

hesitate to pronounce it illegal, cruel, and inculcatory of vengeance; it is, moreover, unjust. Those who signed it, and who would thereby consign hundreds of us to starvation, may say that we were wrong once in our lives; but they should not forget that the sweat and toil of those lives were in their pockets.

It has been urged against us that agricultural labour is had at a rate below that at which ours was required, and that tens of thousands of poor men could be procured from the country, most happy to fill our berths. We admit, in bitterness of soul, that the Irish agricultural labourer is the most wretched of human beings—but we deny that the Cork master-tanner is justified in measuring our service or his duties by the rule of wrong supplied to him by the merciless Irish landlord; and we tell the employer, be he of town or of country, be he Catholic or be he Protestant, that there is another tribunal, where the sweat of the labourer will be duly appreciated, and where he who defrauds that labourer of his just reward will be condemned.

It is not long, sir, since the misunderstanding has taken place between us and our employers,—even so we have already suffered more of privation than you can well conceive; the wages allowed to us by our employers were too scanty to enable us to make savings, or to hold out in any cause. We come to you, then, hoping that you will interpose your good services, and assist in effecting that adjustment which we have attempted in vain. We respectfully submit that we have some claims on your attention. Far as our humble efforts were availing, they were always at the service of our country, and we boast of being your co-labourers in "the good cause." At the last election several of our body who are electors, rejected bribes that would be fortunes to them, and voted for the popular candidates; also, the majority of the master tanners of Cork are your personal friends; your representations must have great weight with them.

Mr. O'Connell! it is the opinion of many, and an opinion that is every day gaining ground, that, if there were a legal provision for the poor of Ireland, the

Irish labourer would not be, as he is, entirely at the mercy of the employer, agricultural or manufacturing. You are opposed to poor-laws; we give you credit for being influenced in your opposition to them by the purest motives. We fear, however, that you depend too much on the humanity and considerateness of individuals; the tender bosom of too many of whom is an obdurate and unfeeling rock. Pray, sir, try what you can do with the master tanners; see if you can exemplify in them the truth of your theories. Many hundreds of men, women, and children, may be saved from extreme destitution, by your successful remonstrances. Require, at least, that the bond be cancelled. Whether you succeed or fail, you shall be equally entitled to our gratitude.

We are, sir,

Most respectfully

and devotedly yours,

THE WORKING TANNERS OF CORK.

Mr. O'Connell read this address, and gave an interview to some of the working tanners; two of these informed me that Mr. O'Connell expressed regret that the tanners should throw themselves out of employment in the inclement season of the year; represented how easy it was for the master tanners to fill their places; denied that tanning was a trade in England; advised that the men should return to their work and promise the masters that they would not combine for twelve months. My reporters gave me to understand that Mr. O'Connell spoke, as if some of the master tanners had suggested that the men should enter into an engagement not to form a combination for seven years; and that Mr. O'Connell having given his advice to the working tanners, desired them to go and consult their friends and to return to him in half an hour with their answer. I believe I was the only person with whom they were in consultation; and when they came to me with an account of their interview and sought my opinion as to how they ought to act, I said, "Are you disposed to go back to your employments on the old terms, and to enter into the engagement sug-

"gested by Mr. O'Connell?" They replied, "We are; we can't help it—our families are in a very bad state." Whereupon I said, "That being the case, I will draw up the answer which I think becomes you," and I wrote it off accordingly.

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., M. P.

Sir,—We feel exceedingly grateful to you for the trouble you are taking in our behalf. Pressed by the hard hand of necessity, having no prospect before us but starvation, if we do not submit to terms which we cannot approve, we consent to return to our employments on the old conditions, and to pledge ourselves not to form any union for twelve months. Whilst, however, we thus yield, we feel that we owe it as a duty to ourselves and to our children to protest in the face of Heaven and our country that justice is not done to us.

THE WORKING TANNERS.

(To be continued).

FIELD SEEDS.

| | Per lb. |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Swedes | 0s. 9d. |
| Wurzel, Red | 0 9 |
| White | 0 9 |
| Parsnip | 3 0 |
| Early York | 6 0 |
| Early Battersea | 6 0 |
| Early Dwarf | 8 0 |
| Savoy | 8 0 |
| Corn, per bunch | 1 0 |

SEED BAGS.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are no larger bags; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of LARGE GARDENS, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for different sowings. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be safely done up; and I pledge myself for their goodness. The number

on the bags tells the sort that is within. Owing to an accident, the list is *not quite alphabetical*; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto.
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Broccoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Kale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.
31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 24.

INSOLVENTS.

JONES, J. S., Ramsgate, dealer in fancy articles.

THOMSON, W., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-hill, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

HARRIS, W., Farnham, Hampshire, cattle-salesman.

HORD, R., Bishopthorp, Yorkshire, dealer.

RAYNER, T., Manchester, victualler.

RODHARD, F., and C. Massina, Turnham-green and Hammersmith, schoolmasters.

SAYERS, W., Horsham, Sussex, baker.

SMALLWOOD, T., Birmingham, grocer.

WILLIAMS, W., Panteague, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LANG, J., Dumbarton, merchant.

SMALL, C., Anstruther, grocer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 28.

INSOLVENT.

KNOX, H., jun., Park-street, Marybounce, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BELL, C. R., Leeds, cloth-merchant.

BODIN, W., Manchester, agent and hair-dresser.

CHAPMAN, T. F., Littleham and Exmouth, Devonshire, hotel & lodging-house keeper.

CROSBY, J., Nottingham, dyer.

DANIELL, T., Michael-church-court, Herefordshire, copper-smelter.

DUNN, M., Preston, Lancashire, wine-merchant.

PROCTOR, B. P., Prospect-place, Radford, Nottinghamshire, lace-maker.

RICHARDSON, T., Norwich, coal-merchant.

WEBSTER, A., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, victualler.

WILLIS, J., High-street, Poplar, victualler.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 27.—

We had but a very moderate supply of Wheat and other articles from the neighbouring counties this morning. The weather is very

cold and frosty for this late period of the season. Fine Wheat sold readily at an improvement of 1s. per quarter over last Monday's prices; but there was no advance on secondary descriptions.

Barley scarce, and rather dearer than this day week.

In Peas no alteration.

Beans 1s. per quarter higher.

We had a very large arrival of Oats in the course of last week and this morning, for which we experienced a fair demand to-day at 6d. per quarter under last Monday's prices.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 44s. |
| Old | 44s. to 48s. |
| Red, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 34s. to 38s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Yorkshire, red | 34s. to 38s. |
| White | 38s. to 40s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 37s. to 39s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 24s. to 27s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Black | 24s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 25s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 23s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. .. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed .. | 13s. to 16s. |
| Brew | 17s. to 19s. |

SMITHFIELD, April 27.

This day's supply of Sheep and Lambs was, for the time of year, rather great; its supply of Beasts, Calves, and Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with prime small Lamb and Veal, somewhat brisk; with the larger and inferior kinds, as also with Beef, Mutton, and Pork, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 2,100 of the Beasts, more than a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of homebreds, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Herefords and Irish Beasts, were, for the most part (say about 1,500 of them) from Norfolk; the others from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly Shorthorns, Devons, and runts, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; about 200, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 30 lusty Townsend Cows, from the stall feeders, &c., near London.

About a moiety of the Sheep, fully three-fourths of which were out of the wool, were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, Kents, Kentish half breeds, and horned and polled Norfolk; with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 7,000, consisted of about equal numbers of Southdowns, Dorsets, and new Leicesters; with a few pens of Kentish half-breeds, &c.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | 6 | 0 |

THE FUNDS.

| per Cent. } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. |
|-------------|------|------|------|-------|------|--------|
| Cons Ann. } | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ |

MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Cure of Cramps and General Debility.

To Mrs. McClellan, Agent for Castle-Douglas.

MADAM,—I would consider myself both unthankful and ungrateful were I to conceal the benefit I have received from Morison's Vegetable Medicines. About the beginning of last March, I was seized with a severe complaint over the whole body, and was troubled with cramps to such an extent, that I thought my toes would have been twisted off joint. I was in that state for about three days, when my daughter began to get alarmed, and wished to call a doctor. I insisted on her not bringing a medical man to the house, but stated that I would rather have Mrs. McClellan and Morison's Pills. Accordingly you were sent for, and gave me nine pills of No. 2, which had the desired effect; for, as soon as they began to operate, the pains and cramp ceased, and, after a short continuation with the medicines, I got quite well. This is the second time that, by the blessing of God, I owe my life to Mr. Morison's Pills. Hoping that the blessing from above, which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow, may attend you, and all others engaged in the Hygeian cause, is the sincere wish of, Madam, your obedient servant,

ESTHER CAMPBELL.

Castle-Douglas, June 19, 1834.

Cure of an Affection of the Heart.

To T. La Mott.

Sir,—Ann Welbourn, of Siggleshorn, wishes to inform you, for the benefit of the afflicted, that she has had the first medical advice in Hull, and others, none of which could give her any relief; but since she took Morison's Pills, which she has done for two years and a half, she has not enjoyed such good health for years. Her complaint was an affection of the heart. She says too much cannot be said in favour of the medicines, nor would she be without them.

I am sir, respectfully,

WILLIAM LOUNSBOROUGH.

Hornsea, Sep. 19, 1834.

READ'S UNIVERSAL BATH.

THE benefit derived from the use of BATHS, as recommended by the highest Medical Authorities, are too well known to require any comment.

This contrivance combines every kind of Bath now in use, viz., the Shower, Vapour, Douche, Hip, Fountain, and Warm or Cold Water Bath, either separate or the whole combined in one for domestic use. It possesses advantages never before obtained, as it affords the most perfect facility for taking every kind of Bath, or of using them in combination with each other. Its chief recom-

mendation also is, the convenience it affords to Families and Invalids of having in their own house a small compact portable apparatus, which may be removed from room to room, and at all times prepared for use with facility and dispatch. Also, a new and expeditious mode of heating the Baths never before practised. It is so adapted, that it may be taken to pieces and conveniently packed for the country.

Manufactured and sold by the Patentee, 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury. Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vade-mecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. **Cures.**—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena; Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract; Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia; Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful compound is the most wholesome snuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. Sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and the patronage. Sold in every country town.

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON,

AT

SWAIN AND CO.'s, Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Suit of Superfine Clothes | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, Black or Blue | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto, Imperial Saxony | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| A plain Suit of Livery | 4 | 10 | 0 |

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 88.—No. 6.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 9TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I wished to insert a letter from Mr. SMITH, of LANGUARD, in the Isle of Wight, stating that he was not the author of the letter which I lately published from that island. I wished also to notice what has been said by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, at the nomination for Devonshire. Also, the pretty *police work* at STOW-IN-THE-WOLD, Gloucestershire. Also, what is reported to have been said about me, by Lord MORPETH, at SADDLEWORTH. Also, the proceedings of two-thousand-a-year LEWIS, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, and their runners, in the county of Sussex. Also, a letter from Mr. CLARANCE on brewing; but the following subject, notwithstanding the source from which it has now sprung up, I deem to be of primary importance, and it does not leave me room for any of these matters.

TO THE NATIONAL UNION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Normandy, 6. May, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE just read an account of your meeting, held in London on the 28. of April. You invited me to this meeting, and Mr. RUSSELL, the secretary, did me the justice to read the letter which I sent in answer to the invitation. I address you now, because I perceive that Mr. ROEBUCK, who is a Member of Parliament for Bath, availed himself of my absence,

not only to misrepresent me, but to state most impudent lies respecting me. It appears that, when he told you that *I cast a slur upon the people*, and that I endeavoured to debase the poor ploughman into a “mere hewer of wood and drawer of water,” *you cheered him*. This, at least, the *True Sun* tells me; and, *if this were so* (which, observe, I do not believe a word of), all that I should have to do would be, to bestow upon you my most hearty contempt in return.

However, I do not believe any such a thing. I do not believe that a numerous meeting of working men in any part of the kingdom could be found to cheer the lying rubbish that came out of this little reviewer's lips, upon this occasion. I will now proceed to show you how the little man lied to you; what sort of “*knowledge*” he communicated to you. I subjoin to this address my long and elaborate letter to Lord ALTHORP upon this subject. I beg you to read that letter all through, from the beginning to the end; and also an extract from a *Long-Island Register*, which I added to my letter. Lord ALTHORP accused me of being an enemy of “*education*.” This drew from me the letter to which I beg your attention. This little man said, that I had declared in the House of Commons, that “*education and crime went hand in hand*.” This is a falsehood. In the first place, I denied (as you will see by my letter to Lord ALTHORP) that reading and writing ought to be called “*education*”; and that *education* meant rearing up, and teaching the doing of those things which are necessary to the young person's state in life; and then, with regard to education going hand in hand with crime, what I said was this: that the book-learning by no means tended to diminish crime; for that since the heddekashun-work began, the crimes had augmented nearly tenfold; that the school-houses, the jails, the houses of correction, the mendicity-establishments, the tread-mills, and the hulks, had all gone on increasing together. This was

what I said; that the school-work did not, at any rate, tend to prevent crime. The little man said that I said, that the "*ploughman had no need of newspapers, but of mutton, and that reading was not fitting for such men.*" Never did envy, malignity, reptile-like spite, send squeaking forth from a pair of newspaper-like lips a greater falsehood than this. Why all the world knows that I was a plough-boy myself; and it knows, too, that I, long ago, wrote and published an *ENGLISH GRAMMAR*, addressed, to soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys. This little man is one of the race that write; or, at least, so they tell me; and if he were to live and write till he were five hundred years old, all the books that he would ever write all put together would not be sold to the extent to which this grammar has sold, and is constantly now selling more than ever.

In another part of his speech he says, as I have just noticed above, that I had been induced, or *constrained*, I think he calls it, to debase the poor ploughman into "*a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water.*" What! And did *you* cheer this? I ask you, Mr. RUSSELL, by name; and I request you to be so good as to write an answer to me, did *you* cheer this? did any score of you cheer this? or did any six of you; with my *Legacy to Labourers* in your hands? With that most elaborate and unanswerable defence of the rights of labour in the hands, very likely, of one-half of the persons present. This little man is, they tell me, a *lawyer*. If he continue a lawyer till he is as gray as a rat, he will never be able to write a law-book equal to that *Legacy to Labourers*; and as to the *Legacy to Parsons*, if he were to live to four-score, and then die and be born again, and go on for twenty lives, he would never have at last so much law in his head as there is in that eighteenpenny book.

Ah! my friends! *he knows all this as well as I do.* The only fault that I find of him is, *that he did not tell it you.* If he had squeaked out, in addition to what he did squeak out, "Curse this Cobbett; and accursed be the people of this country. Here am I, a '*homme de lettres et avocat*,' with pen con-

stantly in hand, pouring forth effusions "to which angels might listen, logical, elegant, harmonious: and here is this plough-boy, sending out his rough-hewed stuff; the mere choppings of a bill-hook, compared with my planing, veneering, polishing, and varnishing; and the besotted people—the boorish and swinish herd, purchase his chop-pings by thousands upon thousands, while the extent of their demand on me can be counted on my fingers, including my thumbs. These decimals are quite enough for the keeping of my accounts of sales."

Now, my friends, if he had told you this, you would not have been troubled with this address from me. Without this explanation, you must have been astonished at the falsehoods which he uttered. Some of you must have recollected, too, that I have a book constantly on sale for now about fourteen years, called *Cottage Economy*; the object of which is to teach working people how to bake, brew, keep cows, make butter, rear pigs, and to do all those things which tend to good living, and to the ease and happiness of their lives. In short, he might have told you, or some of you might have recollected, that from my hundred volumes of books it would appear that I had lived for hardly any other purpose than that of defending and upholding the rights of the working people; defending their *character*, too, whenever that character has been attacked, as in the case of Mr. BULWER's calumnies on the working people of Sussex. A great part of you must have known this, while you were hearing the little man sputter out his impotent spite.

In another part of his sort of canting oration, but above all things, lying oration, the little man said, that it was "no thing to write that he was sorry he (I) could not attend: the effort was to "*speak boldly* the same truths before "*five hundred persons*, who hated and "detested the people." This was as much as to say, that I was a shy-cock, when I came before five hundred men, and that he clapped his wings and crowed defiance to them. Now, then, let us see how this is; first, speaking of his own

motion about this same *heddekashun*. This motion was to consider of a scheme for taxing you all, to raise money to put into the hands of MELBOURNE (it then was), that he, conjointly with the parsons of the several parishes, might appoint schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach your children; just as if we had not taxes and spies enough before; just as if working men could not choose proper schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for their own children, and pay the money themselves. My ground of objection to his motion was, that taxes were to be raised upon the working people to be given to the Government to appoint heddecaters. With regard to the good or evil of heddekating, generally, the children of working people, that was a mere matter of private opinion; a subject for philosophers to discuss, and not law-makers; and my private opinions upon the subject you will see fully stated in my letter to Lord ALTHORP, which I subjoin. From the monstrous misrepresentations of the villanous newspapers, and also from the unfair representation of Lord ALTHORP, an outcry had been raised at OLDHAM, about my being "an enemy of education." This cry had been going on for a year and a half. When I got there, I explained to my constituents my grounds of objection to any such measure as those proposed by persons in Parliament. I stated to them that, looking at the books that I had written to teach working people, they must think me mad if I wished none of the working people ever to become learned; but that, at any rate, this was a matter of private opinion which had nothing to do with them or their affairs. The *taxing* scheme they and I had something to do with; the private opinion was matter of chance or taste, as much as that of the colour of our coats: I chose a gray coat, which few of them seemed to like: I never went to school myself, and never sent a child to school. Their taste might be different; and there was no harm in that. But, when we came to taxing, when we came to a proposition to take money out of the people's pockets for the Secretary of State and the parsons to give to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach their own

children; and thus give my vote for taxing the people, in order to place a brace of spies in every parish of the kingdom, hired and paid by the Secretary of State; if they wished the nation to be so taxed, and for such purpose, they must get somebody else to vote for the taxing, for I never would while I had breath in my body. Why, the people of OLDHAM have *sense*, as well as incorruptible public spirit. They saw that they had been deceived: they saw that the scheme which I had opposed, and which, in fact, I defeated, was a deep scheme of knaves, aided and abetted by the empty-headed nonsense of fools.

And how did the bold little man, who accuses me of want of boldness, before five hundred men; how did he act in this very case? Why, he took care to have Lord ALTHORP and his thundering majority with him, which was manifestly concerted; and that I verily believe for the purpose of annoying me. And did I shrink at the sight of this majority? I frankly and distinctly avowed my private opinions, as well as my objections to the taxing scheme. Lord ALTHORP and Mr. POULETT THOMSON supported their little "learned friend," and the little learned man *carried his motion*; which was, the appointment of a committee to consider of the propriety of establishing a system of general education of the people, of which committee the little learned gentleman was chairman himself. When the committee got together, at a distance from Lord ALTHORP, and in a room by themselves, and had had time for their brains to cool, they came to a determination, as far as they did determine, that I was right, and that the little learned gentleman and Lord ALTHORP were wrong; for they determined that it was not advisable to impose a *tax* for the purpose; and as to the rest I cared not a straw, very willingly leaving it as a subject to be discussed by those who, like the little learned friend, are capable of calculating the amount and utility of what he calls the "*intellectual wealth*" of the people.

It is curious to observe here, that I never moved but for one committee; that the Minister put upon the committee whom he liked; that (a thing never heard

of before) the members of the committee chose another member to be chairman instead of me; that I made not even a whisper of complaint upon the subject; that I proved and over-proved every fact which I had alleged, and upon which I had grounded my motion for the committee, and that I brought out and laid before the House and the country full and complete proof of the hiring and paying of spies, by that very Secretary of State to whom this little learned gentleman would have given the choosing of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the children of all the working people of England; and that this was all begun, continued, and ended in the course of one month; and let it be observed that that committee never would have been granted, unless it had been firmly believed that it would end in my discomfiture and disgrace. I not only brought proof of the spying, but of the paying of the spy for his spying; and I traced the payment up to the office of the Secretary of State; and I brought proof of the Secretary of State's hand-writing, indorsed upon the written reports of the spy; and all this was done, not only in the presence of the five hundred men, that the little learned friend talks of, but in the face of the evidently hostile wishes of a great majority of them; not to say against the rather bitter reproaches of not a few of them. And some of you ought to have recollected, and I dare say did recollect, that the spy whom I detected and exposed, was expressly employed for the purpose of watching and reporting upon the acts and words and designs of that very Union of the Working Classes, which upon this occasion the little learned man was addressing. What was he about, dear little patriot, when this spy-work was before the House of Commons? Did he utter one single breath of reprobation of this dark plotting against you? Oh, no! dear little soul! carried aloft on the wings of refinement, he was engaged, day and night, racking his mind for the means of increasing your "*intellectual wealth*." As to your carcasses, whether they were empty, or swung from the new-drop, or from any country gallows tree; these were matters beneath his attention. Your "*in-*

tellectual wealth" was so precious that he could think about nothing else!

My friends, be wise. Be sparing of your cheers and huzzas at the mere utterance of pompous sentences. There are crowds of these sentimental patriots who would give you your intellect full, and who are really and truly the best friends of a taxing and profligate government. That excellent man, who laid aside his business for the purpose of providing a legal defence for FURZEY; who laboured as earnestly to procure proper defence for that man, as if it had been his own life; this man, without the smallest pretensions to merit in the world, without any boasting, without any professions, without any talk of the good that he has done or is doing, is worth as many of the "*intellectual-wealth*" patriots as there are grains of sand in any of the sand-hills of Surrey, or all of them put together. In all human probability FURZEY owed his life to the most judicious and able conduct of Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS; and to have the aid of Mr. PHILLIPS was entirely owing to the exertions of the worthy man whom I have just alluded to.

So much, then, for the face of the five hundred men, in the spy-case, and the heddekashun-case. But, was there not *another case* in which the working classes were concerned? Was there not the famous Poor-law Bill, invented for the avowed purpose of reducing the working people to a coarser sort of food, in order, as it was alleged, to prevent the estates of the landlords from being swallowed up? Was there not this affair before the House of Commons? Were there not seven or eight divisions of the House upon this bill? Did you ever see the name of the little "*learned friend*," in any of those divisions? Did you ever hear one single squeak from him in disapprobation of that bill, or of any of the parts of it? No: but I will tell you what you heard from him; you heard from him a general approbation of the principles of the bill, before it was brought in, and an expression of his wish, that it would be brought in quickly. Whether he *voted* for the bill, in any of the divisions, I do not know. I will not say that I suppose that he did; because, bold

man as he is, he was not bold enough to speak upon the subject; but this I know, that, when Sir CHARLES BURRELL made a motion for the second reading, I believe, of his *labour-rate* bill, the little learned friend opposed him, observing, at the same time, that something more effectual than that was wanted, and that he hoped we should soon have in the Poor-law Bill, with the contents of which he appeared to be thoroughly acquainted; and I perceive that not a word does he say against that bill, which, above all others, is a thing to be complained of by the working people. A coarser food for your bodies; but a finer diet for your minds. Curse "*mutton*," says he; curse COBBETT's "*mutton*" (though I always talk about fat bacon): curse his vulgar "*mutton*": here, take in my "*intellectual*" food! Curse the *wages*; let the landlords take them by their Poor-law Bill, and put them in their pockets; curse the money: you may have empty bellies, and be covered with rags, to be sure; but I will give you "*intellectual wealth*"!

Now, my friends, I do not believe that you cheered abominable trash like this. I do not believe it; if I did, one more word you should not have addressed to you by me; I should deem you too senseless a crew ever to be prevailed upon to think as you ought to think upon such subjects; I should deem you to be a set of person-formed by nature to be wheedled into slavery by cant. Not believing this; not looking upon you in this light, I will proceed to offer you some remarks on the silliness of this little man's notions upon the matter, in a taxing point of view.

I am for taking the tax off newspapers. I always have been for it; but for reasons very different from the stupid stuff offered to you by him, and the stupidity of which stuff, as I shall afterwards show, he himself proved to you. But let us see the little gentleman's notions about the *tax*. He tells you, that the Government will *lose* nothing, by taking off the stamp; nay, that it will *gain* by it; for, this species of patriot never wishes to lessen the amount of taxation, which is a characteristic which you will find stick to them all. The truth is, that they mean, first or last, to get wealth themselves out of the taxes:

not "*intellectual wealth*": that they mean to leave to you; and, in fact, to take your money in exchange. The little learned patriot tells you, that if the stamp were taken off, "the tax on paper would more than equal the present duty on newspapers themselves." Well, now, *who would pay this increased duty*? Do not move an inch till he has answered that question. *Who* would pay this increased duty on paper, which would exceed the amount of all the duty on stamps at present? The little gentleman must tell you, that you would pay it all, every farthing of it. The cheap newspapers are intended *for you*, and for you solely. The rich would take no more newspapers than they take now: they would take them at the reduced price; so that you would have to pay that which they now pay for stamps, and you would pay in paper-duty more than all their stamps amount to now! What a curious way the little gentleman has of easing your purses! But about your purses he cares nothing: it is your "*intellectual wealth*" that he wants to provide for.

And now let us see how he would provide for that. He might, from what he himself told you, have concluded, that "*cheap newspapers*" is a game at which two can play as well as one. He pointed out to you three newspapers, now published, which he described as the curse of a "*civilized country*"; as doing "*more mischief and evil than could well be conceived*." Very well, now; would not these papers be made cheap by the same operation as other newspapers would be made cheap? He says that the abolition of the stamp would "*chase these base things from circulation, or confine them within a narrow limit.*" He says this; but not one word does he say in support of the assertion. Does he pretend to believe that the abolition of the stamp would put down these papers; does he attempt to make you believe that cheap papers of the same principles would not rise up? Can he make you believe, that the factions would not each have its cheap publications in abundance? It is nonsense to suppose otherwise; it is madness. Therefore, truth and falsehood, good and evil, sense and nonsense,

would have just the same combat that they have now. In this respect, therefore, there is nothing to be gained by taking off the stamp.

The good of taking off the stamp would be, in the first place, the amount of the money now paid by the people at large, on account of the stamp, would not have to be paid by them, and would remain in their pockets. In the next place, and a still greater benefit, the abolition of the stamp would necessarily abolish two most odious acts of Parliament; and that one particularly which was invented on purpose to put down my *Register*, which completely failed of its object; to which the Whigs made a sham opposition; but which they have kept in force, and have most rigidly acted upon, towards innumerable persons in all parts of the country; and which seems to have inflicted injury upon both the factions, and on every part of the press, except my part. I do not think that the abolition of the stamp would make one single farthing difference to me, in point of payment for my labour; but as regards myself, even I detest the trammels imposed by the stamp laws; and with regard to others, I wish every man who likes to print, to be at liberty to print, without any hindrance; by no means believing, however, that truth, that is to say, that true information and right principles would have a fairer chance than they have now; and I scout the nonsensical idea which gives rise to the appellation of a "*tax upon knowledge*." In some cases it is; but in many more cases it is a tax upon lies and non-sense. The tax falls upon this little gentleman's speech, for instance; and will you say, that that is a tax upon knowledge? He names to you three newspapers, which, as he says, are constantly sending forth lies; injurious political principles; immoral and obscene notions; and doing mischief enormous. Will he call the stamp upon these a "*tax upon knowledge*." Hardly, I should suppose; and, therefore, the appellation is silly, at the least.

But the tax which he proposes to leave in full force, and greatly to augment, is, in many cases, really and effectively, a tax upon knowledge. Spelling-books, alman-

nacks, arithmetics, all books on the arts and sciences; books on travels, biography, history, natural history, agriculture, trade, navigation; religious books, the Testament, the Bible; law-books. All these, and many others that might be enumerated, may truly be called books of knowledge; of real and useful knowledge. Yet all these he leaves loaded with the enormous duty on rags and on paper. In the printing of an edition of moderate extent, the paper amounts to about one-half of the whole cost of bringing out the book; and of this cost of paper the rag-duty, the paper-duty, and the restrictions of the Excise, amount to one-half or more. So that, when a bookseller has printed and published a spelling-book, one quarter part of the price of the spelling-book is occasioned by the duty upon rags and the duty upon paper; and the working-man who has to buy a spelling-book for his child has to pay a shilling instead of ninepence; and this threepence would be still taken from him, with the hearty approbation of the little man who is so anxious to add to your "*intellectual wealth*"; he would still make the working man give threepence to support the pensioners and so forth, as a tax upon him for giving a spelling-book to his child; yet the dear little gentleman wishes to abolish the "*tax upon knowledge*!"

There, my friends, I think we have enough about this oratorical squeak; but having taken up so much of your time with it, let me go a step further. If the press, especially the newspaper press, is to do anything desirable, it is to make the people better off; it is to secure the liberties, political and civil, which they have; it is to preserve their rights and possessions; it is to defend them, or to regain any of them that may have been lost. The sayings that "The press is 'the palladium of free men';" that "knowledge is power"; that "To defend or recover your rights, you must 'know what they are.'" These sayings are very pretty sayings in themselves; but, if we see printing going on increasing, while our liberties are daily and hourly curtailed, must we not begin to doubt of the efficacy of printing, and of what is

called education, in preserving our liberties and rights? The heddekashun-work began by the Sunday-schools, partly the offspring of cant, and partly the offspring of cunning policy, at the beginning of the French war, to counteract the writings of PAINE. Little progress was made, however, until about the year 1808 or 1809, when LANCASTER came out with his sort of half-military-discipline schools. These schools were chiefly supported by Dissenters. The Aristocracy took the alarm; its better half, the Church, took the alarm too. There was no *putting down* LANCASTER, but they found him a rival in BELL! No matter who or what; it was something as a rival to LANCASTER; and we were speedily stunned half to death with Dr. BELL and the *National Schools*. Lords and ladies, bishops, archdeacons, deans, prebends, parsons, and all their wives and daughters, came pouring forth, like wasps from their holes, for Dr. BELL, "*Bible Societies*," and "*National Schools*"; and the Bibles and tracts almost fell upon the land like a shower of hail. DANIEL DEFOE (I think it is) has the following lines:—

"Wherever God erects a house of pray'r,
 "The devil is sure to have a chapel there;
 "And 'tis supposed by moderate computation
 "The latter has the larger congregation."

Thus it happened here; for to keep pace with the heddekashun of the schools, the newspapers began to multiply, not only in number, but in mathematical dimensions: till at last I actually got a newspaper one day, of which, at my farm-house, at BARN ELM, I made a table-cloth for a table about seven feet long and four wide, and Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY dropped in at the dinner time, and the other day reminded me of the table-cloth.

The newspapers, if all their print were put on one side of the paper, and if they could be all tacked together and supported upon poles of sufficient length, would, I verily believe, make a canopy large enough to cover the cities of Westminster and London, with all the metropolitan boroughs. In God's name, Mr. ROEBUCK, is not this enough! One-twentieth part of that which is printed is never read by anybody, in a manner to be understood.

This is not knowledge, then. It is nothing worth. Truth and falsehood fly out together; sense and nonsense sally out at the same time; men's minds get confused with the mass, if they attend to it all; while the people are thus *amused* the Government goes quietly on taking away their property and their liberty; and pray hear the fact without starting, pray do not contradict till you are able to disprove; in the exact proportion that the heddekashun-work and the newspapers have increased, IN THAT SAME PROPORTION HAVE THE LIBERTIES OF THE NATION BEEN UNDERMINED AND DIMINISHED! And now, my friends of the working classes, who met in London, with Mr. WAKLEY in the chair, on the 28. of April, 1835; now attend to me a little; and if you did cheer Mr. ROEBUCK, and do not now blush for that cheering, you are foredoomed to be the vilest slaves that ever disgraced the earth

I have just stated to you, that the school-work began to spread itself over the country in 1807-8-9. I remember Mr. Alderman WOOD telling me with great apparent satisfaction, that he had got a Lancastrian school for two or three hundred boys; and he will remember that I remarked to him, that though his motive was so unequivocally excellent, I was afraid that he would do mischief. "For," said I, "in the first place, WOOD, you must allow that the greater part of the newspapers teach most mischievous errors; you know well that nine-tenths of them abuse us reformers; and, therefore, you are at work to enlist the working-people on their side, it being nine to one against you. If men be left alone to judge from what they *feel* from the hand of the Government, they are sure to judge rightly of that Government; but if they be in the habit of forming their opinions by what they *read*, almost any crafty fellow with a pen in his hand, and a printing-press at his command, can make them quietly submit to that which reason, experience, tradition or knowledge would have them reject; and I am of opinion, that if this education-work go on, and this law of libel continue in force, the people will

"be gradually brought to submit to almost anything that the Government chooses to inflict upon them." Mr. Wood will recollect this conversation; and he will also recollect that I addressed a letter in the *Register* to himself, on the subject, the place of which letter in the *Register*, I cannot now point out, not having the volume at hand.

Now, then, we have had pretty nearly thirty years of it, since I gave this opinion; and let us see how far the opinion has been verified. Before this heddekashun-work began, no Parliament was ever bold enough to vote money out of the people's pockets to be given to the parsons over and above their tithes and revenues; since that work began, one million five hundred thousand pounds have been voted out of the taxes to be given to the parsons, over and above all the new churches. Before the education-work began, there had never been a standing army in time of peace to exceed about thirty thousand men abroad and at home; and only about three or four barracks: since it began there has been a standing army of a hundred thousand men in time of peace, with a hundred thousand barracks, more like palaces than barracks. Before the heddekashun-work began, the utmost penalty on men for pursuing or killing game was a fine of five pounds, or three months imprisonment: it is now transportation for seven years, inflicted by magistrates at quarter sessions, if the game be pursued (not killed, but *pursued*) in the night time. Before the heddekashun work began, if a poor man trespassed on the land of any one, he, as well as the rich man, in a similar case, was liable to an action of damages, which action was to be tried by a jury: since the heddekashun-work began, if the damage be under five pounds, the trespasser may be seized by the throat, without summons or warrant, taken before a justice, who may make him pay damages on the spot, or send him to jail at once to hard labour for three months; but if it be a man *sporting with a license*, in the sporting season; or, if it be a trespasser committing above five pounds of damage, then you dare not take him up, for you have nothing but your action at law. Before the hed-

dekashun-work began, a Dissenter might have his goods distrained for refusing to pay Easter-offerings to a parson, but if he had no goods, the parson had no remedy: since the heddekashun-work began, a Dissenter can be sent to jail for three months for refusing to pay a parson his Easter-offerings. Before the heddekashun-work began, there was no law to hang HENRY COOK for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm: since the work began there has been a law to hang HENRY COOK for striking BINGHAM BARING, without doing him any bodily harm. In short (for I could fill the *Register*), before the heddekashun-work began, there were no STURGES BOURNE'S Bills; no Poor-law Bill; no Dead-body Bill; and though last, not least, no Bourbon-like police!

To this dilemma, then, I bring our little "learned friend": either the people of England deserve the treatment provided for them by the new and severe laws; or they do not deserve it. If the former, they are become a *worse people*, since the heddekashun-work began: if they do not deserve them, they are become a *vastly more tame* people than their fathers were. So that, hang himself upon which horn of the dilemma he will, our little learned friend must acknowledge that, when we bring things to the test, his "*intellectual wealth*," of which he has such store, is not worth one single ounce of plain honesty, or of public spirit.

Leaving him to get clear of the horns of this dilemma; or to hang there wriggling and twisting, till some of his cheerers shall discover the means of hooking him off,

I remain, your friend, and
most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

IN order to deprive Mr. ROEBUCK of all ground for charging me with misrepresentation or mis-quotation, I here insert, first my own letter to the secretary of the Union, and then Mr. ROEBUCK'S speech entire. Indeed, I insert the whole account of the proceedings, that there may be no charge of garbling.

¶ *Normandy Farm, 25. April, 1835.*

"Sir,—I exceedingly regret that I am unable to avail myself of your invitation to meet your Union, and show, in that way, that I am resolved never to slacken in my efforts to obtain justice to the working part of the people. I *could* go to London, but the inconvenience to me would be very great at this particular season; and I rely upon the goodness of the committee to excuse me.

"With regard to your petition, I will either present it, or support it, just which you please, in the doing of which, I shall be actuated by inclination as well as by a sense of duty.

"I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of those of the working classes who have the public spirit to *stand forward* in these cases.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient

"and most humble servant,

"WM. COBBETT.

"Mr. Russell."

Mr. WAKLEY said that it was not by their attendance in that meeting, but by their uniting their influence with the people, that members of Parliament were to be taught their duty. He had the honour to be a member of Parliament since February last, and he had not, as yet, heard one word about the people. The contest was continually kept up about the loaves and fishes. When Ministers had their hands in the people's pockets, then they were called an enterprising people. He would ask, was it possible that the Government could be honest which would impose a tax upon them, to keep their understandings in midnight darkness. They might make any experiments in chemistry, or in any other branch of science but in political knowledge; that branch was the only one which was taxed: and how, by putting a little red mark at the corner of the paper. (Here Mr. Feargus O'Connor entered the room, and was received with deafening applause). Mr. Wakley resumed, that was the manner in which Englishmen and Irishmen should meet. The subject before them was the cause of all, and they should

unite in crushing injustice and oppression. It had been said, that "ignorance was the curse of God, and knowledge was the wing with which we fly to heaven." Respecting this impost they should show an example to other countries. When Mr. E. Bulwer brought the subject of taxes on newspapers before the House of Commons in 1832, that gentleman, in a very able and elaborate speech, proved, from official returns, that out of 138 poor men who had been committed to prison in Berkshire in 1830, and the beginning of 1831, only twenty-five of that number could write, and only thirty could read. That at Aylesbury, out of seventy-nine prisoners, only thirty could read and write; and that out of fifty committed at Lewes, only one could read tolerably. That in France the same connexion between ignorance and crime had been observed. That out of 6,000 persons and upwards, who had been tried in the Court of Assize, in that country, more than 4,500 were found to be incapable of reading and writing. The hon. Member then made some comments on what was said by Lord Eldon respecting the duty that was imposed on the special commissioners for instructing the poor and deluded people, as to the state of the law; but, said Mr. Wakley, the ignorant ought to be made acquainted with their danger before the halters were placed round their necks. He maintained that poverty and distress were the origin of crime, as was the case with the unfortunate Dorchester labourers. Why did it happen that a newspaper is charged twopence more in the country than in London? In that year of mad speculation and presumed prosperity, 1825, which closed with the terrific "panic," only 285 persons had been transported, whereas, in that year of severe distress, 1828, 2,440 individuals had been transported; therefore it was an insult to the nation to consider the tax on newspapers a mere fiscal regulation. In America, where there was no stamp duty, every small town might publish its daily papers. They had enough of bad newspapers (laughter), because the Government endeavoured to blindfold the people. He would bring it as a test to the new Ministry. (Cheers).

He would condemn them if they continued this iniquitous tax. (Cheers). Why not apply the sponge to the Pension List! (Cheers). There were such pensioners as Lord Ellenborough and the 'Duchess of Manchester. The cry was no longer a No-papery cry; they were no longer afraid of the Pope's toe. (Loud cheers). In every part of the country there was a total indifference among the people whether they read the papers or not. He had visited Devonshire and other parts, and he knew such was the case, which must entirely be imputed to the heavy duty upon knowledge. The honourable Member sat down amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. ROEBUCK said, that he had been requested to attend to unite with them in suppressing the impost *on knowledge*, and he did so with the greater satisfaction, because he knew that such an unjust tax can no longer exist. He could assure them that in *America* the newspapers were admitted into the schools. He would ask what was it that interested the people at present? The people listen to the occurrences of the day with anxiety. He would maintain that the minds of the people should be well directed, and was that to be effected by putting a tax upon *knowledge*? There was a quotation from Shakspeare, which was exactly applicable to the present subject:

"Ignorance is the curse of God,
But knowledge the wing whereby we fly to Heaven."

(Cheers). The fault was not in the people, but in the rulers. Divided into factions amongst themselves, and anxious to carry their own paltry views into effect, they cared but little for the people's increase of *intellectual wealth*. In place of uniting for the common good, the parties in the House, the Whigs and Tories, placed themselves in rude opposition to each other. The factions had been fighting before the public gaze, like two gladiators. Could any one persuade him that if the great towns would act, that such a House of Commons could exist? A House *not to be paralleled for degradation of sentiment, forgetfulness of promise*. Did they not find the representatives asserting one thing on the hust-

ings, and then coming down to the House and saying, that they had been inspired (hear); had heard a voice from heaven (hear, and laughter), which had impelled them to change. (Cheers). And thus they could break not one but twenty oaths; nay, more, they even went the length of saying that the people desired to bring on civil war and a total destruction of property. He wanted the people to be free from such imputations. He wished them to acquire that knowledge which would not only give them all information necessary for political affairs, but which would render them good citizens. They had heard Mr. Cobbett's letter that evening. He was sorry that that gentleman was not present, for in the House of Commons he (Mr. C.) *had declared that education and crime went hand in hand*. He (Mr. R.) denied the fact; and he said, besides, that no man ought thus *to cast a slur on the people*. (Hear, hear). It was an act of little courage to come to meetings and declare sentiments in favour of popular reforms of whatever description. It was nothing to write that he was sorry he could not attend. The effort was to speak boldly the same truths before more than 500 persons, *who hated and detested the people*. (Great cheering) Mr. Cobbett it was, who had asserted that the ploughman had no need of newspapers, but of mutton, *and that reading was not fitting for such men*. He seemed to consider such men fit only to live and sleep, and sow and eat. Why, the ox did the same, with the exception of sowing. (Hear, hear). He (Mr. Roebuck) considered the tiller of the soil as high in the moral scale as any man who possessed thousands; but such was the inbred aristocracy of the House of Commons, that before it Mr. Cobbett had been constrained *to debase the poor ploughman into a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water*. (Hear, hear). But this must cease; the labouring class must be raised to its proper place, and if no other person made the attempt, he who addressed them would himself propose *to have the tax on newspapers taken off*. (Cheers). How was the point to be carried? By perseverance. Perseverance would have an

effect at last on the Ministry. The present Ministry had certain persons in the House, who voted for them through thick and thin. The Tories had had the same; but notwithstanding that devotion to their behests, the Tories had been turned out. The present Government should take warning, and acknowledge that it was only by attention to the wishes of the people that a majority in the House could be secured. They must please the people to keep their places. Now he was determined not to be pleased, unless they granted the repeal of the tax. They had heard of Spring Rice's speech yesterday. Had he been one of the honourable gentleman's constituents, he would have demanded what his line of action would be on this subject, and by his answer he would have judged him. In the same way must he judge the ministry; though he knew that if he asked them what they intended doing, their answer would be, "For God's sake don't press us, give us a little time, if you come on us now we shall not be able to hold office." (Cheers and laughter). It was nonsense to call the consideration of the new-paper-tax merely a fiscal arrangement. It was much more; it was of the utmost consequence to the people. But taking Sir R. Peel's statement of 600,000*l.* surplus revenue as true, why not if necessary give up that for the *people's good*? But it was unnecessary; the tax on newspapers, which amounted to 500,000*l.*, would be raised by the additional revenue arising from the duty on the paper, used in the untaxed productions. The multiplication of cheap newspapers would be so great that the money arising from the tax on paper would more than equal the present duty on the newspapers themselves. He would ask if a great army was not kept up in this country (and he might remark that he frequently used this argument to persons who objected to removing the tax); was there not, he would ask, this army kept up? Were there not regiments of Horse-guards kept for show? Why not put down one of them, or if requisite a second, or even a third? He would ask, which was the more important business, to maintain these, or to give knowledge to the people? (Cheers). The

answer was simple, but they would never get it from those in power; not that they feared really that any mischief could arise from taking off the tax, they dreaded only to give instruction to the people. Some objections had been brought forward against the repeal of the tax by dishonest persons; he would endeavour to answer them. It was stated that if the tax were taken off, such a quantity of immoral writings would deluge the country as would be subversive of all right and honesty. He did not see that the tax being kept on saved them from such loathsome productions. Was there not the *Times* (deafening cheers), as base, as mean, as disgraceful, and as mischievous a paper as ever cursed a civilized country? (Loud cheers). He knew the parties that conducted that journal; he could name them; and he denounced them as *unfit company for gentlemen*. (Loud cheers). These persons, he meant the two editors, were a disgrace to any press. They had thrust themselves forward, and were standing in the vanguard of every thing that was despicable and base. (Loud cheers). What could he say of the *John Bull*, which advocated the cause of the parsons; or of the *vile Age*, which stood up for the aristocracy; which disgorged its virulence in immodest jokes; and vented its spleen in allusions to private character? (Loud cheers). Even women were not secure from its *vile and dastardly attacks*; and what could shield the backs of the writers of these journals from chastisement? nothing but their very baseness. None wished to contaminate himself by contact with them. If once fair field was given to supply the people's wants, these base things would be chased from circulation, or confined within a narrower circle; they could then take their lucubrations to ladies' maids. (Laughter). The *John Bull* was what is called an out-and-outer for the parsons and their tithes, and such was the gratitude of parsons in return, that he should not be surprised if they changed its productions into common prayer. But he had heard Lord Brougham declare, when he (Mr. A.) was on the committee, that he never saw in an unstamped production any immorality,

though he had often read improper articles in the stamped press. The unstamped productions never referred to private character; their articles were merely political; and be they right or wrong in their views, there was no vice. But in the three papers he had mentioned, the *Age*, the organ of the aristocracy, the *John Bull*, for the parsons, and the *Times* putting itself forward as the patron of the middle classes, could be found, under the garb of morality, *more mischief and evil than could be well conceived*. The *John Bull* took as its motto, the Bible and Crown. For what was this? why most likely for to bring them into contempt. He hoped soon to see an unshackled press; then no longer would they see such *monopolies* as the *Times* and *Chronicle* presented. Then would the people be *educated*; then would they be governed as they should be; for they would be *unconnected with Whig or Tory*. (Great cheers).

Resolved, "That this meeting is of opinion that the imposition and continuation of a heavy stamp duty on newspapers, from whatever motive, has a direct tendency to perpetuate ignorance in the mass of the people, and at once debasing to the character, destructive to the morals, and dangerous to the peace and happiness of society."

Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR, M.P., said that he was delighted, after the dull and plodding labours of Parliament to find himself again on a public stage, where there was fair play for all. He thought that if any man was entitled to address them on the present subject, he was the man (hear, hear), for he had always stood forward fearlessly as their advocate (hear, hear), even at a time when it was treason to love, and death to defend. (Hear). He could not entirely agree with the chairman that poverty was the cause of crime. He knew that correct and honest men were found amongst the poor; it was ignorance which was the cause, but the day had arrived when knowledge must be untaxed, and information free to the people. (Hear). He had an unfortunate propensity to try every question by its own merits. He had been sent to Parliament on principles, from

which he could never deviate, it must not be then wondered at, if he examined the present question in the same way. The people were never very wrong on any subject, nor did they ever remain long in error. It rested with themselves to bring about the change they desired, and that peaceably and without disturbance. He treated with contempt the insinuation that the people were desirous of anarchy. He should not think fit even to deny the calumny, were it not that the people should be like Cæsar's wife, not only pure but even above suspicion. (Hear). Mr. Wakley had spoken of a messenger taking into the country newspapers at a charge of 2d. for each paper. That was certainly an enormous sum to pay. He could tell them how it might be obviated: by taking off the newspaper tax, and then 200 papers would be carried where now there were only two. (Great cheers). Mention had been made of the Dorchester labourers. He had a right to speak of them, for he had spoken in their behalf when others were silent. He had always asserted them to be not guilty. He still adhered to that opinion. (Cheers). They could not be said to have erred through ignorance, for at least two of them were well-informed men. The fault was in the laws, which had, like Draco's, been so placed that they could scarcely be read, and then the people had been punished for their ignorance. The Government had paid no attention to the application made in behalf of those unfortunate men. They had neglected the signs of the times. They reminded him of the story of the pedlar selling looking-glasses to a lady. She exclaimed, turning away in disgust from the mirror, "How ugly this glass makes me look"! "Oh"! answered the seller, "that shows the goodness of the plate"! (Cheers and laughter). Thus had the Ministry been afraid to look in the true mirror of the times. (Cheers). There was but little difference between Whig and Tory; neither party had any idea of reducing the finances. He saw no hope but in the Radicals. (Tremendous cheering). He trusted that as the pressure from without kept the representatives in order, that the next Parliament would be composed of good materials.

(Cheers). If the people were to be taxed, let them at all events have knowledge free. Of what use was it, that a Parliament should sit up night after night to legislate, if the people could not know what was done? The people would not be so besotted as to allow the tax to remain. The *Times* had been spoken of as the representative of the middle classes; it, on the contrary, put itself up as cock of the walk for the aristocracy. He had gone the other night to the London Coffee House, and had spoken in favour of Lord John Russell's return; the *Times* had only given three sentences of his speech, and these were, that he had called the Lords "natural-born idiots, bloated old fools, and chance-born lords." He certainly had called them so, and with justice. They were "natural-born idiots," not to perceive the inefficacy of governing against the tide of public opinion; "bloated old fools," because they had stomachs full of the good things of the nation; and "chance-born lords," because, like *porta nascitur non fit*, no men could be born ready-made legislators. (Loud cheers). They had always been a barrier against the tide of public improvement. They acted in opposition to the very fundamental principle of the law of the land, which ordered to deny nothing, to refuse nothing, to delay nothing which ought to be granted. It was nearly as bad in the other House. If the 658 men there could present themselves with breasts perfectly laid open and clear, how few would be returned to Parliament! (Cheers). He thought he might say so, for he had been returned for the 24th part of the empire, for a population of one million, and had never received a reproach from his constituents. (Hear, hear). They were now going to try that House again, not factiously, but calmly. This was what the Whigs demanded, but he could not forget that their promises had been always great, while their performance had been limited and despicable. (Cheers). Let them not now continue to tax the people, and above all, for knowledge; let them put taxes, if they must be imposed, on the "bloated old fools, and chance-born lords." (Cheers). The Radicals had assisted in putting down the Tories;

he hoped for ever; and had forced them to take refuge in the Horse-guards and Household, and something ought to be granted in return. They would not be silent; they would not be inactive, but would raise their voices and carry their demands to the very foot of the throne. Every man should assist, and should come forward to meetings to express his sentiments. It was worse than idle to say that the House was the only place for a Radical to speak; let him come forward there and assist. (Cheers). He thought a man might be just as useful without as within the House. They were acting constitutionally in thus assembling; and they would demand the King, as the barons did King John, to grant their request. In the reforms which he thought should be proposed, there was nothing which the people ought not to have. The bishops should be expelled the House of Lords. (Cheers). The Lords should be elective. (Cheers). The Ballot allowed. (Cheers). Short Parliaments should be established. (Cheers). Commissions in the Army should not be sold. Sinécures should be abolished. (Cheers). All Corporate Monopoly should cease. (Cheers). And all religions should be permitted and established. (Tremendous cheers). The hon. Gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. BROWN instanced the case of a borough in Wales, where he had canvassed for the popular Member, and where the people were grievously ignorant of their political degradation.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. WIRE, in moving the second resolution reminded them that the tax was not only on newspapers merely, it was also a tax of thirty per cent. on printing, and on advertisements in papers; in fact it was a tax on knowledge generally. Why was not this tax repealed? because the Government could not do without such an impost. But the people are supposed to know the laws, and the means of conveying that knowledge is taken away, as was the case with the Dorchester labourers. (Loud cheers). They would never get that tax repealed, if they did not unite, and agitate, and struggle, by every

means, until they compelled the legislature to repeal it. They were told by the hon. Member for Cork, that the people had only to will it, and it should be done. He would say, fix upon one abuse and remove that first, and then the others must follow. Was it not a disgrace to London that fewer newspapers were in circulation here than in Guernsey and Jersey in the same proportion. He hoped they would act unanimously, and unite their strength to crush the odious tax then under consideration.

Resolved—"That as the ignorance of the unrepresented has invariably been made a pretext for withholding from them the elective franchise, this meeting pledges itself, individually and collectively, to use their utmost exertions to obtain the freedom of the Press from all obstacle to a free interchange of opinion, and which impede the circulation of political knowledge among the working population, by means of which they may arrive at the true principles of human happiness, as the surest correction of mistaken legislation."

Mr. Goldspink seconded the resolution.

Rev. Dr. WARE, in moving the third resolution, observed, that the unstamped publications had difficulties to encounter which would often escape the notice of those who were most interested. He looked forward to the day when the people would be fit for universal suffrage. There never was a great question but the working classes were found to raise the cry, to remove abuses. Three years ago they were told by Lord Althorp that the tax on knowledge would be removed in time; but now was the time for the people to know who were those who would keep them in midnight darkness. Milton had said that "it was unchristianlike to keep knowledge from the people, for a gentleman might as well shut up his park to keep in the crows." He had visited the printers of cheap publications in prison, and he solemnly declared that he would rather shake them by the hand than enjoy the smiles of the lords of the creation. He would remind them of the 500 who had been imprisoned for selling the *Guardian*.

Why, the slave in the West Indies was in a better condition. Cheap publications were good for religion and morals, and if the press was dangerous, the Bible was also dangerous, for it advocated the cause of the poor. He would maintain that every producer should have a newspaper on his table, to instruct himself and his children. He would remind them of the Lord Mayor's dinner, where the Bishop of London asserted that it was owing to the exertions of the clergy and the magistracy that crime was diminished, but he forgot to mention that church-rates, sinecures, and pensions, were the cause of crime. When an unfortunate criminal was on the gallows, with a bishop on one side of him, and the executioner on the other, he considered it was a fit emblem of Church and State. Let knowledge be diffused, and let equal rights and equal laws be administered to the people. (Hear, hear). He hoped that the noble example they had shown in demanding their rights would be followed throughout the country. He began his political life with the people (cheers), and he would end it with them (cheers), and he hoped he had gained their confidence so far as to know that his exertions would be ever directed towards the attainment of that knowledge of which they were unjustly deprived. (Cheers).

Resolved—"That this meeting being deeply impressed with a sense of the great benefits which would accrue to society at large from a free and untaxed press, do earnestly exhort the lovers of truth in all parts of the united kingdom, at once to pour in their petitions on this important subject to the Commons House of Parliament, in order that, through their importunities, this forerunner of all other reforms, may at length be conceded."

Mr. RICHARD TAYLOR adverted to the tax on the raw material—the duty on rags. It should be a test to know every administration, whether they would come forward to remove abuses. When a poor man was brought before a magistrate for vending knowledge within the reach of the producer, it was not only

considered whether it was stamped, but also whether the subject matter contained anything which would enable him to see the system which is pursued to keep him in midnight darkness and slavery. He seconded the resolution.

Mr. WALKER, who had been eight times imprisoned for selling unstamped newspapers, next addressed the meeting, but a good deal of impatience was manifested on account of the lateness of the hour, and we could not collect what fell from him.

The following resolutions were then severally moved and seconded, and carried unanimously.

Resolved—"That a respectful petition, embodying the principles of the foregoing resolutions, be now submitted for the adoption of this meeting, preparatory to the same being presented to the Commons House of Parliament."

Resolved—"That the thanks of this meeting are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the Editors of the *True Sun*, the *Weekly True Sun*, *Examiner*, *National*, *New Weekly Messenger*, and all other public journals, who, like them, have unflinchingly advocated the freedom of the press."

A petition founded on the resolutions having been agreed to, Mr. Wakley was requested to present the same to the House of Commons, and the other members present were requested to support it.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

EDUCATION AND "HEDDEKASHUN."

TO LORD ALTHORP.

Normandy Farm, 1. Dec, 1835.

MY LORD,

Many and important as are the matters which dispute with each other the preference in their claim to the attention of those who have the making and enforcing of the laws, I scarcely know one

of more importance than this. I have thrown down the gauntlet on the subject: I have spread a knowledge of my challenge as far as I have been able to spread it; and I have, as yet, received and heard of nothing worthy the name of an answer. I have put many questions to the advocates of a nicknamed education of the people. My questions have been stated with perfect clearness and distinctness: they must have been understood by everybody that read them; and yet, not a word has been said in answer to them. Under these circumstances, I might claim the victory over my innumerable and noisy opponents. I might, at any rate, now hold my tongue upon the subject, until I hear what some one has to say in answer to me; but I will not do this: I will express my opinions freely, and without disguise upon every part of this great subject.

I address myself to your lordship upon this occasion, because the newspapers and parliamentary reports have spread all over the country, that, during my opposition to the grant for the British Museum, your lordship told me that I was "*an enemy to the education of the people*"; and because, from those newspapers and reports, it would appear, that I made no answer to the charge; they not knowing perhaps, that your lordship made this charge upon me, when, according to the rules of the House, I was not permitted to answer. I will, therefore, answer now; and in that answer, I will go into the whole subject, and not leave the shadow of a doubt with regard to my opinions thereon; nor with regard to my intentions and my resolution relative to any parliamentary measure, that may be proposed, touching this matter.

Before we proceed to discuss the question, whether a thing be desirable or not, or whether it ought to be done or accomplished, we ought to come to a clear understanding of what that thing is. Your lordship called me, "an enemy to the education of the people." I opposed the taking of many thousands of pounds out of the pockets of the people. The sum was sixteen thousand pounds, I think; and this was to defray one year's expenses of the thing called the *British*

Museum. This thing, consisting of a library and of curiosities of various sorts, of no earthly use to the people at large, kept solely for the amusement of the curious and the rich, and the idlers, and ten thousand pounds of the money spent annually upon a parcel of parsons and their relations; this thing, open only from ten o'clock in the day to three; wholly shut up that part of the year when the nobility, gentry, and great tax-eaters are out of town; wholly shut up on Sundays, the only day when the industrious classes, even in London, can go to see it: this burden of sixteen thousand pounds laid, in great part, upon the working people, for the benefit and amusement of the nobility and gentry, and those who live upon the taxes: this grant of the people's money I opposed; and *because* I did so, your lordship logically concluded, and hesitated not to say, that I was "an enemy to the education of the people."

Well, then, let me ask your lordship what "education" really is; what that thing is, of which you asserted I was the enemy? "To educate," JOHNSON says, comes from the Latin verb *educō*, which means, he says, to "breed," "to bring up." Now, will your lordship say, that I am an enemy to *breeding*, or to *bringing up*? You must know, that I am no surplus-population-monger; you must know that I am the devil of the generation of Malthusians; you must know this; for I have been the real defeater of all their damnable projects. The noun "*education*," coming from the verb "*to educate*," means the act or business of *breeding*, or *bringing up*, or *rearing*. The French apply this word to all other animals, as well as to men: they talk, and they write, and they print, about the education of the horse, the sheep, the hog, and of every thing else, when they are treating of the manner of breeding and raising these animals; and I am mistaken if I have not read, in a French agricultural journal, very high and very just encomium on your lordship for the pains, perseverance, and sound judgment, which you have so long bestowed, and very wisely bestowed, on the "*education*" of the ox and the hog.

Now, I am sure your lordship will not

say, that I am an enemy to education of this sort; that is to say, to the keeping of things *well*, whether they go upon four legs or upon two. A march-of-intellect man, the other day, gave an extract from an imaginary journal of your lordship, as follows:—"From seven to ten—Planned my next budget:—"from ten to twelve, a long and affectionate letter to Mr. POULETT THOMSON: At twelve *fed the hogs*." Well, and what then, you stupid beast? Beginning an hour earlier, put my plan for oversetting the next budget, and long letter to Lord ALTHORP about education, instead of the two former items of your lordship's diary; and this will be much about my diary. The budget and the letter to your lordship, I might skulk away from, or slur over, but as to the feeding of the hogs, one minute too late there, and I should be criminal in my own eyes, and still more so in the eyes of the hogs; and yet this stupid creature seems to imagine, that a man is unfit for the great affairs of state, because he feels a great and immediate interest in the breeding and rearing of stock upon a farm. It is said of one of the greatest physicians, and one of the greatest real philosophers that France ever had, that his mind was first turned to study by the delight which he took in reading *LA MAISON RUSTIQUE*; and that book, as your lordship knows, consists, for the far greater part, of the manner of breeding and rearing of farm animals of different descriptions. So that, without citing the two great instances of our own, of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE and Lord BACON, there would be quite enough in the sole instance of TULL, to be a complete answer to these garret-bred critics upon your lordship's rural pursuits.

But, to return to our subject, here is quite enough to show that your lordship did me great injustice in imputing to me an enmity to education in the true sense of the word; and your lordship is bereft of all apology, founded on a want of understanding that sense; for you understood it as well as man can understand it. If, indeed, your lordship had qualified your assertion, that I was an enemy to *what was now called education*; or,

if you had fully and candidly explained the thing that I was an enemy to. If you had said, that I was an enemy to the compelling of the people to pay taxes for the purpose of erecting places called schools, and for the paying of people called schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, to teach all children promiscuously: if you had said, that I was an enemy to this scheme, I should have most cordially assented to the proposition; and so far from complaining of your having stated it, I should have thanked you for having permitted a statement to be made through a channel so likely to give it general circulation, and so certain to obtain for it general credence.

But, my lord, *I go a great deal farther than this.* I am no flincher with regard to my opinions: having made up my mind, that my opinions are right, that the Attorney-General will not kill me if I express them, and that the expressing of them is calculated to do good to the people at large, though a great part of them may happen not to think so, I have never flinched from expressing them, and laying them before the people exactly as they find a place in my mind.

My opinion is, that the thing called education in common talk, now-a-days, is, in innumerable instances, not only not a benefit to the people, but a very great injury to them. But we must go no farther before we define this new thing, which I shall call by the name that the disciples of this school themselves call it; namely, "*heddekashun*," coming from the new verb of the BROUGHAM school, "*to heddekate*." We have seen, that "*to educate*" means, "*to breed, to bring up, to rear*"; and that "*education*" means to form the manners and habits, and to direct the employment, or pursuits, of the men or animals that are bred up or reared. "*Heddekashun*," that which I am an enemy of, except under very peculiar circumstances, and in some respects, under all circumstances, is quite a different thing. It is a thing not to be easily fully defined; but the following, for want of a better, may serve as a definition of the BROUGHAM and MAL-THUSIAN system of "*heddekashun*."

"*Heddekashun*" means taking boys

and girls from their fathers and mothers' houses, and sending them to what is called a *school*; that is to say, a place where there is a man or a woman, or both, to teach the children the names of the letters of the alphabet, the arrangement of letters, so as to form words, and the pronunciation of the words; and to teach them how to make marks upon paper with a pen and ink, so as to make letters and words appear upon paper, and also to make upon paper the nine numerical figures and the nought. Besides this, it means what they call reading chapters in the Bible, or singing them, and the singing of hymns. Sometimes the writing is carried on, in sand upon the floor, or with a pencil upon slate; and the reading and singing, and all the divers operations, are sometimes, in the more refined and scientific establishments, carried on by a sort of word of command. However, the sum total is this, that children are taken from their parents' houses, and little girls of from six to ten years of age, are taught, or pretended to be taught, reading and writing, instead of being employed in sweeping the house, taking care of the younger children, while the mother is out at work; picking hops, tying hops to the poles, tending pigs in the fields, driving away birds, or mending holes in stockings. The little boys of the same age are sent to what is called the school, instead of partaking in most of the above occupations, and, at the age of nine or ten, being, in addition, under shepherds, very efficient workers in the coppices along with their fathers and elder brothers, this being the age, too, when they are to begin to drive at plough, or lead a horse, or more than one horse, at harrow.

That is "*heddekashun*"; and I am not only convinced that it does no good, but that, generally speaking, it does mischief, and with regard to the country people in particular. However, even if I thought this "*heddekashun*" a good instead of an evil, I might, with perfect consistency, be opposed to, and even reprobate, the BROUGHAM scheme of general, compulsory, and tax-paid "*heddekashun*." If I thought the thing itself good, I might, with perfect consistency, oppose your mode of obtaining it; and let it be

observed that it was to that mode only that I confined my objection and my opposition, it not being necessary for me, on the occasion alluded to, to state objections to the thing itself. I do, however, object to the thing itself, as I have described it above; and I will now, in this address to your lordship, state the grounds of that objection in what I deem fact and argument, to support the following propositions:

1. That to tax the people; to deduct from their food and clothing, and means of good lodging, in order to set up schools, and create masters and mistresses, to teach the children of that same people reading and writing, would be a perfect monster in the law-making way.
2. That "*heddekashun*," such as I have above described it, and extending over the whole of a people, must be productive of mischief instead of good; must tend to create idleness to supply the place of industry, and must be, generally speaking, productive of misery to the "*heddekated*" persons themselves, while its natural tendency must be to produce an infinite number of frauds, thefts, and other acts of roguery, which would not have existed without it.

With regard to the first of these propositions, what is this scheme of "*national heddekashun*"? Why, to establish schools in all the parishes and townships, and to support them *out of the taxes*. The money must pass through the hands of the Government. The Government will take care not to let the money go into hands that are politically hostile to itself. As it will have the giving of the money, and will be answerable for its application, it will, of course, have the choosing of the persons into whose hands the money is to go. No matter whether the schoolmasters or schoolmistresses be immediately appointed by the Government in London; they must be appointed under the authority of some one who acts in behalf of that Government in this respect; and thus there will be created fifty thousand more tax-eaters, and those, too, the most dependent and most servile that can possibly

be conceived. They will, too, naturally be amongst the most unprincipled, because they will be idlers in their very nature; and they will be a band of spies working for the oppression of the people, on whose sweat they will live.

Is every man to be compelled to send his children to these schools? Is he to be compelled to send his children to a place to be brought up in idleness, while he has to feed them and clothe them? This would be an act of sheer tyranny. At any rate, such man is to be compelled to pay for "*heddekating*" the children of others, if he does not choose that his own children should be thus bred up. Nineteenths of the parish may detest the persons who are appointed schoolmaster and schoolmistress; yet all are to be compelled to place their children under their care and management; or to pay these detested persons for giving "*heddekashun*" to other people's children.

Upon what ground is it, according to what rule of right is it, that single men and single women are to be taxed for the purpose of giving "*heddekashun*" to married people's children? And upon what ground are married people to be taxed for the purpose of giving "*heddekashun*" to bastard children? But I defy any man to state, in the compass of a whole *Register* like this, a tenth part of the absurdities, and of the instances of injustice, which must take place, if a scheme like this were to pass into a law; and in the prosecution of which scheme your lordship took the first step, during the last session of Parliament.

But I hold it to be impossible that the Parliament should ever consent to the adoption of a scheme so unjust, and so every way mad, as this scheme is. The people must be reduced to the state of mere serfs: they must be deemed to be the mere property, or live stock, of the Government, before coercion and interference like this can take place. Therefore, I consider this scheme as done for. In spite of the cry about "*heddekashun*," in spite of all the delusion that has prevailed upon the subject, in spite of all the cant and all the nonsense that have been at work throughout the country upon the subject, in spite of the natural desire that

parents have that their children should become what they call scholars: the people, the industrious and worthy part of the people, who have no desire to live upon the labour of others; in spite of all the deluding circumstances, when the industrious part of the people come to have these questions put to them: Do you wish to pay more taxes than you pay now? Do you wish your children to be brought up without work until they be twelve years of age? Do you wish them not to contract the habits of labour in their infancy? Do you wish to be compelled to send them to schools, the masters and mistresses of which you have nothing to do in the appointing of? Do you wish to be compelled to pay to "heddekate" the children of idle people? Do you who are single wish to pay taxes to "heddekate" the children of married people? Do you, who are married, and have quite enough to do to get a sufficiency of bread for your own children, wish to have a part of that bread taken away to be given to some body to "heddekate" bastard children? Do you wish to have two servile spies, a male and a female, in every parish in the kingdom, upheld by the Government, and plotting against those who feed and maintain them? These questions put home to the people, they will at once reject a scheme so full of injustice, and so manifestly calculated to render them almost literally slaves.

But, my lord, I do not stop here: I am against any scheme of general "heddekashun," being firmly of the opinion expressed in my second proposition; namely, that such "heddekashun" must be productive of mischief instead of good. In answer to this opinion of mine, the question has often been asked me, What harm can this "heddekashun" do? The harm is this: that it rears young people in habits of indolence; that it causes them to begin the world without work of any sort; that it deprives them of the capacity of earning their bread at as early an age as they otherwise would earn it; that the miraculous advantages of what is miscalled learning, continually chanted in their ears, gives them the notion, that a better living is to be got without work, than with work; that is to say, work, properly called

labour, the stern application of the limbs to the doing of something. This is by no means a pleasant thing in itself; the love of ease is natural to all animals, and to man as well as the rest; in many cases it is injurious to health; but that is no matter; it is loved and sought for by all men, and by all other animals. Therefore, the desire to live without labour is general, if not universal; and young people who are sent to school, instead of being set to work, naturally imbibed the notion that that which is taught them will supply the place of that labour, which all so much dislike.

When once this notion is firmly seated in the head, the limbs will very reluctantly take to labour. Conceit comes, too, to prop up this notion; the conceit is fostered by the natural fondness and partiality of the parents; and the son of every mother is a prodigy of learning, and she, poor woman, is full of sorrow, and of envy of her more fortunate neighbours, that she cannot get a "situation" for her son, he being too well "heddekated" to make shoes, or to go to plough.

This nation absolutely swarms with young people of this description; they have no learning worthy of the name; not one out of five hundred of them possesses the smallest particle of literature, or is competent for anything worthy the name of accounts. Yet they think their case hard; they think themselves ill used; they think that the whole frame of society is bad; because they can find no one who will, out of the fruit of his labour or study, give them the means of living without work. They lounge about the house of their parents; they sponge upon their friends; and when both these, either cannot or will not, keep them in idleness any longer, they then resort to frauds of all sorts, going on, till, at last, they end as downright acknowledged and notorious criminals; or as destitute and miserable beggars; when, if their little hands had been taught to pick up stones, or to weed the corn, and their tongues had been taught bawling at the mischievous birds, instead of the former being trained to the making of scrawls upon paper, and the latter to the spelling or singing of words in a school, they

might have lead lives of patient and useful labour, lives ending in ease, and as much happiness as old age admits of.

Since the vote of twenty thousand pounds for the work of "*heddekashun*," I have met, in my walks and rides, about a hundred and fifty-three beggars; seven only of whom acknowledged that they could neither write nor read, and two of them told me that they had been sailors. About a month ago, I, being in a post-chaise, had to stop by the side of the causeway, near the turnpike-gate at HAMMERSMITH. A young man, about three-and-twenty, without shoes, without stockings, without hat, with an execrably dirty and ragged bit of a shirt on, a ragged jacket over that, and a pair of breeches which some gentleman had recently given him, and which were much too large for him, came up to the chaise door; imploring me to give him something. He had not at all the appearance of a drunkard; was a very handsome young man, not impudent in his manner, by any means, and the hand that he held out, clearly showed that it had never embraced any rude instrument. I was curious to know what could have brought such a young man into that state. I first asked him, whether he could *read* and *write*? "Oh, yes, sir, thank God"! I found, that he was the son of a tradesman of BRISTOL; that he had been at school several years; that he had been what is called a clerk; and that, according to his own account, being a long time without being able to get employment, he had at last come to this state. Most likely, there had been great faults, but arising from very natural causes: most likely, very serious delinquencies; but still springing from the same root. This was a case in which the parents might be wholly excusable, and which might not have been fairly ascribable to the popular delusion of the day; for, some clerks are wanted; some such persons are necessary to carry on the commercial transactions of the country; and, therefore, the misconduct of the young man himself, might have defeated the very rational intention of his parents; but, even in this case, how much better would an apprenticeship

have been, and how much more likely to have prevented that misconduct! And, as to persons who have to work for their bread, who have no property beyond what is necessary to their subsistence, when they conceive the mad notion of making their sons gentlemen, because they can scrawl upon paper; when they conceive the notion of making their children miserable dependents upon the caprice of patrons or employers of any description, when the sure resource of honest labour presents itself; such parents, if they act deliberately, and upon reflection, are really criminal.

The BROUGHAM school, of which, to use the words of the flabber-gaster orator himself, tells us that "the schoolmaster is abroad," insist, or have insisted, and perhaps will again, that to "*heddekate*" the people is the way to prevent their being criminal; is the way to make them good, peaceful, and honest citizens. In answer to this most stupid, and at the same time most impudent and insolent assertion, I have frequently cited these undeniable facts; First, that the number of persons "*heddekated*" in England is twenty times as great as it was thirty years ago; and that the number of crimes (legal crimes) has not only not been diminished during that thirty years, but has increased in the proportion of nearly twenty to one! Now, these facts are undeniable; and must not that man have a pretty good stock of impudence who tells us, that to "*heddekate*" the people is the way to make them just, peaceable, and honest? And is it in England alone that this is the case? Oh, no! It is now discovered that just the same, or at least much about a similar increase of crime has attended the increase of "*heddekashun*," both in France and America? How often has it happened to me, to stand alone in the promulgation of an opinion! How often have I had to bear the reproaches and ridicule of corruption and of folly; how often to hear the doubts of adherents, and of personal friends; and how often have I, in the end, heard these adherents and friends congratulate themselves in my perseverance in an opinion which they had thought wrong! Just so will it happen here: truth will prevail at last; and

in an article which I am now about to quote from the GLASGOW HERALD, it would seem, that she has at once taken a bold step.

(*From the Glasgow Herald of the 25. of November, that paper having taken the article from the Scottish Guardian, of the preceding Friday*).

“ DOES MERE INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION BANISH CRIME ?

“ Two magistrates of Paris recently made a tour through the United States, and in the course of two years collected important information regarding the statistics of crime and education. In the state of New York, 500,000 children, out of two millions, are at public schools; that is, a *fourth* part of the population, and 240,000*l.* are actually expended for this purpose. Yet in this state crime increases, and that, too, though the means of subsistence and employment are so much more easily obtained than in older countries. In Connecticut, education is still more extended, and nearly a *third* part of the population is at school; yet crimes multiply to a frightful extent. The Journal of Education, stating these facts, draws this cautious conclusion, — “ if knowledge cannot be accused of *causing* this increase, at least it has not *prevented* it.”

“ On turning to France, and examining tables of the comparative proportion of instruction in its different departments, during a period of three years, the western and central provinces have been found the most uneducated, — 15, 14, 13, 12, and 8 per cent. only being able to read and write; but according to an essay on the moral statistics of France, presented to the Academy of Sciences, the *minimum* of crime is to be found in these uneducated departments, and the *maximum* in Corsica and in the south-eastern provinces, and in Alsace, where nearly half the population can read. The different employments of the population may account for this difference in part; yet still we may again draw the cautious conclusion, that if education has not *caused*, at least it has not yet been seen to *prevent* crime.

“ The only ascertained moral effect of intellectual education was stated in last March by the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords. In Russia, where education can scarcely be said to exist, out of 5,800 crimes committed within a certain period, 3,500 were accompanied by violence; whilst in Pennsylvania, where education is generally diffused, out of 7,400 crimes only 640 were accompanied by violence, being in the proportion of 1-12th of the whole number, instead of 3-5ths, as in the former case. Thus the only ascertained effect of intellectual education on crime is to substitute *fraud* for *force* — the *cunning* of civilized for the *violence* of savage life. Nor would even this small change be permanent. A highly intellectual community, without moral principle and the habits of self-denial which religion imposes, would only prove a sleeping volcano, ready to awaken every moment, and overthrow those very institutions under which it had been fostered. To increase the intellectual power, and enlarge the knowledge of a man void of principle, is only to create in him new desires, to make him restless and dissatisfied, hating those that are above him, and desirous of reducing all to his own level; and you have but to realize universally such state of society to fill the cup of this world's guilt and misery to the *brim*. What do we say, then? Not, certainly that education is to be withheld from any member of society (for that question is now decided, whether we will it or not), but that from the infant school, upward to the university, it must be a thorough *Christian* education, in which our youth shall be trained in the ways of virtuous self-control, and piety and righteousness wrought into the understanding, and into the whole habit of the man. A perfunctory religious education will no longer serve; not mere Bible reading, but Bible education. The understanding must be enlightened, and the heart must be gained over to the side of truth and righteousness: in short, the grand aim of education must become, not merely the formation of intellectual habits, or the acquisition

"of secular knowledge (as is too exclusively the case in present times), but the formation of the Christian character. Men have hitherto been prone to take for granted, that it was only necessary to teach the art of reading, and before this new power all vice and error would flee away. These are dreams of men ignorant of themselves, and ignorant of our poor nature. Men must be trained to piety and virtue as they are trained to any other habits whether intellectual or physical; and the moral man must advance contemporaneously with the intellectual man, else we see no increase from our increased education but an increased capacity for evil-doing. Let the Christian community, then, and especially those who watch over the interests of religion; let the clergy and laity of the church of Scotland start forward now, and, as their ancestors did, pre-occupy the foreground in the education question; for if they do not, they may yet mourn in vain that they have lost an opportunity of guiding the issues of a question daily rising into importance, and soon to come before the legislature."

Upon this very interesting article, the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* makes the following remarks:

"The above are most appalling statements. It is certainly made to appear that mere intellectual education increases crime, and, consequently, that no further progress should be attempted in that system unless there be a perfect assurance of the Bible being its concomitant. Will the Greek church and the Catholic church be equally efficient in affording the due counteraction to mere moral education as the Protestant; or must the countries where these are established come to a stand-still? Do all those seminaries of public and private instruction, where, in the spirit of Christian charity and liberality, it has been determined not to interfere betwixt parents and children, and where the parents omit their duty; do all these schools merely increase the capacity of doing evil, and thus injure both the community and the very individuals themselves, whom the benevolent en-

dowers hoped to benefit? Do these piously intended bequests help to fill this world's guilt and misery to the brim?"

This editor is certainly right; for, though in England, the fact of crime having increased with the increase of "heddekashun," would not be proof that "heddekashun" had increased crime; because there are other engenders of crime at work here, and very busily at work; but when we take France and America into the view, and find that crime has advanced in them, step by step with "heddekashun," it is impossible not to come to the conclusion to which this editor has come; namely, that "heddekashun" has a tendency to cause an increase of crimes. This is going, however, much farther than I have ever gone before; but these two instances of France and America joined to our own experience, warrant me in giving it as my decided opinion, that the "heddekashun" has a tendency to produce and to multiply crimes. One would have thought it unnecessary to argue about the matter, after the new and severe laws which we have seen passed during the last twenty or thirty years; the new modes of punishment that we have seen introduced, and those punishments inflicted with unheard-of severity; the doubling and tripling the size of the jails, and doubling and tripling their number in some parts of the kingdom; the millions upon millions expended in the prosecuting, transporting, and otherwise punishing criminals; the weight of the county-rates, which now actually threaten to rival the poor-rates: one would have thought, that, with all these staring us in the face, and coming side by side with the notorious fact, that this hideous increase of crime has been swelling up along with a similar increase of Bible societies and of schools; one would have thought that the most doltish legislature that ever sat under the sun would have long ago been satisfied of the fact, that *cant* and *crime* as they always did go, so they always will go, hand in hand. Yet, my lord, even in your reformed Parliament, we had the mortification to hear, from your own lips, a proposition to give extension

and permanency to this cant; because I was opposed to which, the newspapers have told the world, that your lordship declared me to be, "an enemy to the education of the people!"

It is, they say, a poor devil of a mouse that has no hole to creep out of; and, therefore, it would be hard indeed, if a *Lord Chancellor* had not a hole; and this Scotch editor tells us, that your solid-headed colleague who fills that office, creeps out in this way; that though "heddekashun" does not diminish the number of crimes, it tends to diminish the *violence* with which crimes are committed; for that, while *three-fifths* of the crimes committed in *RUSSIA* were accompanied by violence, only *one-twelfth* of those committed in *PENNSYLVANIA*, during the same period, were accompanied by violence. Oh! what a wise man that is, my lord! The lawyers say, that he has a wonderful head for analogy. Now, my lord, you and I know, that there are many little injuries, and what we may call crimes, committed in a flock of sheep. One comes and drives another away, and very unjustly, from a tuft of grass, of which the latter had the right of priority of possession; another quits his own turnip, seeing his neighbour with one that he has a fancy to, goes, and in the consciousness of superior strength, makes the pre-occupant give way, and take up with his leavings: the strong ones drive the weak ones from the trough and will not suffer them to eat until they have done. These are all crimes in the community of sheep; but whoever heard of any violence arising in that community? Put an equal number of *dogs* together; toss bones and bits of meat about the ground: what snarling, what growling, what barking, what snapping, what biting, what tearing, and how many left dead or half-dead, upon the spot! Aye, you will say, but what similarity is there between dogs and sheep? Just as much as between *Russians* and *Pennsylvanians*: the former are an assemblage of the most brutal and ferocious wretches upon earth; and the latter amongst the most mild and gentle of all human beings. So that this is a poor hole for your Lord Chancellor to get out of. However, until we

can look upon one highway robbery as more injurious and degrading to society than twenty thefts, we shall still deny that the increase of "heddekashun," accompanied with an increase of crime, is not a great evil.

Your lordship and your *improving colleagues* have, as you were pleased to inform us, sent commissioners to America, to ascertain the effect of the experiments made there for diminishing the severity of punishments. This is a distinct branch of cant, and is peculiarly detestable, when we reflect on the putting of poor COOK to death for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm. Of this, however, I shall say no more, just at present; but I take the opportunity of expressing a hope, that the same commissioners will be so good as to give us an account of the effects of "heddekashun" in that country, where, it is well known, the *mind marches* at a full gallop. I trust that we shall have no *suppressings* and *expungings*: I trust that we shall have the *whole story*, not a heap of *thee-and-thou* stuff hatched at a yearly meeting. But, if we have the whole story, never shall we again hear of your scheme for taxing the people for the purposes of "heddekashun."

Those gentlemen who went from PARIS to the United States, seemed surprised at the discovery that they had made; and the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* seems astounded by their statements. Very curious, this. I have, for more than twenty years, aye, indeed, for thirty years, been promulgating the very opinions which I am now expressing in this very letter. It seems to me, that it is unreasonable to suppose that this "heddekashun" should not create crimes; that it has in its very nature a quality to produce crimes. There is a certain portion of mankind who must live by their bodily labour; the "heddekashun" creates a desire and disposition in great numbers of these, to live without bodily labour; this desire and this disposition withhold them from using bodily labour. By not using bodily labour, they become poor and destitute, and are afflicted, at the same time, with imaginary wants and expensive tastes; reduced

to a state of poverty, want, and wretchedness, they use unlawful means; first to gratify their unreasonable desires and imaginary wants; and, last, to relieve their hunger, and to shelter them from being pinched by the cold; and thus criminals are created by the "heddekashun;" for, had it not been for that, patient and honest labour would have provided for all the wants that they ever would have had. Want, as all the world allows, is the parent of crime; and is there a man to deny that "heddekashun" is the parent of want?

There is yet another reason for my objection to "heddekashun;" and, strong as my other objections are, this has more strength with me than all the rest put together; namely, that it has a direct tendency to *fashion the minds of the people to passive obedience and submission, be their wrongs or their sufferings what they may.* The press has been called the *rock of freedom*; and so it would be, if it were *free* itself; but, when it always can be, and most frequently is, the hireling of a cunning tyranny, it is the most effectual destroyer of freedom. Very narrowly has the President and Government of the United States recently escaped from the hands of this destroyer; and, what is it able to do, then, in countries where all power and all pecuniary resources of a nation are centred in a few hands? "*Knowledge is power,*" says every pert coxcomb, who believes, of course, that all his namby-pamby phrases contain *knowledge*. Very true, that "*knowledge is power*;" but it must BE knowledge, then; and would your lordship, now, who really possesses a great deal of knowledge, and of various sorts, and a great deal of experience as to that knowledge, and (except in the case of *expungings*, perhaps) a great deal of sound judgment in the application of that knowledge: now, I say, does your lordship really deem that to be *knowledge* that is taught to these poor little creatures by the unshaven, gin-drinking fellow, called a parish schoolmaster; or by the slipshod, dirty-necked slattern, called a schoolmistress, creatures who, if they ever get on the other side of the highest hill in

the vicinage, unless with a constable at their heels, will entertain the children with stories about their travels. Now, I say, can your lordship have the conscience to call this "*knowledge*"; a knowledge that is to give the poor creatures "*power*," too?

It is real ignorance. The little buck, who has been frigh'ening away the rooks from the corn fields, who has been weeding in the corn with his mother; he has got some knowledge; he knows a rook from a jackdaw, and both of them from a crow; he knows cockle from barley, and the pea-blossom from that of the wild vetch. His mother can send him out into the hedges to get her some hop-tops, or wild marjoram; he knows a bee from a wasp; and, if set to weed a bed in the garden, does not pull up the plants and leave the weeds. Before he is ten he has been to the mill upon a horse with a sack of barley under him, and a sack of meal coming back. Too short to reach up to put the halter upon the horse's head, he knows how to do it by leading the horse to the gate by the fore-top, and then getting upon the gate to put on the halter; thus, when not weighing more than the horse's leg, he becomes master of a great and strong animal. His knowledge is *power*, indeed; but what the devil power is a poor creature to acquire from knowing the nonsense that is taught in the schools of "heddekashun"?

What is ignorance? It means a *not knowing*. But, when we talk of an ignorant man, we must mean that he does not know that which *he ought to know*, considering the state of life in which he is. We frequently say that we are ignorant of such and such facts; that is to say, that we do *not know* them. Therefore, before we pronounce a man an ignorant man, we ought to come to an opinion concerning the point, whether he ought to know the matter, with respect to which we are ascribing ignorance to him. Lord ERSKINE used annually to boast, or to say very ostentatiously, and unnecessarily, at COKE's sheep-shearings (and I am sure your lordship has heard him), that he once took a field of lavender for a field of wheat. But nobody would have said that Lord ERSKINE was an igno-

rant man. Yet I much question whether there are not people to call a labourer an ignorant man, because he might not know the difference between the common and the statute law; or because he might be ignorant of the difference between a warrant and a writ. It is a wrong use of words to call a man an ignorant man, who well understands the business which he has to carry on; and if that business does not require reading and writing, his want of a knowledge of those forms no ground whatever for calling him an ignorant man.

Therefore, if the reading and writing did no harm, it by no means appears that they entitle the party to any claim to superiority in any respect whatsoever. But this is far from being the worst; for the schools of "heddekashun" have been, are, and must be, where there is a government like this, and orders in the state such as exist here, and a system of usury and monopoly such as we have, *seminaries of slavery*. Seminaries, in which are taught those principles which make men contented with a government, under treatment which ought to urge them on, and which naturally would urge them on, to lawful resistance; and this is the greatest of all my many and great objections to this scheme.

It must strike every man that has only a small portion of common sense; that can merely state a couple of plain facts, and draw the evident conclusion; every such man in looking at the great promoters of this "heddekashun"; in seeing *who they are*, and what their conduct towards the people has been, for a long series of years; it must strike every such man with wonder, that these said persons should be desirous of *enlightening* the people, and of giving them that sort of *knowledge* which is *power*. What! must every such man say to himself, these people who have passed STURGES BOURNE'S bills; these people who have put hired overseers over them; these people who transport them for being in the night-time in pursuit of hare, pheasant, or partridge; these people who, by the new trespass law, caused them to be caught by the throat, taken before a magistrate, and punished without trial by

jury, for a mere trespass; these people who have made it felony to take a peach from a wall, or an apple from a tree; these people who have made it death, if, in a case like that of poor COOK, one man strike another, even without premeditation, and without doing him bodily harm; how in the devil's name comes it, that these said people are so anxious to give the people that sort of *knowledge* which is *power*. They had a Reform Bill to make the other day; they might then have given them *power*, if they would; and all their study and their scheming in the discussing of that measure was to keep power out of the hands of the working people. How, then, are we to believe; how is any one but an idiot to suck down the belief, that they really mean, by this "heddekashun," to give the people knowledge which shall be power in their hands?

The truth is, my lord, and it is but to be plain and sincere about the matter, that they have no such intention; but on the contrary, that the intention of the contrivers of the scheme is, to bend the minds of the children towards passive obedience and slavery. These are no *new opinions* of mine. No man has been more anxious than I have been to see the working people, *moved by their own inclinations*, acquire that portion of book-learning which is eminently calculated to give them *real power*. Your lordship was pleased to represent me as being an enemy to the acquiring of useful knowledge by the means of books. I have taken more pains than any other man ever took, in order to assist them in acquiring such knowledge. I have appealed to their interests, to their ambition, to their love of liberty, to their just thirst for satisfaction on their unjust and arrogant and insolent persecutors; and I have written book after book to enable them to act upon my advice. But I have always endeavoured to guard them against the schemes of *heddekashun*. And, when I published my English Grammar, "for the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys," I then stated to them, that one of my motives was, to prevent them from becoming "*heddekated*." This address, dated in Long Island, on

the 25. of August, 1818, was addressed to the "BLANKETEERS," meaning, generally, the working people, particularly of Lancashire, who had shown so much public spirit in the scourging days of SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH. I concluded that address with giving them some specimens of the sort of teaching carried on in the schools of "*heddekashun*." The whole of this conclusion I insert here below; I repeat every word of it now, after having had fifteen years to think of the matter, and to observe upon the conduct of the parties; and, though I will not be so unjust as to impute to *your lordship* the motives which I impute to these promoters in general (because I do not think that *you* have such motives), I can see no difference at all in the minds of the promoters in general.

If I have addressed your lordship at great length, it is because I attach great importance to the subject; and because I am convinced that if the scheme were adopted by the Parliament, it could not by possibility produce any good; and must, in my opinion, make the country more miserable than it is, and add greatly to the danger which now surrounds every valuable institution that remains, and every order in the state. Idlers already swarm over the land: this scheme, if acted upon, would make an addition to the swarm. Idleness would obtain a predominance greater than it now has; and deception, fraud, and the basest hypocrisy, would become the characteristics of a country so long famed for its industry, uprightness, and sincerity.

I am,

Your lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

W. M. COBBETT.

EXTRACT

*From the Long Island Register of
21. November, 1818.*

And now, my English friends of the *unindemnified orders*, let me address a few words exclusively to you.

I have often enough spoken to you on the pretended *plans of education*, which

the boroughmongers and their tools, aided and abetted by the crafty priests, have long been putting forward. But I see that *now* the indemnified Houses have taken the matter up in *regular form*, and have set a committee of their wise men to make a report "on the education of the *lower orders*." If there be *lower orders*, there must be *higher orders*, or at least, a *higher order*. And *who is it* that belongs to these orders, or this order, I wonder? And how many are there of lower orders? Where do they begin? At baronets, or esquires? Or at farmers or merchants?

If these indemnified gentry were in earnest about education, they would begin by *causing themselves to be educated*; for, as you will see in my Grammar, the very elect of them are unable, even in so short a piece as a king's speech, to write a single sentence correctly; and, as to the heaps of nonsense which they put together in the shape of proclamations, orders in council, reports, and state papers, they are without a parallel in the records of human ignorance. Neither of the present Secretaries of State is able to write six sentences without error as to grammar. I once amused myself in dissecting a dispatch of Castlereagh. It was short; but it contained fifty-seven errors in point of grammar; twenty-one instances in which the words said what the writer did not mean; and seven wherein the words said the *contrary* of what he meant.

This is the character of all their writings: they do not write anything correctly; and, with the exception of Canning and the late Speaker of the House of Commons, I never have seen what led me to suppose, that any one of them was able to write anything correctly. And observe, that these two men are of the "*lower orders*." The Speaker has risen from a very obscure stock; and, as to Canning, if not purely of equivocal generation, he, at the highest, mounts only to the *ventre* of a play-actress.

This, then, is a pretty crew to talk and to make reports and to pass laws about educating the "*lower orders*"!

The truth is, however, that they mean to do, and wish to do, precisely the contrary. They are, and long have been, endeavouring to prevent the mass of the people from acquiring useful knowledge. What regard, what affection, they have for the people is clearly seen in their dungeon-bill, in their gagging-bills, in their soldier-speaking felony-bill, in their parish-vestry bill, in their Corn Bill, in their *Indemnity Bill*; and indeed, in the whole of their measures, which are a tissue of contrivances to keep down, oppress, and brutify the nation. Can they, who have violated every form of law in order to narrow the circulation of printed books, not written by persons in their pay; can they, who have made it death to talk freely with a soldier; can they, who employ spies to watch men's conversation; can they, who have made free discussion impossible: can such men wish to see the bounds of knowledge extended?

What, then, do they wish? They wish to make cheap the business of learning to read, if that business be performed in their schools; and thus to inveigle the children of poor men into those schools; and there to teach these children, along with reading, all those notions which are calculated to make them content in a state of slavery: to teach them "to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters"; that is to say, the rich and the powerful; to teach them "to honour and obey the King and all that are put in authority under him," not excepting, of course, Sidmouth, Cross, Oliver, Parsons Powis and Guillim or Colonel Fletcher; to teach them, that wretchedness is the lot of their parents, whom it has "pleased God to call to that state of life," and that to repine at which, or endeavour to change it, is sinful: to teach them, that God has ordained that the boroughmongers and the parsons shall rule over them, and live in luxury, while those, whose earnings furnish the means of this luxury, are starving; to teach them that they never ought to think about Government, laws, or taxes, or any of the affairs of

this world, but ought to be solely intent about happiness in the next, which happiness they can have no chance of obtaining, unless they, without a single murmur, put up with oppression, robbery, and insult in this world.

This is the wish of the boroughmongers and their dependants, amongst which latter are all tax-eaters; and these are the notions which they think to be able to make children imbibe along with the knowledge of reading. These are the poisons which they intend to make the children of England swallow in the gilded pill called education. And it would seem, that they even intend to tax the labour of the parents in order to get the means of administering this pill! It would seem that the Government, that is to say the borough-men, are to select and appoint the schoolmasters, to pay for the school-houses, and to furnish the books! What volumes of "tracts" we shall have! In what sweet notes shall we have sung to us the endless blessings of passive obedience, non-resistance, ragged backs, frozen joints, parching lips, and hungry bellies! How seriously it will be told us, by some smooth-tongued female hack, that, as God has ordained, that the noisy and lazy and gormandizing cuckoo shall suck the eggs of the hedge-sparrow, lay its own eggs in the nest, and make the poor hedge-sparrow hatch and feed the young, so he has ordained that we are to let our children starve to death, while we contentedly labour for pensioned masters and pensioned misses, the progeny of the boroughmongers!

1.

Come, little children, list' to me,
While I describe your duty,
And kindly lead your eyes to see
Of lowliness the beauty.

2.

'Tis true your bony backs are bare,
Your lips too dry for spittle;
Your eyes as dead as whittings are,
Your bellies growl for vict'ual.

3.

But, dearest children, O, believe!
Believe not treach'rous senses!
'Tis they your infant hearts deceive,
And lead into offences.

4.
When frost assails your joints by day,
And lice by night torment ye,
'Tis to remind you oft' to pray,
And of your sins repent ye.

5.
At parching lips when you repine,
And when your belly hungers,
You covet what, by right divine,
Belongs to boroughmongers.

6.
Let dungeons, gags, and hangman's noose,
Make you content and humble,
Your heav'nly crown you'll surely lose,
If here, on earth, you grumble.

This trash is no more than a not very unfair sample of the base and blasphemous stuff, that the hirelings of the boroughmongers prepare for the schools. It contains the *substance* of all their verse and of all their prose: and, to make it their own, it lacks only a suitable proportion of stupidity. I really should not be much surprised, if the hirelings were to take this very trash of mine, and put it into one of their "*tracts*," which they have the audacity and ipfamy to call "*religious*." The above trash does not suit, that I know of, any of their *tunes*: and therefore, I will add another trash, which a friend at my elbow (they will say it is Satan) wishes to be added, as he thinks they will make the children sing it to a tune which he says is called the *Magdalen tune*.

1.
Come, little children, lend an ear,
To what you ought to hope and fear;
For, if misplac'd, your fears and hopes,
To dungeons lead, and e'en to ropes.

2.
To hope for bread, to hope for beer,
To hope for aught your hearts to cheer;
To hope for clothes your backs to hide,
Or screen your front or hinder side:

3.
To hope for these in any way,
Is hoping less of tax to pay;
And hoping this, in acts or words,
High treason is 'gainst borough-lords.

4.
Hope not for safety nor for peace;
Hope not for dungeon-bills to cease.
For justice nor for mercy hope;
For far are you beneath their scope.

5.
Let Cobbett, whose whole life's a storm,
The devil tempt to hope reform,
Till overt acts so foul shall place
His soul beyond the pale of grace.

6.
Hope therefore, you, my children dear,
Such horrid hopes to view with fear;
And when you fall by rope or gun,
Say, "Boroughmongers' will be done."

However, my friends, you are not to be deceived by any such trash. You, I hope, detest such a mockery of religion. You can, and do, see the design of the canters to the bottom.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 1.

INSOLVENT.

KNOX, H., jun., Park-street, Marybonne, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BELL, C. R., Leeds, cloth-merchant.
BODIN, W., Manchester, agent.
CHAPMAN, T. F., Littleham and Exmouth, Devonshire, hotel-keeper.
CROSBY, J., Nottingham, dyer.
DANIELL, T., Boulogne, France, copper-smelter.
DUNN, M., Preston, Lancashire, wine-merchant.
PROCTOR, B., Radford, Nottinghamshire, lace-maker.
RICHARDSON, T., Norwich, coal-merchant.
WEBSTER, A., St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, victualler.
WILLIS, J., High-street, Poplar, victualler.

TUESDAY, MAY 5.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, J., Bridge-foot, Vauxhall, corn-dealer.
ARCHBALD, W. A., Phoenix Sugar Refinery, Ratcliffe-cross, and of Back-lane, St. George's-in-the-East, sugar-refiner.
CARLE, E. de, Norwich, grocer.
CHURCH, W., Aston, Birmingham, Warwickshire, civil engineer.
DOWNS, J., late of Tickhill, Yorkshire, but now of West Retford, Nottinghamshire, grocer.
FORD, J., Fieldgate-street, Whitechapel, ironfounder.

MORTIMORE, J. P., Devonport, Devonshire, upholsterer, cabinet-maker, and undertaker.

SEAMEN, T., Manchester, Lancashire, common-brewer.

STROUD, W. D., Woolhampton, Berkshire, linen and woollen-draper.

THORNTON, E., Oxford-street, ironmonger.

TODD, R., Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, builder.

TROUTBECK, J. S., Darcy Lever, Lancashire, manufacturing chemist.

TURNER, G. W., and H. Davy, Bermondsey, paper-manufacturers.

VAUGHAN, R., late of the Burton Coffee-house, Freeman's-court, Cheapside.

WESTLEY, T., late of 74, Colleshill-street, Eaton-square, baker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 4.—We had but a moderate supply of Wheat and other articles fresh up from the neighbouring counties this morning. Fine Wheat was in request, at an advance of 1s. per quarter upon last Monday's prices. By the accounts this morning, Wheat has improved the last few days in almost every market.

Fine malting Barley is scarce, and a limited supply would sell readily, but many of the maltsters have left off buying for the season: fine dry foreign Barley still finds purchasers at our quotations; secondary qualities are neglected.

Beans 1s. per quarter dearer.

In Peas no alteration.

We had but few fresh arrivals of Oats this morning, but there was a large supply at market left over unsold from last week. We experienced a fair demand for Oats to-day at a reduction of 6d. per quarter on last Monday's prices, but this depression was more on Irish than either Scotch or English Oats.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire | 35s. to 38s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Old | 38s. to —s. |
| Harrow, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 24s. to 27s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Black | 24s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 25s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 23s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed.. . . . | 13s. to 16s. |
| Brew | 17s. to 19s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 4.

This day's supply of Sheep was great: its supply of Beasts, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices, with the exception of the best shorn Sheep, which composed fully nine-tenths of the Sheep supply, not producing more than from the 3s. 4d. to 3s. 8d. per stone.

About 2,100 of the Beasts, about 1,200 of which were Scots, about 600 Shorthorns, and the remainder about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with about 100 homebreds and 50 Herefords, were, for the most part (say at least three-fourths of them), from Norfolk, the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 120, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Scots, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, from our northern districts, chiefly Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; about 100 horned and polled Scots, chiefly the latter, by sea from Scotland; about 120, mostly Herefords, Devons, and runts, from our western and midland districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including a few lusty Townsend Cows, from the stall-feeders &c. near London.

Full a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder, about equal numbers of Kents, Kentish half-breds, old Leicesters and Lincolns; with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks; horned Dorsets and Somersets; horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 4,500, consisted of about equal numbers of Southdowns, Dorsets, and new Leicesters; with a few pens of casual breeds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | 6 | 0 |

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| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 3 per Cent. | Fit. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur |
| Cons Ann. | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ |

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I remain, yours truly,

W. MORRIS.

Washington-street, Buffalo, Sept. 3, 1834.

Cure of a severe Billious attack, attended with Cramp, &c.

To Mr. Charlwood.

SIR,—It is my wish that my case should be made public if you think proper. On Saturday, 5. September, I was suddenly taken ill, with violent pain in the stomach, attended with cramp and sickness; I requested my mistress to give me some pills: she gave me five, but my sufferings being so great I begged of her to give me what medicine she thought proper; she directly gave me fifteen more No. 2, which caused me to throw up a good deal of thick yellow bile, and the pain a little abated, but I was very ill all night with cold shiverings and cramp; at five o'clock in the morning I took fifteen more pills, No. 1; and after breakfast got up, but could not stand upright for pain. My mistress desired me to go to bed again, and continuing very sick she gave me twenty more pills, No. 2, as I told her before a neighbour that I trusted to her treatment, under the blessing of God, for my recovery; I was very ill all night, and threw up more bile, after which I felt better and slept; the next day I was better, and the doses were reduced five pills at a time; on Tuesday the sickness and pain left me; Wednesday I was able to come down stairs, and felt grateful to Almighty God, who, through the kindness of my mistress and the use of Mr. Morison's invaluable Medicines, has restored me to health; I never will take any other medicine, let what may happen, if I can get this, and for the safety of those I live with, I beg you will keep this as a pledge of my word, to prevent my friends being injured, should it please God I should be attacked again.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

ELIZABETH SAMPSON.

Servant to Mrs. Pawsey, Agent for Dorking
September 20, 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



DEFENCE

OF THE

ELECTORS OF DEVONSHIRE.

Normandy, 3. May, 1833.

THE result of the Devonshire election, or rather, the election for the southern division of that great county (which, by-the-by, ought to have had at least six county members), at which election Lord JOHN RUSSELL (one of the late members) and Mr. PARKER were the rival candidates: the result of this election, which terminated on Tuesday last, the 5th instant; the result of this election, giving to Mr. PARKER, who is called a Tory, a majority of about seven hundred, I believe, over his opponent. The result of this election has given a totally new aspect to the political affairs of this country, Lord JOHN RUSSELL being the criterion in this case; being also the leader of the Whig faction in the House of Commons, and being the author and mover of the resolution respecting the Irish tithes, the decision on which resolution compelled the king either to dismiss Sir ROBERT PEEL and his colleagues, or to place himself in a state of open hostility to the House of Commons. At the opening of the canvass for this election Lord JOHN RUSSELL told the electors (rather indiscreetly, I allow), that their decision in this case would be taken as the decision of the people of the whole kingdom; that he was the leader of the most powerful political party in the House of Commons that had ever been known in that House; that they were now going to decide whether his conduct had been right

or wrong; that the eyes of all England and of all Europe were, therefore, upon them; and that, therefore, it became them to exercise their franchise with the impression of these important facts upon their minds. They have decided, and they have decided against him.

The public prints devoted to the faction who call themselves Whigs, reproach the electors of Devonshire in the most brutal terms: they call them slaves, driven to the hustings by the landlords and persons, as their oxen are driven to SMITHFIELD; they call them bores; they call them ignorant clowns; and they speak of Devonshire as a bit of despicable earth, though only a few weeks before, they said that, "the destinies of the *Empire*" rested upon the decision which they were about to pronounce.

Now I do not agree with these hireling scribes of faction: so far from agreeing with them, I, on the contrary, very much approve of the conduct of the electors of Devonshire: I think that, having only those two men to choose between, they have done right in choosing Mr. PARKER. I do not presume that my naked opinion, unsupported by reasons, ought to have any weight with anybody; but, if I have reasons wherewith to support that opinion, then the opinion ought to have weight, and will have weight, with every one who is not either fool or knave; and, therefore, I now proceed to submit these reasons to the reader.

The simultaneous exclamation of the Whig press, upon hearing of the fate of their leader, was this: "*The men of Devonshire have disappointed Reformers*!" This word "*Reformer*" is, as Swift says of Jack's Will, in the Tale of a Tub, a thing of "Catholic utility"; admitting of any construction; applicable to all purposes; and, as JACK could make use of his written will, either to lay a turbulent spirit, or, by burning a bit of it under one's nose, cure the chin-cough in children, or the green-sickness in girls, so the Whigs can apply the word "*REFORMER*" either to the loading of

people with taxes, or to the taking from them their right to vote, if they do not pay taxes. According to them, to take away Irish tithes from the parsons, and to make a law to try Irishmen by colonels and captains, and lieutenants and ensigns, instead of judges and jurors, are *equally* acts becoming a Reformer. To pass a law to reduce the working people to a *coarser sort of food*, and to separate husbands from wives, if they be in a state of necessity to demand relief; and, if they be extremely poor and friendless, to expose their dead bodies to be cut up by surgeons; according to the Whigs, these are acts which characterise the very pink of "*Reformers*."

So that the "men of Devonshire" will not hastily conclude that they have been doing very wrong by "disappointing Reformers." However, upon the supposition that "Reformers" mean men, who wished, and who prayed so long, for a reform of the House of Commons, in order that the Members might be really and truly the representatives of the people of the whole kingdom; and that just and equitable laws might proceed from that source; upon the supposition that the word "Reformer" is used in this sense, and that there be persons answering truly to the appellation, I should be glad to know how the men of Devonshire can have disappointed such "Reformers." Did "Reformers" want the men of Devonshire to choose a man who had opposed and prevented the enacting of short parliaments; who had opposed, in like manner, the taking of elections by ballot; who had opposed (and with a great deal of acrimony and virulence) all inquiry into the pension-list; who had opposed, and, indeed, caused to be rejected, a motion for the repeal of the malt tax; who was one of the very inventors of the Poor-law Bill; who was one of the supporters of the dead-body bill; who now maintains, with the most insolent pertinacity, the taxing-clauses in the Reform Bill, which are disfranchising, daily and hourly, a very large part of those to whom the franchise was affected to be given; who was the author of that clause in the Reform Bill which compels other freeholders to have had a year of possession,

and which *exempts parsons* from the effect of that clause; who, even now, in his election speeches, has the audacity to assert that "the revenues of the Church of England are not *too large*"; and who says further that the church establishment ought to be upheld.

Now, did "Reformers" want the people of Devonshire to choose a man who had said and done these things? If they did, I hasten to declare that I do not belong to such Reformers. It is craftily kept out of sight that there were *other things* for the electors of Devonshire to attend to. They had to attend to the sayings and doings which I have enumerated above, and which so immediately and vitally affect themselves. But it will be said that Mr. PARKER *may* do and say all the same things which Lord JOHN RUSSELL has done and said, and which I have enumerated above. This is very true; it is *possible* that he may say and do them all. But he has not said and done them yet, at any rate. To elect him, therefore, was not to *express approbation* of all these sayings and doings; to re-elect Lord JOHN RUSSELL would have been to express such approbation, and to hear such approbation expressed by that great county of solid wealth and of permanent resources and influence would have been to me a cause of great mortification.

Besides, Mr. PARKER, be his disposition what it may, is not a "*leader*." Doubtless a man of importance in his county; and by *possibility*, though I have no right to presume it, a man hostile to the rights of the people. To the kingdom at large, however, he is an *obscure individual*, who brings into the House of Commons his individual vote, and no more. He may be ready to support all the sayings and doings which I have justly ascribed to Lord JOHN RUSSELL; and to support *worse* sayings and doings is out of his power; but he must do it, if he do it at all, as a mere individual voter; he is no *standard* of the principles which are to prevail; he is not a *criterion*; he is not a *rule* for all others to follow. More mischievous than Lord JOHN he cannot wish to be. In enumerating the acts and sayings of Lord JOHN,

I have in substance enumerated all the grievances of the people of England; Lord JOHN is opposed to, and has opposed, a redress of every one of them. Mr. PARKER cannot be worse in desire and disposition; and as he will not have, and cannot have, a hundredth part of the power of doing mischief, it was the duty of the people of Devonshire (having no other choice) to choose him in preference to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

The sole circumstance of difference between the two, that is to say, the sole difference in favour of Lord JOHN, was, that he had proposed, and was prepared to carry into effect, the resolution of the House of Commons relative to the Irish tithes. And now let us see what that resolution amounted to. It recognised the principle that the Parliament has the rightful power of doing what it thinks proper with church property of every description. This was all that that resolution did; and this was wholly unnecessary seeing that the principle is established in all the laws of England for three hundred years, and seeing that the noble Lord's father holds every inch of his immense property, as well as his right to toll of the cabbages in COVENT GARDEN, solely in virtue of acts of Parliament, and of grants founded on this very principle. I voted for the resolution, went up to London on purpose to vote for it, for though it was superfluous, it was right as to the principle.

But to lay down the principle was nothing, unless it was followed up in practice. And what did this resolution do in practice? It would have taken, probably, six hundred thousand pounds a year from the church in Ireland; but it would not have abolished tithes, whether great or small; tithes must still have been paid in some shape or another; and that must be a man of very little reflection indeed, who does not know that the whole weight of them would still fall upon the people of Ireland at large, just as it does now; and that the same turmoil, the same discontent and strife, would still have existed. There would have been a new sort of receiver, and that would have been all, and we should still have had to defray all the expenses of a force to collect the money.

And what was to be done with the money? Why, it was not to be carried to the Treasury to diminish the taxes, either of Ireland or England. It was to be laid out in Ireland for purposes of general education, moral and religious, without distinction of religious sects or denominations. Here were pretty scenes of strife to be enacted by the Parliament! Everlasting strife about which sect should have the most of it. Three or four dogs at a single bone would have been peace and harmony compared to this. And then there was the handle furnished to the Devonshire parsons; a handle so fair and so convenient to take hold of, that this was voting money to promote the *extension of popery*, which it was well known that the people of Devonshire, as well as the rest of us, had been taught to hold in such abhorrence. For observe, the very ground of taking away the money from the church was, that six-sevenths of the people were Roman Catholics; so that a fair distribution of the money would of necessity have caused six-sevenths of it to be employed in the education of the Roman Catholics. If it were right that such an appropriation and application of the money should take place; if there had been a grain of sense in the proposition to take money from parsons to give it to schoolmasters; then this large share given to the Roman Catholics would have been just; and, in *my view* of the matter, if it tended to promote the increase of popery, it would have been good in that respect, and not evil. But still such would have been the fact; it would have tended to the growth of popery; and was folly in this world ever equal to that of tacking on to the end of this resolution of Lord JOHN a parcel of silly words, which described nothing that ever could be acted upon, while they furnished the fairest handle in the world for an appeal to deep seated prejudices of two hundred years growth!

Practically speaking, there was no good in the resolution; it proposed nothing that could tend to tranquillize Ireland; it proposed nothing that could at all mend the lot of the people, either in Ireland or England; and the people of Devonshire, who had so recently seen Lord

JOHN zealously join the Tories, in preventing a repeal of that injurious and galling burden, the tax upon malt, would really have been the boors and the ignorant beasts, which the at once stupid and insolent Whig journals represent them to be, if they had been amused by this resolution about Irish tithes, and been cajoled into a re election of Lord JOHN, by this senseless and delusive resolution.

I have now to notice some particulars which transpired during the canvass and the election, beginning with what Lord JOHN said on the day of nomination, relative to the MALT-TAX. The words (the shameful words), as stated in the newspaper report, are these: "I thought 'one of the first things they (the Tories) intended to do, was to take off the malt-tax. But, gentlemen, when Parliament met with a Tory Ministry in power, it appeared that they were not prepared to reduce a single shilling a bushel of that duty, but that they resolved to maintain it as it is.'" Now, I put it to any man of sincerity, whether this was not as much as to tell the people of Devonshire, that it was the *fault of the Tories* that the malt-tax was not repealed; and that he himself wished it repealed; when the fact, the notorious fact is, that it was *he and his party that prevented the tax from being repealed*; and that the motion for repeal never would have been opposed by the Ministers, if they had not been assured beforehand, that Lord JOHN and his party would support them in that opposition? Why, the people of Devonshire were not such fools as not to know this. And if I had been one of them, and had intended to vote for him, this instance of low cunning, of shameful political hypocrisy, would have made me vote against him.

Then his declaration that the revenues of the church of England were not too large; that none of them ought to be taken away; that there only wanted a little alteration in the distribution of them; that the establishment ought still to be upheld; and, of course, that the Dissenters were still to pay for the upholding of it: from this declaration what were the people of Devonshire to conclude, but that there was to be *no change*

favourable to them; and seeing that this was the case, upon what grounds were they to choose this man?

The people of Devonshire had to hear what this man had to say to induce them to choose him; and when they had heard the whole of his speech, not one single thing could they discover amongst all his intentions, which, if acted upon, could by possibility produce any good to them. He promised them nothing; he talked of nothing in which they felt an interest, except about the malt-tax; and they knew that he himself was at the head of that party who had prevented a repeal of that tax. So that there was no inducement, even according to his own showing, to re-elect him, even if his misdeeds could have been forgotten.

His partizans are now bawling for the *ballot*; they are accusing the landlords of Devonshire of driving their farmers to the poll like their oxen to Smithfield. The ballot; there is now no remedy but the ballot; they forget that Lord JOHN himself was the *great opponent* of the ballot; they forget that he even broke his word with regard to this question. If he have been defeated for the want of the ballot, never were punishment and mortification more just. The people cried out for the ballot. Hundreds of petitions prayed for the ballot, in order to protect the voters against the ruin which the masters and landlords had the power to inflict upon them. The people of Devonshire have turned him out; and now his partizans cry aloud for the ballot.

I think that I might dismiss the subject here, especially as I intend to insert, in another *Register*, the speeches at *Exeter*, and at Lord JOHN's dinner at *Brent* (as far as I can understand the account); but there are two or three of the fooleries, which I cannot bring myself to overlook. The reader will perceive that the London reporter says, that there was a great body of *most respectable* gentlemen surrounding Lord JOHN on the hustings, at the nomination; and he will see that Dr. *Bowring* was at the head of them! The boors of Devonshire would naturally be overawed at the sight of such an assemblage; but having come to themselves a little, they would be

angry with that which caused their affright.

But, it was at the dinner at BRENT, as the reader will see, that the foolery of fooleries took place. There was Mr. EWART, from LIVERPOOL, with an address to Lord JOHN, from the *pure patriots* of that *most corrupt* town; and there was Dr. BOWRING again, saying, "I assure you, that if I have *honoured* Lord JOHN RUSSELL till now, I *loved* him to-day, when I saw that sign of the *holiest feeling of humanity* glisten in his eyes"; alluding to an emotion of tenderness on the part of Lord JOHN, when the health of his lady was drunk. "To-day, gentlemen," said the Doctor, "I saw *an outbreak*, which, I confess has *much moved* me, because I saw in that spirit *an outbreak* of those *domestic affections*, which are always intimately connected with man's *purest and holiest feelings*." How the boors of Devonshire must have stared at the Doctor; especially, when they recollected that this was an eulogium pronounced on a man who was one of the inventors of the *Poor-law Bill*; and whose *pure and holy feelings* had not prevented him from bringing in, and pushing through, a law, avowedly intended to reduce the working classes to a *coarser sort of food*, to separate *man from wife*, and *both from children*; to drive to extremity and despair, and death and destruction, the poor girl guilty of bastardy; while he resented, with the utmost virulence and spite, an endeavour to ascertain the bastardy of those in *high life*, fed out of the public money! The Doctor saw *tears* in his eyes, he says, in consequence even of *praises* of his own wife: and the Doctor *loved* him for the holy feeling! The Doctor, I dare say, was perfectly sincere; but I do not think that the Doctor would love him a bit less if he were to give the Doctor a place, or a pension. I hope I shall be forgiven, if I appear to judge uncharitably; but, for the life of me, I cannot discover any other business that the Doctor could have in Devonshire, upon this occasion; and if I had been in the place of Lord JOHN, and the Doctor had been on the hustings, I would have taken special care to let the electors

know, that *I had not brought him there*, at any rate. The moment I read in the newspapers, that the Doctor was in Devonshire, and engaged in the election, as a friend of Lord JOHN, I made up my mind to the defeat of the noble Lord. Before I had my doubts: after that I had none.

Well, but now, what is to be done in consequence of this occurrence? A faction without a leader is like an axe without a handle. There is a talk of Mr. BYNG being made a peer; and of Lord JOHN being elected for *Middlesex*. Ah, ah! What a third peer spring out of this source; a third peer arising out of a rejection on the part of the people, or of an anticipated rejection! I remember that, during the discussions of the Reform Bill, Mr. Baring urged, as an objection to it, that it might be difficult for men appointed to office to get re-elected. Mr. BARING overlooked the *certain resource* which the *peerage* presented. But, though Mr. BYNG should be made a lord of; or made into a lord; there would still be *an election* for Lord JOHN; and, it is by no means *certain*, that he would be able to obtain a seat for *Middlesex*.

However, elected he must be somewhere, cost what it may; for, if this be not done there is another change of Ministry; and the Tories come in *only to be turned out again*!

Faith! it is pretty nearly the END, I verily believe: even the most retired and quiet of the farmers now begin to think, that "*there must be a great change*"; and when they begin to think and say this, it is time for Mr. SPRING RICE to begin to look about him. Tradesmen and farmers, and such-like people, begin to talk to one another about the *probable duration of this affair*; they all look forward to some great public change; and nothing that they can hear of will surprise them. To this state the two factions have brought this nation; and they are now about to reap the fruit of their exploits.

ISAAC TOMKINS

AND

PETER JENKINS.

THERE are two pamphlets put forth under the names of Isaac Tomkins and Peter Jenkins, but which names are evidently feigned. They consist of a series of attacks on the aristocracy generally, descending down to their intercourse in private life; accusing them of supercilious conduct towards *men of learning and genius*, but who have not the circumstance of what is called high birth attached to them; and the writer remarks (for Isaac and Peter are both the same person) that Mr. *Canning* abhorred this aristocracy. The main charge of this writer is, that the aristocracy bears itself haughtily and insolently towards *literary men*; "*hommes de lettres*." Now, as far as my observation has gone, this is a most monstrous lie.

The fault of the aristocracy is not that of haughtiness and insolence towards inferiors in point of rank and wealth; their great fault is listening to and following the advice of servile literary men. They hate, or at least they treat with injustice whenever they can do it, every man of talent who thwarts them, or who will not act a supple part towards them. Like other men, they seek their own ease and the increase of their own possessions; and they have been ruined (for ruined they are) by becoming tools in the hands of crafty ruffians, who have inspired them with a jealousy and a fear of the common people, who are their natural friends, but who, by a long series of ill-treatment; of new and harsh laws; of calumnies heaped upon them; all the effect of the counsel of base and crafty upstarts; they are become, in consequence of these, the real enemies of the aristocracy; and have arrived at the opinion, that, to preserve themselves from the most degrading slavery, they must pull down this aristocracy.

This is the fault of the English aristocracy, whose character has been totally changed since the commencement of the war against France. *PAINÉ*, whose writings were so fascinating from their live-

liness and their force, wanted to pull down the aristocracy. The silly Government issued proclamations against his books. There was no such thing as suppressing his books. The people would read his books. The aristocracy believed that all the people had adopted his sentiments. Their infamous literary flatterers persuaded them that that was the case; and they have been at work ever since, as if they were contending against the people for the preservation of their estates and their titles; finding abundance of tools in the Isaac Tomkinses and the Peter Jenkinses. They have not been the inventors themselves of the divers acts of injustice and of insolence towards the people. These have always been suggested to them by upstarts, who have first prevailed upon them to believe that severity was necessary, and then prevailed upon them to adopt the severities. The damned funding system has swept away more than four-fifths of the gentry that were in existence fifty years ago. Sharp fellows with black pens behind their ears, and sharper parsons have come to supply their place; and it is become a sort of science to discover new and efficient modes of deducting from the enjoyments of the common people, of discovering new modes of imprisoning them, and of punishing them. Common people, or *commons*, as they were always called, have never wanted any change in the laws; the laws have all been changed by the aristocracy, at the suggestion of the servile upstarts. This last act of hostility towards the commons, the POOR-LAW BILL, was not the invention of the aristocracy. It was the invention of some base and servile wretch who wanted to make his court to the aristocracy; some "*hell-featured brawler*," I warrant, from the north of the Tweed, or the north corner of hell; some ugly devil, who, like Satan peeping through the pales of Paradise, viewing a country girl and a fellow as the devil himself did Adam and Eve, set himself to work to invent the means of their destruction; and it is very likely that this bill was invented by this *double-named monster himself*; indeed, this opinion seems to be warranted in some degree by

the neglect or disdain which he himself has received from the *female* part of the aristocracy! Now, though I know very little about these females, I must confess that their loathing of him is complimentary to their taste; for, to endure such a wretch is pretty nearly equal to surrendering herself, or themselves, to a *tête-à-tête* with a baboon.

This double-named monster, you can easily perceive, from his pamphlets, has *been cast off by the aristocracy*, they finding him really too bad to tolerate any longer. Hence all his rage against them; hence his appeal to that "*excellent middle class*," which he says is to supplant them. We always find, that, when such men are cast aside, from being tools, base, supple, servile tools, they become the most deadly weapons of hostility.* This scoundrel, *Tomkins-Jenkins*, would, I dare say, have starved old working-people to death, in order to spare the purses of the aristocracy; he would, I dare say, when he had starved them to death, have sold their carcasses to be cut up by human butchers; or, having reduced them to skeletons, would have sold them to make bone-manure to fertilize the fields, and augment the fortune of that "*excellent middle class*" belonging to the land, whom I have always called BULL-FROGS. The base rascal would, I dare say, have harassed, driven to despair, prostitution, destruction, and death, a servant-girl, for being illegitimately with child; while the infamous villain would have recommended the highest honours to be heaped upon *bastards in high life*. You can see that this is the disposition of the infamous ruffian. You can see that this *Tomkins-Jenkins* has been, by means like these, endeavouring to get a footing amongst the aristocracy; and you can plainly see that, having been cast off by them, he is now setting up the middle class, "*that excellent middle class*," against them; that he now wants to pull them down, women as well as men: it is quite ludicrous to hear the wretch complaining of the women: of their pride, their disdain, their supercilious bearing towards "men of merit"; that is to say, towards *Tomkins and Jenkins*. The aristocratical

females are, like all other females, pretty good judges of men as towards themselves and their sex; pretty sharp-sighted, pretty penetrating, and very much disposed to laugh at that "*intellectual wealth*," of which our little learned friend Mr Roebuck has such stores provided for this nation. It is possible that the brains of a good many men may be so bothered as to make them set a value upon *treasure* of this sort; but I defy the *doctrinaires* thus to bother the minds of the women. They, whatever levity may belong to them in certain cases, are never to be diverted, never to be bothered or bewildered by any thing fine-spun either in body or in mind. They trouble themselves very little about premises, and always come at once to conclusions. They look at the *effect*, without wasting their time in a philosophical inquiry into *causes*. The language of magpies is more intelligent to them than the rattle-brain stuff that would naturally come out of the lips of a fellow such as this *Tomkins-Jenkins* appears to be; and this rascal, with breath perhaps as foul as his skin may be dirty-coloured, and his features hell-born, is to fall hip-and-thigh even upon the females of the aristocracy, because they turn their heads aside or pinch up their noses when he approaches them.

Oh no! Mr. *Tomkins-Jenkins*, there's nothing about these females of a peculiar character. Like all other females, they follow the dictates of nature and the evidence of their senses; they prefer well-built men to screechy little things; they prefer handsome men to hell-featured brawlers; they prefer young men to old men, clean-looking skin to dirty-looking skin, and sweet breath to stinking breath. And having these natural tastes, like all the rest of their sex, and you finding that they set no sort of store upon that "*intellectual wealth*" that you, in common with our little learned friend Mr Roebuck, have such store of, you criticise and calumniate them, and would ~~tear~~ the whole order to pieces.

This is my answer to you, that the aristocracy have not excited the hostility of the people by anything arising out of their own *personal bearing towards the people*.

which I have always thought to be good; which is good even now, as far as they themselves are concerned; that they have been ruined in the opinions and feelings of the great body of the industrious part of the nation, by listening to the suggestions of monsters like you. But, to the people it is no difference in effect whether the injustice exercised upon them have proceeded from the disposition and desire of the aristocracy themselves, or from measures suggested to them by the servile and savage crew of whom you are one. The people know nothing of the reptiles who suggest these measures: they look up to the power which gives force to the suggestions; and therefore they have no right to blame the people; the hostility which exists against them is their own work; and if they were wise, if that pride which ought to have taken its leave of them when they at last became carcass-butchers of deer, and poulterers of game; if that pride did not still stick to them, they would at once change their conduct with regard to the people, and might yet be what their forefathers were. This is too much for a rational man to hope for; and, therefore, endeavouring to recover our own rights we must leave them to their fate; leave them to the Isaac Tomkinsons and Peter Jenkinsons, and take care of ourselves.

WRETCHED HUMBUG.

I do beseech my readers to attend to the following letter, from the *JERSEY DEPUTIES* to *LORD VERULAM*. The miserable lie about smuggling corn is here ably exposed.

*Colonnade Hôtel, Charles Street,
6. May, 1835.*

MY LORD,—Having seen in the *Morning Herald* of the 4. instant the report of a speech at an agricultural dinner at Hertford, attributed to your Lordship, and charging the inhabitants of Jersey, Guernsey, and Man with fraudulently introducing foreign corn into England, we take the liberty of intruding upon your

Lordship's attention, with a view of making you acquainted with the true state of the case. Your Lordship is reported to have said, that, to prevent entirely this surreptitious introduction of corn from Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, Mr. Baring had drawn out a Bill; that he was now out of office, but the present Government would, you had no doubt, prosecute it, "*because it could not benefit any Government to enable the rogue to enrich himself at the expense of the honest man.*" In this last observation we perfectly agree, trusting that your Lordship will equally agree with us that it cannot benefit any Government to commit an injustice on the weak and innocent, to take from them their good name, and then, on false grounds, rob them of their rights and property.

Now, my Lord, first separating Jersey and Guernsey from the Isle of Man, between which there is no connexion whatever, either geographical, agricultural, or commercial, we claim for the Channel Islands, which we represent; we claim for the inhabitants, who find themselves in the position of the weak and innocent above described; the common justice due alike to every part of his Majesty's dominions; due, not only from the Government, but from the Members of both Houses and therefore from your Lordship.

In common with many other distinguished supporters of the agricultural interest, your Lordship has been deceived by the report of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Baring, as the ground for his bill. And, by your Lordship's speech at Hertford, your Lordship has mainly, though innocently, assisted in propagating the groundless charges of fraud against the Islands which that report exhibits. We have the honour to enclose our observations on the said report, such as they have been submitted to his Majesty's Government, proving every part relating to the Channel Islands to be erroneous.

The Islands, my Lord, are free from blame. As their deputies, well acquainted with the facts of the case, we positively deny the existence of fraud. If a bill be persevered in, it must be on different

grounds; it must rest on the fact that, during the five years preceding 1834, the average amount of corn of all sorts imported annually from the Islands, as of their growth, into Great Britain, has been 2,237 qrs.; and be it well understood that the Islands have, and always had, the undoubted right to make such an importation.

Is it to be believed, that, in a country consuming from forty to fifty millions of quarters annually, three, four, five, or six thousand quarters should be supposed by any man as likely to affect the prices of corn or the interests of the agriculturists? Many of the latter entertain, however, an idea that all this may be very true, but that prices could never be reduced so low as they are, if there were not great illegal importations of corn, or more probably flour, in some way or other.

No flour is shipped from the islands for Great Britain, and there can be but two ways in which foreign corn can be illegally conveyed from the islands to Great Britain.

The first, by making foreign corn pass for Jersey or Guernsey corn.

The second, by the clandestine introduction or smuggling of foreign corn from the Islands into Great Britain.

The first mode is rendered impossible by the insular regulations and practice; it is not by one general certificate taken at the time of shipment that the corn is cleared out, as being the growth of the Island; every grower, of the very smallest quantity, must himself appear before the magistrate to swear that he is the grower of the corn by him sold to the merchant or shipper; and as the estates are very small it requires the oaths of twenty, thirty, or forty growers to attest respectively the growth of each man's part of the general shipment. After which the shipper himself must certify that his shipment is composed of the same corn as that purchased of the several growers whose names are on the back of the shipper's certificate, and whose certificates before taken on oath are then deposited with the magistrate. The growers, and the extent of their lands being well known, no fraud could be practised without the certainty of detec-

tion. The trifling quantities of corn entering the ports of England free of duty show that no fraud is committed that way.

Here it must not be said that in matters of smuggling no reliance is to be placed in Custom-house returns; this maxim, which is true in ordinary cases of smuggling articles subject to high duties, such as spirits, tea, or tobacco, and where the object is to avoid notice, and to evade by stealth the payment of duty; this maxim, true in those cases, will by no means apply to articles which, like our corn, are entitled to a privilege of exemption from duty on importation, and which privilege can only be enjoyed and usefully exercised by means of Custom-house clearances and returns. It is idle, therefore, to pretend that large quantities of foreign corn are, or can be, introduced in England under the denomination of corn grown in the Islands; none can be so introduced, and the quantity of island corn itself imported, can never exceed the amount stated in the Custom-house returns, for it is only through these that the corn can be exempted from duty.

The second mode, that of landing the corn on the coast of England clandestinely, in the same manner as smugglers land spirits or tobacco, must appear on the least reflection to be impracticable from the Islands. There is no temptation for the engaging in such a traffic. Corn bears no price in England that would by any means compensate for the risk and expense of transporting so bulky, and so perishable an article.

Supposing a difference of ten, fifteen, or twenty shillings per quarter in the price of wheat in England over the price in the Islands; the risk and charges would absorb the greater part of this difference; but suppose it all profit to be divided between the eight bushels of sixty pounds, and compare the profit of two shillings per pound on tobacco, fine tea, or other goods that might be smuggled, and judge if it be likely that corn will be thought of by the smuggler as an eligible article for him to traffick upon.

No, my lord, it is not from the surreptitious introduction of corn from the Islands that danger can arise. If any in-

troductio could be effected clandestinely, it would take place; not from the Islands, where the corn must be brought at risk and expense from Germany, Holland, and Belgium, and when arrived, not be so conveniently situated as before; not, therefore, from the Islands, but from the ports of the countries themselves in which corn is at the lowest price, and which ports lie so advantageously for introducing it on the whole of the eastern coast of England. The proximity of these ports, the price at which corn may there be purchased, so much lower than in the islands, or even in France, all the circumstances of the case must make it evident that it is not from the Islands that any fraudulent importation of corn can be apprehended.

The depression in the prices of agricultural produce may be ascribed to various causes; pretty certain it is, however, that neither legal nor illegal importations of foreign corn are of the number, and still more certain it is that the Channel Islands can have no connexion whatever with any of those causes.

We have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,
humble servants,

DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK,

Bailiff of Guernsey.

THOMAS LE BRETON,

Attorney-General of Jersey.

J. LE COUTEUR,

Jurat of the Royal Court of Jersey.

The Right Hon the Earl of Verulam, &c.

POLICE WORK IN THE COUNTRY.

It appears that some policemen, or persons connected with the London police have been sent to Stow-on-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire, in consequence of a murder committed there some time ago. On the 25. of March the following memorial was presented to the Secretary of State, from the people of Stow. The affair of the murder was brought to a conclusion; but the policemen remain there and exercise their authority, as stated in the memorial. In consequence

of the memorial, Lord John Russell appears to have caused a letter to be written to the gentleman who was the bearer of it. I lay these documents before my readers as giving us a specimen of the effects of a "*rural police*." I have long seen that the intention was to establish such a police. I know very well what the consequences would be, or *will be*, if it be attempted. There must be a very great change in the system of governing this country; this is what everybody says, and a thing to be desired is that it may take place without the previous most dreadful irritation which attempts of this sort would inevitably produce. However, I have done my duty with regard to this police; I have endeavoured to prevent any attempt such as that which has been made at Stow; let those who determine upon making the attempt take the consequences.

THE MEMORIAL.

We the undersigned, voters under the Reform Bill, householders, and others residing within the liberties of Stow-on-the-Wold, and hamlet of Mangersbury, as well as others, contributors to the rates of the said parishes, respectfully solicit the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, to take into consideration these our sentiments in regard to the immediate recal of the police establishment lately sanctioned by the Home Department, in a further continuance of their duties within the precincts of the lord of this manor, as well as within the ancient jurisdiction of the Court Leet.

First. The objects which led to the introduction of the Metropolitan Police towards furthering the ends of criminal jurisprudence, is duly appreciated, and hereby gratefully acknowledged to Government; but as the object of their errand is accomplished, the necessity for their continuance ceases.

Secondly. The undersigned view and hear with latent feelings of dissatisfaction, various petty transactions of arbitrary and vexatious interference on the part of a foreign constabulary force, towards the industrious classes. In fact, where much is alleged something must be true.

Thirdly. Officious bearing towards the

inhabitants, contrary to English habits, and tending to destroy or disturb, the principle of the liberty of the subject.—*The Palladium of our Constitutional Rights.*

Fourthly. Indiscreet inquisitiveness, having for drift to disunite good fellowship, as well as casting imputations upon fathers of families, amongst the industrious, thereby inflicting on them dismay, distrust, and want of confidence, in the trade of Stow, which by them is in part supported; thus imposing on them the necessity of purchasing elsewhere in the adjoining towns and villages those necessities of life hitherto procured at Stow, after the toil of the day, for their families, rather than run the risk of outrageous detention or insulting insinuation, as *turning a light in the face of a man or woman*, in their visits to the shops of Stow after dark.

Fifthly. The undersigned submit to the mature judgment of the right honourable the Secretary of State the foregoing article, as one of the main features of their grievance, or “where the shoe pinches”; as also with innate feelings, that no king or queen of England has ever suffered the slightest reflection to be cast on them, nor would the undersigned sanction it for a moment; therefore, as such are their real sentiments, the right honourable the Secretary of State will be pleased to consider why it should be permitted for a moment upon the people, from whom the throne derives its lustre; and in conclusion, they beg to observe, that if the administrators of the law do not command respect in themselves, they consider, that it is not by all the bolstering up in the world by the martial law that will ever make the civil power respected.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Whitehall, 21. April, 1835.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15 instant, transmitting a Petition, soliciting the Secretary of State to take into consideration the sentiments therein expressed, “in regard to the immediate recal of the Police Establishments lately sanctioned by the

“Home Department, in a further continuance of their duties within the precincts of the lord of this manor (Stow-on-the-Wold and Hamlet of Maugersbury), as well as within the ancient jurisdiction of the Court Leet”; and to inform you that the Secretary of State has not given any directions for sending any member of the Metropolitan Constabulary into the district above referred to, and the Secretary of State is informed that no persons holding appointments in the Police are employed there.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

S. M. PHILLIPS.

C. H. Ackerley, Esq.
Crescent, Maugersbury, Stow.

SEED-WHEAT.

THE following very interesting article on the cultivation of *wheat for seed* I most earnestly recommend to my readers.

Three years ago Colonel LE COUTEUR, one of the Deputies from the island of Jersey, became acquainted with Professor La Gasca, one of the most celebrated botanists in Europe, who had been Curator of the Royal Gardens at Madrid, and obliged to leave Spain, where he is again restored to his friends, and to his former situation.

The Professor was then growing about 80 sorts of wheat in the garden of Mr. Saunders, nurseryman in Jersey. Their variety, classification, and beauty, struck Mr. Le Couteur, who sought to acquire all the information he could from Professor La Gasca. The latter told him that for the last twenty-five years he had been employed in studying the properties and character of wheat, and had collected in the Royal Gardens upwards of nine hundred varieties and sub-varieties.

He came to Col. Le Couteur's farm, and picked out more than twenty sorts out of three fields, then (in August) growing; and gave daily all the instruction and information wanted by Mr. Le Couteur, who resolved on profiting by such an opportunity, and began seriously to cultivate the important plant of wheat, so

as to procure the several sorts distinct from each other, and keep notes of the experiments made on the culture, produce, weight of the grain, and qualities of the corn, flour, and straw.

Colonel Le Couteur has kept a most minute account of his experiments, and taken the greatest care to preserve the best sorts and in their purity. He has in London nineteen varieties of the greatest beauty, and such as the frequenters of Mark-lane say could not be matched in England for purity. They consist in,

No.

1. White compact. Tremois, or Spring Wheat.
2. Red Tremois, or ditto.
3. Long eared ditto.
4. Dantzic.—Winter Wheats. *Triticum Hybernium*.
5. Small round ditto.
6. White Seedling. *Coturianum Hybernium*.
7. *Kœleri Loturianum*.
8. *Kœleri Red*.
9. *Kœleri White*.
10. Long-eared Liver-coloured.
11. Red compact.
12. Golden.
13. *Kœleri Compactum Belvuensis*.
14. *Cesariensis*.
15. (No 6. c.)
16. Red ear (white grain or Sark wheat).
17. Red compact. (No. 9.)
18. *Kœleri* (sub-yellow).
19. (No. 11.)

The Colonel, after three years' experience, has arrived at this conclusion, that the proper cultivation of wheat is yet unknown or unpractised.

That it is of consequence to keep the several sorts to grow apart, because they all ripen at different periods; and that bread made of ripe and unripe corn could neither be so wholesome or nutritious as when made of ripe corn, without the mixture of that which had not well ripened.

That each sort requires, or will thrive best in, a particular soil and situation adapted to each.

That one ear of a superior variety, sowed grain by grain and suffered to tiller apart, produced four pounds nine ounces of wheat.

Whereas, another ear of an inferior sort, treated in the same manner, produced only one pound thirteen ounces.

Hence it is of importance to select the sorts that are the most farinaceous and productive.

That by sowing each sort apart they might be easier saved and harvested in rotation, some sorts ripening a fortnight before the others.

The same quantity of wheat of a farinaceous kind may maintain a family of fifteen persons twelve months; where the same quantity of another kind, though apparently fine corn, will maintain them only nine months.

From the superior soil and climate of the Channel Islands, Colonel Le Couteur thinks that, by growing none but the best kinds and keeping them perfectly true and pure, the Islands might be made to produce the most approved seed-corn for Great Britain.

The Islands might thus become of the greatest benefit to the United Kingdom, and can never be objects of jealousy, as to the fear of large importations from them, since the extent of all the land susceptible of cultivation in all the Channel Islands together does not much exceed 25,000 acres, and that the greater part must necessarily be occupied by the meadows, orchards, and vegetable gardens of all sorts, absolutely necessary for a population of more than sixty thousand inhabitants.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AMONGST THE MONEY-MONGERS.

THE DINNER given to him by that band of fellows, called the *Merchant Tailors' Company*, brought forth the following SPEECH. I publish it, because we may have to refer to it, as an exposition of his present views; But, in truth, it says *nothing*, and he finds that he can say nothing, *specific*. Had he remained in power, he could not have *got on*: and if he put out the present set, he will not be able to go on *with this system* of CURRENCY and TAXATION. He never will look at the country. He will see no-

body of consequence but the money-mongers. He will not see, that, if agriculture be in misery, all must be in misery, in the end. After his speech, I shall insert a very able essay on the MALT-TAX, from Wales. Let him read this, and he will see, that, in the long run, he must yield upon this point; or be again, if he come into power, driven from it.

DINNER TO SIR ROBERT PEELE.

Yesterday the long-contemplated dinner was given at Merchant Tailors'-hall, by an assemblage of merchants, bankers, and traders of London. There were five tables, extending the whole length of the hall, for the entertainers. The cross-table at the top was for the guests. It was occupied by the following individuals: The Chairman, J. Masterman, Esq. supported on the right by Sir Robert Peel, the Lord Mayor, Earl de Grey, Viscount Sandon, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Abinger, E. Drummond, Esq., late secretary to Sir Robert Peel, Thomas Venables, Esq., late secretary to Sir Robert Peel, Rev. W. Wilson, chaplain for the occasion, John Masterman, jun. Esq.; and on the left by the Duke of Wellington, Marquis Camden, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Canterbury, Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Ashburton, Right Hon. Sir John Beckett, Bart., M.P., Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, Bart., M.P., Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, K.C.B., John Horsley Palmer, Esq., late Governor of the Bank, W. Ormsby Gore, Esq., M.P., Right Hon. Frederick Shaw, M.P., Right Hon. G. R. Dawson, and the Right Hon. W. Yates Peel, M.P.

The first toast was "Church and King." It was received with the most enthusiastic applause.

"The Queen" was next drunk.

After that, "The Princess Victoria and the rest of the Royal Family."

Then came the "Navy and the Army."

To all of which toasts appropriate glees were sung.

The Chairman (John Masterman), after prefacing the toast in a strain of, highly-wrought panegyric, proposed the health of their distinguished guest, Sir Robert Peel, (Most enthusiastic cheering).

SIR ROBERT PEELE said, Gentlemen, with a deep feeling of pride and satisfaction by which I must necessarily be animated; there does mix, as you may all well believe, one painful feeling that springs from the consciousness that any language of mine must be totally inadequate to express the magnitude and intensity of my sensations in addressing you upon the present occasion. (Loud cheers). Gentlemen, I well know that these are the trite and ordinary excuses made by the ordinary festive speaker upon occasions like the present, but if you will only be good enough to place yourselves in my situation, if you will only recollect that I was alone in this company, that I remained seated while all the rest of you were standing, that I remained silent while all the rest of you were enthusiastically uttering your genial approbation, that I was conscious that all your kindly attention and consideration and deep feeling was concentrated upon myself, if you will recollect that I am a public man, that I am a man of the people, that I derive, I will not say my chief, my only strength from public applause and public confidence; that I am moreover a man who looks for no reward for public services excepting only public approbation (loud cheers), who aspires to no dignity except in all honesty and purity the good opinion of his fellow-subjects, the sound good opinion I mean, as distinguished from the paltry and fleeting popularity, which may be gained at the moment, even by the weakest and most contemptible, in pandering or succumbing to faction (loud cheers), or even to more meekly and gently attempting at once to flatter and inflame the people's prejudices. (Loud cheers). I say, then, that if you will take all these considerations and circumstances into your attention, you may be well able to believe, that although the excuse I have offered you for my deficiency in power adequately to respond to your great kindness may be trite, though it may be in the ordinary phraseology of speakers in complimentary assemblages, yet upon this peculiar occasion it is perfectly consistent with truth, and that I do feel myself unable to satisfy myself in pouring forth to you my heart-

felt thanks for the honour which you have vouchsafed to confer upon me. (Loud and continued cheering). But let me not be suspected of idle egotism, nor be it supposed on the other hand, that I have been elated into a forgetfulness of myself. I have not been so misled by the suggestions of personal vanity as to attribute to myself, or any deserts of mine, the origin of this meeting, or the feeling which you have this evening expressed. I agree with our worthy chairman in thinking that the deputation which I received from so large a body of the merchants, bankers, and traders of this city was quite sufficient for me. It asserted the principle by which I was animated: it bore with it, in the approbation of my fellow-citizens, my reward. (Loud cheers). I wanted no other demonstration of public feeling (hear, hear), and if I could regard this meeting as merely a demonstration of personal compliment, I should feel little satisfied. (Cheers). No, Sir, I regard it as a demonstration of public feeling from London. (Loud cheers). I do think that public principle may be promoted by this meeting. (Cheers). I do think, Sir, that the impulse which has been given in this centre of the commercial world (cheers), the vital impulse must thrill to every extremity of the British empire. (Cheers). I repeat, Sir, that the throes of this mighty heart must, as they act, send the wholesome life blood of sound doctrine and good principle to every atom of the corporate body of the United Kingdom. (Continued cheering). Gentlemen, I understand that by assembling here to-day you have shown an attachment to the ancient institutions of the country, and a firm resolution to maintain those principles which are interwoven with the safety of those institutions, and the security of prosperity in this empire. (Cheers). I understood that it was in some degree incumbent upon you to come forth in this manner, because you do not happen to have any publicly recognised organ through whom your sentiments could be expressed. (Loud cheers). When I consider that this great meeting, abounding as it does in wealth, abounding in intelligence, abounding in respectability, there

is not one single member out of the eighteen allotted for the metropolitan districts to represent your opinions, I certainly am much grieved, and I confess something astonished. (Cheers and laughter). I might speak, too, even of your numbers. The hall has been taxed to the utmost extent of its accommodation, and if there were room for ten times a greater number of gentlemen within these walls, we should have had them present. (Great cheering). And yet you and your friends had not the good fortune to secure a single representative to yourselves out of the whole eighteen, by whom your opinions could be spoken, through whom your just and legitimate influence could be exercised. (Loud cheers). In order, therefore, that there should be no misconstruction of your silence, you feel it necessary to speak through other organs than those which the new representative system has provided for you (cheers), and in the fullness of this conviction, it is that I come forward to lend my humble countenance to this meeting. (Great cheering). And, gentlemen, it is because this is a public occasion, and because we are met to promote a public object, that I am disposed to detain you by some further observations, by some allusions to the state of public affairs (cheers), and I am sure, considering the nature of our assemblage, you will pardon me for so doing, notwithstanding the approaching meeting of Parliament. (Continued cheers). And, gentlemen, what I shall say will be spoken by me as one of yourselves (cheers), not as a candidate for office. (Loud and continued cheers). I shall speak to you as a British subject, feeling a tenfold greater interest in the good government of the country generally than in any emoluments he could possibly derive from office (great cheering), a man who has a tenfold greater desire for the maintenance of the opinions he professes, and conscientiously believes, and fancies he clearly understands, than for any advantages which adverse individuals may dream he could have by the acquisition of office. (Enthusiastic cheering). I believe, indeed, that there is no greater mistake than that persons situated as I happen to be are so very anxious for office. (Hear,

hear, and laughter). Some fancy that the wholesome rest of every politician is broken by his feverish longing for office (Hear, hear, and laughter). If I were to speak from my own experience I should tell a different tale. (Hear, hear). There is to me nothing in office abstractedly to compensate for its labours and inconveniences, its annoyances, and its deep anxieties (Cheers). Away, then, sir, with the presumptuous assertion that men who are fit for office would not at any time rather decline it than consent to any sacrifice of opinion to any compromise of character. (Long-continued cheering). There has been a great deal said about court intrigue and court favouritism. It is quite as ridiculous as this morbid anxiety of honest and independent men for office (Cheers). The fact is, that to an individual like myself office imposes nothing but the heaviest sacrifices which a man can make, sacrifices for which it offers no compensation. (Cheers). That office holds out great advantages to the ambitious mind I will not deny; but are there not without office equal, if not greater means of distinction in public life? (Cheers). For myself, in taking office, I was urged by nothing but a sense of public duty, and from the desire not to shrink from that which it is incumbent on every British subject to do to serve his King, when called upon, to the utmost of his ability and power. (Loud cheers). Whilst I declare the inconveniences of public service, I at the same time hope and know that his Majesty has not a more zealous servant than I. (Cheers). I am ready to give, and I have given, his Majesty as sincere and as independent support and as liberal services as any other man in any other capacity can have possibly given him. (Loud cheers). The chief advantage, perhaps, arising to me from office is, that I have had the good fortune of being connected in power, I should say in civil life, with that great military man whose fame exceeds that of any other conqueror (cheers), a man from whom I never have been separated by any difference on political subjects, and with whom my connexion never has been embittered by the slightest touch of paltry jealousy (loud cheers); and if I hope that, connected

as I have been with him in civil appointments, I should have the happiness to have my name transmitted with his to after ages, it would be the chief pride, the dearest gratification of my heart. (Enthusiastic cheers). But I feel that I have been straying from the subject immediately before us, the present state of public affairs. Allow me to speak to you not as a party man, but as one of yourselves, and to submit to you plain opinions in plain language. (Loud and continued cheers). I prefer this, and I am sure so will you, to that elaborate concatenation of phrases which is sometimes called eloquence, in which you have the smallest possible quantity of common sense enveloped in the greatest multitude of equivocal words. (Cheers and laughter). In one word, I say to you there is at present danger to the institutions of this country (great cheering), danger, to the form of government under which we have lived and prospered. (Continued cheering). But it is in your power and that of those who think with you and fill your situations in the country, to avert the danger. (Continued cheering). It is in your power by exertion and by the exercise of those functions which the constitution has left to you to mitigate, if not altogether to remove, the evil. (Loud cheers). My opinion is, that the danger can be only met by your gaining an effectual influence in the popular branch of the legislature (Hear, hear). We shall only aggravate the evil if we attempt to deceive ourselves. Let us not indulge in any useless lamentations. Let us waste no time in regretting that which is beyond our remedy. This is quite idle. But if we cease to take a desponding view of public affairs, all will be yet well. Though you may not be able to exercise that influence to which you are legitimately entitled, yet hesitate not to strain every nerve in using all the privileges which remain to you. (Cheers). Act like Englishmen, and if you will only do so, I am confident, from your national spirit and indomitable resolution, that the country will be rescued from the dangers by which it is at present so closely enveloped. (Cheers). I warn you that you must not place a firm reliance upon

the prerogative of the Crown, on the influence or the authority of the House of Lords. The prerogative of the one, the authority of the other, are constitutionally potent in controlling the powers of the lower House, but you must not now-a-days depend upon them as bulwarks which are impassable, and which can be committed without apprehension to the storm and struggle of events. The Government of the country, and the mode in which it is conducted, allow me to tell you, must mainly depend upon the constitution of the House of Commons; I again say the royal prerogative, the authority of the House of Lords, are most useful, nay, necessary, in our mixed and balanced constitution. But you must not strain those powers. You do not want to see a government conducted concurrently with a series of disputes between the several branches of the legislature. You would rather see them moving in that harmonious manner which insures the utility of each, and the efficiency of all. (Loud cheers). I ask you, then, to take means to assert in the House of Commons those principles which we believe to be just, and to exercise that authority to which you are fairly entitled. (Cheers). On taking office I avowed my determination to abide by the Reform Bill. I trust I have redeemed that pledge. (Loud cheers). On this broad constitutional principle my friends and I acted. We acted in the spirit of that Reform Bill. When we found that we had not the confidence of the House of Commons, although the array against us was miscellaneous in the extreme, although the majority was small, we felt it our duty to resign. (Cheers). However strongly we might have opposed the elective system before, we now adhered to our pledge: we not only gave the Reform Bill a fair trial, but we regarded it as a constitutional settlement of a great question. (Loud cheers). We did not entertain the idea of governing the country against a majority of the Reformed House of Commons. (Cheers). Allow me then to recommend you all, in common with myself, to refrain from flatterer ourselves with any distant hope of altering the present system; let us not seem to threaten, even in thought, those

who have acquired new rights with the forfeiture of that acquisition. Let us stand by the constitution as it exists at present. (Cheers). Let us never hint at alteration, or raise a secret doubt by our conduct, even in the minds of the most suspicious. I may venture to prophecy to you that the proposition for change will come from the other side. (Great and continued cheering). If it should come, it will never come from anybody excepting some one of those who were themselves the authors of that Reform Bill. (Great cheering). Ay, it will come from them, and the moment, perhaps, is not far distant; the moment they have ascertained the Bill is not likely to answer the purposes they had in view; the moment they see it is not potent to exclude the influence of what we call Conservative principles. (Continued cheering). Allow me to say to you, gentlemen, that your duty will be to use every just constitutional influence which you possess. There must be no laziness, no apathy, and, above all, no despondency. (Loud cheers). Do not agitate the minds of men by new discussions as to the foundation of the principles of government, and so forth. Do not affect the feelings of those who have acquired new privileges either by direct threats, or by the more sinister and unmanly mode of intimating an intention to fritter down these privileges hereafter. (Loud cheers). But I have said enough upon this subject: I do not despair that if we continue to exert ourselves here, if we set an example to the empire, it will, in all its parts, be before long animated by the kindly constitutional and truly English feelings which are here displayed. (Loud cheers). You must try above all things to regain your influence in the House of Commons, not as your enemies would say by bribery and corruption and unworthy means, but by going forth and giving a frank exposition of your principles (cheers); and by showing that there is nothing selfish in your support of institutions under which we all live, and the rights which we all enjoy. We of course avow this, I apprehend, that we are not interested in the maintenance of any abuse (cheers), that we are willing to correct every abuse (cheers), and to con-

cur in the application of the best remedy which can possibly be devised for that purpose. (Cheers). We hold, I apprehend, that no public office ought to be maintained for the purpose of patronage; that they can only be vindicated on the ground of their being necessary to the public service. (Cheers). We want no sinecures. (Loud cheers). We want no more amount of salary for the reward of any public men than that which may be sufficient for securing integrity and competence in the discharge of important official duties. (Cheers). We deny that we are separated by any line of interest, or by any other line of demarcation, from the middling classes of this country. (Cheers). Why, who are we, or at least nine-tenths of those who are here assembled, that any one should tell us that we have an interest separate from those of the middling classes of society? (Cheers). If we don't belong to the middling classes of society, I want to know how wide the interval may be that is presumed to separate us? (Cheers). Speaking in behalf of nine-tenths at least of those assembled within these walls, I say we disclaim any separation from the middling classes of society in this country (loud cheers); and if circumstances may appear to have elevated us above them, to what, I venture to ask, is that elevation in our case owing? (Cheers). Either on our own part, or on the part of our immediate forefathers, it is owing to nothing else but to the exercise of those qualities of diligence, the love of order, of industry, of integrity (cheers), which secure to every member of the middle classes of society the opportunities of elevation and distinction in this great community (cheers); and it is because we stand in our present situation, it is because we owe our elevation in society to those qualities to which I have alluded, and because we feel that the same elevation may still be secured by the same means, that we feel our interests identified with theirs, and by the blessing of God are determined to keep open to them those same avenues that have been opened to ourselves (cheers), nor will allow their course to be obstructed by men who want to secure the same advantages by dishonest means.

(Loud and continued cheering). Gentlemen, while on this subject will you allow me to recal to your recollection what was the grand charge against myself: that the King had sent for the son of a cotton-spinner to Rome, in order to make him Prime Minister of England. (Cheers). Did I feel that by any means a reflection on me? Did that make me at all discontented with the laws and institutions of the country? No; but does it not make me, and ought it not to make you, gentlemen, do all you can to reserve to other sons of other cotton-spinners (loud cheers) the same opportunities, by the same system of laws under which this country has so long flourished, of arriving by the same honourable means at the like distinction. (Loud cheers). We are charged with having some interest in the perpetuation of abuses. Why, can there be any one with a greater interest than we have that the public burdens should be as much lightened as can possibly be consistent with the maintenance of the public engagements? (Cheers). We are represented as fattening on the public income. Looking to this company, and to those associated with it in feeling, is there any one motive, I ask, connected with the increase of the public revenue that can countervail the interest we have in the reduction of the public burdens? (Cheers). We therefore, I say, have a direct, a superior interest to any other in the correction of every abuse and the application of every just economical remedy; but consistently with those feelings, consistently with that determination to correct real abuses, and to consult real economy, we do not disguise that it is our firm resolution to maintain to the utmost of our power the limited monarchy of this country (cheers); to respect the rights of every branch of the legislature (cheers); to maintain inviolate the united church of England and Ireland (loud cheers); to maintain it as a predominant establishment (renewed cheers); meaning by predominance not the denial of civil rights to other classes of the community, but maintaining it in the possession of its property and of all its just privileges. (Cheers). Such it is our firm resolution to preserve it, submitting to no compro-

mise (cheers). and exercising every privilege which the constitution as intrusted to us supplies for its legitimate maintenance and support. (Loud and continued cheering). We make that appeal to the middling classes of the community; we make that appeal to those who are the depositaries of the elective franchise (Cheers). We tell them that it is not only our determination to resist any direct attack on those institutions, but that we are also resolved that we will not permit the ancient institutions of this country (cheers); the mitigated monarchy, consisting of three branches of the legislature, we are determined that we will not allow it to be changed by specious propositions of Reform (loud cheers) into a democratic republic. (Loud cheers). We will not allow, if we can prevent it; we will not allow, by any the most plausible pretext, such an infusion of democracy into the institutions of this country as shall essentially change their theory, and by slow degrees deprive us of the advantages we have so long enjoyed under our limited monarchy and ancient institutions. (Cheers). Now, gentlemen, that is what I apprehend by the Conservative principle (loud cheers); and such is the ground on which we make an appeal to the country at large for the maintenance of our principles. (Continued cheers). We tell all, in whatever class of life they may be, that they ought to feel as deep an interest in the maintenance of those principles as any of the politicians or men of property who are now within my hearing. (Cheers). The encouragement of industry depends on the maintenance of those principles. (Cheers). The preservation of order depends on this not less than the maintenance of that security which has hitherto led men through honest industry to accumulate property in this country. (Loud cheers). And now that the feelings excited by a late political contest have subsided, I cannot help entertaining a sincere hope and belief, disclaiming any intention of interfering improperly with the political franchise, there is still that fund of good sense in this community that will enable you, if not to gain a predominating influence in the Commons House of Parlia-

ment, still to acquire that degree of influence that shall control and prevent many bad projects. (Loud cheers). My advice to you, then, is, not to permit past differences on political subjects now to prevent a cordial union with those who take a similar view with yourselves on matters of immediately pressing emergency. (Cheers). There are many questions on which you formerly differed now settled; but there are still many public men from whom you formerly differed, and who now agree with you that the Reform Bill is not to be made a platform from which a new battery is to be directed against the institutions of this country. (Cheers). And if they agree with you on that point, if they wish to correct real abuses, still determined to maintain the ancient principles in which the constitution of the country is founded, to protect the interests of order and property, my advice to you is, not to allow past differences to obstruct an harmonious and real union for the preservation of all that remains. (Loud cheers). Gentlemen, I ought to apologize for detaining you so long, and I shall not now much longer prevent my hon. Friend the Chairman, from proceeding with the remainder of the toasts. (Cheers). But, in conclusion, let me entreat you to recollect the associations connected with the place where we are now assembled. From this place a voice issued in 1793 of memorable moment, a voice in support of the ancient principles of the British monarchy (cheers); a voice which enabled the Ministers of the day to check the contagion of democratic and French principles, then in their rage. I call on you to remember the motto under which you are assembled, *Concordia parvæ res crescunt*: however little your influence now may be, by firm union, by determined perseverance, you will overcome all difficulties, and rally around you a thousand arms to fight in the same cause. (Loud cheers). Proclaim to the country, from this the centre of the metropolis, that, entertaining principles of moderation, you still will stand by the ancient walls, the ancient landmarks of the constitution (cheers); that you will rally round the monarchy, and protect it in its just prerogatives, protect

the independent exercise of the House of Lords (loud cheers), and maintain firm and inviolable the rights of the established church. (Cheers). You will stand by, in the emphatic language of acts of Parliament, the Protestant government and Protestant religion of this country. (Cheers). Elevating that voice, maintaining those principles, as I must contend so moderate, so just, so necessary, so rational, depend upon it the voice you raise will be re-echoed from every part of this country; and the pulsation of the heart of this great corporate community will vibrate through every artery of this happy and mighty empire. (The right hon Baronet sat down, amidst loud and long-protracted cheering).

ON THE MALT TAX.

Glamorganshire, March 31, 1835.

MR. EDITOR,—There are few recent instances in which the eloquence of a single speech has produced so great an effect on the opinions of the community, upon any public measure, as the speech of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, on the Marquis of Chandos's motion for the repeal of the above tax. We now find many warm supporters of the agricultural interests, Whigs, as well as Tories, appealing to that speech to justify their abandonment of former convictions. The public press also, with few exceptions, are equally loud, either in eulogizing it, as proving the policy in the tax, or in impugning the motives of those who continue to adhere to their former opinions; and still believe that the agriculturists, and the labouring classes, have the strongest claims for its repeal. Being one of the former, whom the speech of the right hon. Baronet, has failed to convince, and observing that you also remain firm to former convictions on the same point, I have taken the liberty of troubling you with the following observations on the subject. I have now before me a revised copy of that speech in a separate pamphlet, and much as I admire the ingenuity of its arrangement, and the ability displayed in it, yet, Sir, I trust I shall be able to prove that a great portion of its

most important arguments rest on fallacious grounds.

Let me premise, Sir, that although I differ with the right hon Baronet on this question, yet I entertain a very high opinion of his splendid talents; and whether the malt-tax is repealed or not, I consider his great knowledge and experience in the affairs of this nation eminently qualify him, with the guidance and assistance of a reformed Parliament, to occupy his present distinguished situation.

In the first place, I find that great stress is laid on the impropriety of bringing this question forward previous to the Minister's financial statement; also, because, "the noble Marquis had called upon the House to exclude the consideration of every other interest." Does not his Majesty in his speech, I would ask, deplore the distress of the agriculturists; and trusts that the burdens, which now unequally press upon them, will be lightened. In the same manner did the King's speech of last year deplore this distress, no reference being made in either of them to the distress of any other interest. Now, Sir, we all know the result of patiently waiting last year, for these financial statements, which was the repeal of the *house-tax*. As I cannot for one moment doubt the sincerity of those speeches from the throne, and believing that the subjects referred to in them are intended for the consideration of Parliament, the noble Marquis must have been fully justified in taking this interest into consideration to the exclusion of others; and if this tax ought to be repealed, the sooner it was determined upon the better, to afford the Minister time for finding a substitute before his financial statement was framed.

But the main grounds upon which the worthy baronet appears to rest his case, are "the altered habits, and new tastes of the community," in now preferring tea and gin to beer, and refers with much confidence to the increased consumption of those articles. He then asserts that the removal of this tax would only afford an imaginary benefit to the farmer. In another part of his speech, he observes, "that we have no grounds to complain of the malt-tax, for that the price of barley is higher in proportion than any

other grain, and for the last two or three years, has been gradually advancing; why then," he asks, "disturb the tax? and what grounds have you for hoping that barley subject to the tax being very high, and wheat subject to no tax being very low, the removal of the tax on barley will ensure a rise in the price of it"? Indeed the triumphant manner in which the hon. Baronet referred to this point, led me almost to expect that he would have concluded by proposing a duty of some hundred per cent. on wheat, with the view of advancing the price of this grain also to the grower.

I admit that the consumption of malt had greatly reduced in the last century, since the tax became so high; and for the past three years is again gradually increasing, but as the worthy baronet has carefully abstained from any reference to what I conceive to be the *real cause* of this change, I will endeavour to supply that deficiency. The habits and tastes of the lower classes, Sir, were changed by taxing that beverage, which had ever been the boast and favourite of Englishmen, near five hundred per cent., advancing the pot or quart of beer below $1\frac{1}{4}$ d., to 6d. and 7d.,* which held forth such temptation to adulterate the article, that the community after being compelled for many years to drink the most noxious liquor, composed of deleterious drugs,† as a substitute for malt and hops, gave it up in disgust. This iniquitous system, and to the wants and necessities of the labouring poor the most cruel, was partially mitigated by the removal of the beer duties. Now mark the result, although the English labourer had been thus deprived for so long a period of his native and

wholesome beverage, and had acquired a taste for tea and spirits; yet we find him, on the first opportunity returning gradually to his old beverage, which I contend is the real cause of the increased demand for barley ever since that tax was removed. It is true that hitherto he has only been permitted to get the article through the medium of those sinks of iniquity, the beer-shops; but had the comforts and morals of himself and family been taken at all into the account, he would have been allowed to enjoy it with his meals at his own fire-side, where only it would be to him a real blessing.

In the next place, I find the rates of duty imposed upon sundry articles of foreign production is given: for instance, port and sherry eighty-five per cent; coffee, sixty-three; tea, one hundred, &c. I grieve exceedingly to see an article, the staple produce of this country, the annual value of which to the consumer may be fairly estimated at twenty millions sterling, and yielding employment to upwards of one hundred thousand families, placed in juxtaposition as an object of taxation with the produce of foreign capital, and foreign labour. What, Sir, is the growth of our own fields, and the produce of our own taxed labourer not to have some preference in our own markets over the vineyards of Spain and Portugal, and the tea gardens of China? Must we ever continue to bow the knee to the despots of those countries for leave to expend our millions sterling in the purchase of their commodities to supplant the skill and industry of our own husbandmen? The average rate of duty on the two latter articles, selected no doubt as the highest of those consumed by the lower orders, is eighty-one per cent., while the tax and restrictions on malt advance it upwards of one hundred per cent., and in beer-shops where those orders can get it, it is much more. Sir R. Peel admits that prior to the taxing of this article, when the population was only six millions, there were six millions of barrels of beer consumed, and that at present there were only eight millions of barrels consumed with a population of upwards of fourteen millions; but the decrease in the quantity of malt made is now below half its

* Allowing three bushels of malt to a barrel of beer, the cost, if free of duty, according to the present price of barley, would be as follows:—

| | |
|---|----------|
| 3 bushels of malt at 3s. 9d. | 11s. 3d. |
| $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of hops, duty free | 1s. 0d. |

| | |
|--|----------|
| Total cost of 36 galls., or about 1d. per qt. | 12s. 3d. |
|--|----------|

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| † Annual imports of, | |
| Corculius Indicus | 154,864 lbs. |
| Gentian Roots | 175,000 lbs. |
| Nux Vomica | 218,624 lbs. |
| Quassia | 140 tons. |

former proportions. From the experience we have had of the removal of the beer duties, we have a right to calculate that if the tax and restrictions on making malt were removed, the consumption would shortly increase one-third, or 1,666,000 qrs., which at 30s. a quarter for the barley, would amount to two-and-a-half millions sterling. At the present price of corn, about two-fifths of its value is composed of labour, consequently there is now lost to the English labourer one million sterling annually, through the operation of this tax; while our poor-rates are heavily burdened with the maintenance of a good portion of them in idleness, or in transporting them to some distant part of the globe as emigrants. The new life and confidence which would be imparted to the drooping cultivators of our own soil, by an increased annual demand for their produce of two-and-a-half millions sterling, would soon be beneficially felt by other classes. But, says Sir Robert Peel in his pamphlet, "it is only a matter of prophecy, and of course uncertainty, that any advantages will accrue to the agriculturists by repealing this tax." It is not prophecy, Sir, but fact, that since the beer duties were repealed, the consumption has increased more than it did in the previous one hundred years, and up to the 19. ult., appears to be at the rate of one million of quarters annually, which at 30s. a quarter, is a present benefit to the growers of one and-a-half millions sterling for the barley. It is also a fact, admitted in this pamphlet, that the effect of lowering the duty on spirits last year in Ireland, has already increased the consumption 1,000,000 gallons, which forcibly confirms the prophecy that reducing the cost of an article of such universal necessity as beer, one-half, would greatly increase the consumption of it. Again, at page 30, the hon. Baronet, states that the average consumption of beer on a farm of three hundred acres, is one hundred hogsheads annually, or one hundred and fifty barrels. The present cost at three bushels to the barrel is 24s. 9d., but if the duty on malt, and also on hops, were repealed, it would be only 12s. 3d., saving on each barrel 12s. 6d., or 6s. an acre on the whole oc-

cupation. Now, Sir, I humbly conceive, that this also is not uncertainty, but deduced fairly from his own statements, and is a degree of relief to the farmers which is not to be sneered at in these times; yet, this is not all, for if the consumption, and consequently the growth of barley, increased one-third, the cultivation of other grain must diminish, which would shortly improve its price. On a mixed farm of three hundred acres of arable and pasture, one hundred would be under corn, and if it averaged twenty-eight bushels per acre, an advance of 1s. a bushel would amount to 140*l.* per annum. It is a very erroneous idea of the hon. Gentleman, to suppose that any advantage arising from the removal of the tax would be confined long to only a small portion of our cultivators. The old adage, Sir, down corn, down horn, and vice versa, never fails to be verified, temporary derangements in the relative value of different kinds of agricultural produce frequently take place from increased demand, or deficient crops of some grain, or severe losses of stock, but in a few years prices are again adjusted—witness the present reaction in the value of sheep. Shortly before the beer duties were removed, barley did not realise half the price of wheat, and an increased growth of the latter ensued. The practical experience of thirty years as an agriculturist, convinces me that within two years hence, unless the malt-tax is repealed, barley would be reduced to its proper proportion to wheat, for I already observe numerous instances of land sown with barley instead of spring wheat. These proportions, are, that the latter should be double the price of the former, barley would consequently be only 2s. 6d. a bushel at present. The removal of the beer duties has therefore advanced the price 1s. a bushel. The removal of this tax would also tend more than any other measure to bring back the farm servant under the roof of his master; and as to the supposed difficulty of labourers brewing at home, a daily allowance might easily be obtained from the employer according to the existing practice in cider counties. Let the candid reader examine these facts, and I imagine he will ac-

knowledge that it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell, that the agriculturist, and the working classes, would derive immediate and substantial benefits from the removal of the malt-tax. I do not mean to contend, that it is the *only* cause of our distress, nor that the removal of it would be the *panacea* for all our difficulties. A great portion of the mischief may, I believe, be traced to our monetary system; but this grievance is not confined exclusively to the agriculturist. Another cause is the facilities now afforded to Ireland to inundate us with her untaxed produce, and her starving population. But a revision of both these measures, although as absolutely necessary, would be slow in their operation for relieving the acknowledged distress, and the pressing demands of the poor occupiers for immediate relief.

With respect to the reduced quantity of malt made in 1816 and 1817, it may I believe be satisfactorily accounted for; in the first place, by the extreme misery experienced by the lower orders in those years for want of employment, but more especially by the wet harvest of 1816, which rendered at least one-half the barley crop totally unfit for malting, one of the worst harvests known in England during the last century, good malting barley advancing in value 100 per cent., increasing the price of malt considerably more than the reduction in duty. Again, in 1819, and 1820, the crops were above an average, excellent quality, and low in price; and, as a natural consequence, an increased quantity of malt was made.

The total burden of this tax upon the community is next adverted to, which he makes out in the same plausible manner to be only a trifle beyond the duty paid. Now, instead of going to Mark-lane to find out the price of a choice sample of Chevalier barley, probably for seed, I will appeal to the experience of every grower of corn, and every maltster in this part of the kingdom, whether they have averaged more than 3s. 8d. for barley in the last two years, and if malt has not averaged in the same period 7s. 8d. to 8s. ? The real state of this account would consequently stand as follows:—

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------|
| 5,000,000 qrs. of malt, at 64s. | } | 16,000,000 |
| Increased price of beer at the ale and beer-shops, from 1½d. to 5d. a pot, the effect of the malt-tax . | | |
| | | 1,500,000 |
| | | <hr/> £17,500,000 |
| 5,000,000 qrs. of malt free of duty, at 30s. | } | 7,500,000 |
| | | |
| Total impost upon the community | } | £10,000,000 |
| —which is chiefly paid by the labouring classes for what I contend to be an article of necessity. Who that is possessed of the common feelings of nature, will deny the necessity of some nourishing beverage, to allay the thirst of those whose hard lot it is to toil from morn to night, or from sun-set to sun-rise in the mines and iron-works in this county, generally in a temperature of 120° or upwards? Or show me the man who has no pity for the poor peasant, exposed to the scorching rays of a summer's sun, while exerting his whole strength for fourteen or fifteen hours a day in cutting down the produce of our fields, and is compelled by this cruel tax to quench his thirst in the adjoining ditch, which it is my lot continually to witness. Even in the absence of any other motive, let the odium be what it may, I shall on these grounds alone continue to advocate the repeal of the malt-tax. | | |

The ingenuity of the honourable Baronet is next displayed in attempting to make it appear that this malt tax with all its bonds, duties, penalties, restrictions, &c., is the most salutary and efficacious method that can possibly be devised for keeping the trade free. That the removal of these restrictions, and the reduction in the value of malt from 64s. to 30s. would afford such positive advantages to the great capitalist that we should see no more of small maltsters with limited means, but that the growers of barley would then be entirely at the mercy of the former, for he states that at present "there is 3,000,000*l.* of the public money applied as so much additional capital in the purchase of barley." Who

ever heard of a maltster getting money from the Treasury to buy barley? It is true that the payment of the duty is not required at the time of making the malt, provided ample security by bonds is given, and a few weeks credit is thus obtained, but nothing else. As the right honourable Baronet claims so much credit to the Government for their liberality to the maltster on this head, let us compare it with that shown to the importer of any foreign commodity. In the latter case the article is allowed to remain in warehouse for any length of time, and is regularly bought and sold in the market before the duty is demanded, which is not done until the article is taken out for consumption. The maltster, on the contrary, when the sitting day arrives, has no mercy shown him, and whether he has been able to dispose of a single bushel of his malt or not, the duty *must be paid*.

I must now come to the general summing up of the hon. Gentleman, which he does in the most pathetic strain, and in the language of the most serious alarmist, such as—"Shall we maintain the public honour,—the disgraceful course of a deficient revenue,—the suspension of payments,—breach of the national engagements," and that "those who reject his advice must be responsible for all the consequences of so rash and unwise a decision, &c.," and that great *bug-bear*, the bare mention of which, even to a *Reformed Parliament*, produces such gloomy reflections and such consternation even amongst the most refractory members, that in the hands of a skilful Minister it is found to be a dreadful weapon, and on several former discussions on the impolicy of the malt-tax, when the measure had been carried by sound reasoning, no sooner were the words "*property-tax*" mentioned, than the hustings-repealers of this tax immediately viewed the matter in a different light. In his ironical manner, he "congratulates you gentlemen of the landed interest on finding yourselves relieved from the pressure of the malt-tax, and falling upon a good comfortable property-tax." As one of that body, Sir, who would be affected in some little degree should that prospect be realised, I would cheerfully accept his

congratulations, being fully persuaded that a property-tax would be a far more just tax towards the landed interest than this malt-tax, for the injurious effects of the latter are almost exclusively felt by them; and its removal would, according to the foregoing calculations, release the land from a heavy and most unfair pressure, to the amount of eight or ten shillings an acre on all farms of the immediate benefit to the tenants, and on general principles must be a deduction from rent. Whereas a property-tax of, say 5 per cent., which would yield a much larger revenue than is now derived from malt, would not affect the land one shilling an acre; and would fall equally on all property; on houses, public buildings, manufactories, mines, collieries, tithes, funded property, canals, rail-roads, docks, tolls, shipping, &c. &c., which are affected only in a very slight degree by the duty on malt. If "the gentlemen of the landed interest" could be brought to view this subject in its proper light, they would not hesitate one moment in deciding in favour of a property-tax.

The pressure of direct and indirect taxation on the industrious classes, though nominally to an infinitely greater amount, was comparatively unknown during the operation of the Bank Restriction Act. But now, with a metallic currency, and the low prices which necessarily accompany it, it is become intolerable. Our present system of indirect taxation enters so largely into the cost of production as to be highly prejudicial to the British manufacturer for the foreign market. It is generally admitted, that at least one-fourth part of the wages of labour is absorbed by taxation, every article the produce of labour must therefore be enhanced in value in that proportion; thus every manufacturer or farmer paying 1000*l.* a-year to his workmen, pays 750*l.* for labour, and 250*l.* for his men's taxes. Indirect taxation pauperizes a large portion of the community by enhancing the value of those articles they are most in need of, and again by lettering their employers deprives them of employment. Parochial burdens and the charges of tradesmen and mechanics are all enhanced a third or fourth by the same means.

Out of the eight millions poor-rates, at least two millions of it goes to Government. From the effects of this system of taxation we find a large portion of our aristocracy escape altogether by residing in foreign countries. Two-thirds of our present taxes are required to discharge the interest of the debt; which was chiefly contracted during the war to protect the property not the industry of the country, certainly not the industry of the present day, which then had no existence. It is therefore only just that a portion of this burden should be directly levied on the former. Let skill, industry, and labour, be released from the trammels of taxation, and they would soon enhance the value of property beyond the amount of a moderate tax on it. The raw produce of the earth, whether the soil on the surface, or the mineral beneath, is of little worth to the owner without the application of the skill, capital, and labour of the productive classes, and the imposition of taxes on the latter in an undue proportion, while at the same time a collateral measure is secretly but steadily reducing the market price of their produce, will in the first place effect their destruction, and in the next reduce the property of the former to a very low value.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

CYMRO.

THE CORK TANNERS.

Case of the Cork Working Tanners; in a Letter to William Cobbett, Esq M.P.—By THOMAS SHEAHAN.

(Continued from page 314).

It appeared to me to be right to sustain the character of these poor people, now that they were, as it may be termed, capitulating. I knew that they had a deep impression of the hardship of their case, and I conceived that it would be unworthy of men if they did not give expression to it. It was in this spirit I dictated the latter part of the preceding note. Mr. O'Connell was about to start for Youghal, when the note was handed to him. I am informed that a gentleman extensive in the leather trade was with him at the moment, and that Mr. O'Connell put it on him

to arrange the matter. I am ready to believe that the gentleman did every thing in his power to carry into effect the injunction of his friend O'Connell, but his efforts were unavailing. The submission of the working tanners was not heeded, and the bond was persevered in.

Up to this moment I think I was useful in preserving the working tanners from yielding to the temptation that they could gain their ends by violence. Shortly after this, however, some acts of outrage were committed, a rick of hay belonging to a master tanner was burned, and some countrymen, who had come in and filled the berths in the tan-yards, were waylaid and maltreated. The violence of one party and the merciless pride of purse of the other told me, that any further interference on my part could be of no use, whilst it might involve me in trouble; I accordingly left both to their own courses, contenting myself with assuring every working tanner that came my way, that no benefit was to be derived from violence.

Before I proceed to the sequel of my story, it may not be amiss to inform you, that, though generally speaking the broad-cloth gentry took little interest in the affairs of the working tanners, still here and there a gentleman was heard to make battle for them, and to intimate to their masters, that however strong they might be, they ought to be merciful. Imagine, sir, that you are in one of our public rooms—and that you are listening to an argument on the subject. The apologist for the working tanners has to reply to twenty masters, or their coadjutors.

MASTER TANNER. This system of combination is the destruction of trade.

APOLOGIST. I was never the advocate of combination, in the obnoxious sense of the word; but let masters beware that they do not themselves destroy trade. Trade is destroyed by a selfish and obstinate refusal on the part of any of those engaged in it, to let all those engaged in it have a living. Such refusal naturally and properly engenders discontent in its victims. These give no peace, and they ought not, to those who sin against them; one strike succeeds to another,

until the offending party does justice, or suffers it in the total loss of those profits which he would monopolize.

MASTER TANNER. But how do you know that the master tanner can afford to give higher wages than he has been giving?

APOLOGIST. My observations had no particular reference; but this I will tell you, that, as far as I have been able to learn, and as far as my own personal knowledge goes, the masters in the leather trade may, without injustice to themselves, give higher wages than they do I understand that there are about 43 employers in this business and about 500 men; I could select five from the employers, whose annual profits exceed the annual wages of the 500 men. Before this misunderstanding at all took place, and when there could be no particular motive for misrepresentation, it was stated in public, and I believe boasted in private, that one master tanner was making in the leather trade from five to six thousand pounds a year.

MASTER TANNER. But all of us are not making at this rate, nor anything like it, and some of us have failed.

APOLOGIST. I disclaim any thing personal when I say, that there were, perhaps, some individuals in your trade who ought never to have been in it as employers; men, *whose business it was* (as Cobbett would say), not having capital, *to work*. These people fed with paper-money, repaid the accommodation of the Bank out of the wages of the poor, and occasionally too with a slice of your substance. The poor, however, were the principal sufferers. I could name one of your body who has made some thousands of pounds in the business, who, upon losing 7 or 800*l.* somewhat in this way, turned round on his men and said, "I have lost so much, you must be content with a shilling or two a week less;" thus endeavouring to make his poor slaves pay the debt of the defaulter. I know, too, that some of the little masters complain that some of the big ones who supply them with hides and bark and take their leather in return, give them too little for the leather, and charge them too much for the hides and bark; that

those are they in fact who oppress the labourer. Now, taking all these and other circumstances into account, it is still my conviction that the master tanners as a body have been prosperous, and could afford to give their workmen better wages.

MASTER TANNER. It is the lowness of wages that enables us to compete with the English tanners. If we raise the wages the trade is lost.

APOLOGIST. Admitting that the lowness of wages was almost the only capital on which some of you traded, and that its lowness was even necessary to raise the trade to its present condition, it does not follow that that lowness should continue. Let me suppose that these poor men have, by living on a potato diet, enabled you to make 200*l.* or 2,000*l.* a year, how, let me ask, would the trade be endangered by your sharing 10*l.* out of your 200*l.* a year, or 300*l.* out of your 2,000*l.* a year, among those whose toil is the principal ingredient in your prosperity? You beat the English out of the market when there was little skill and limited capital; you are afraid now that if you share a little with your slaves you will be ruined. I shall tell you how the matter stands. You think *potatoes* good enough for your workmen, whilst you are not content without *bread* for yourselves, and *butter* on that bread, and *honey* on that butter.

MASTER TANNER. But see, if one master gives an additional shilling, another does not, and thus has an advantage. Even as it is, there are some of us giving better wages than others. Why did not these men, when about to turn out, make some distinction between the good and the bad?

APOLOGIST. They complained of the hours of labour required by all of you. As to wages, they did make a distinction; their scale affected those only who were giving less than 8*s.* a week. Regarding the principle of your objection, my reply is this, that its spirit impeaches rather the avarice of the masters than the unreasonableness of the men; and because I know how strong the love of gain is in the human breast, how it will tempt men to defraud the poor of their wages, and to rob the widow and the orphan, therefore

I am and always have been desirous of seeing a legal provision for the poor of this country.

MASTER TANNER. We can get thousands of men from the country at lower wages than we have been paying, and our employments have been the best in the city.

APOLOGIST. It is too true that the Irish landlord grinds the agricultural serf to the dust; and that that serf, in the hope of bettering his condition, would make almost any change; but there is not any material difference between the condition of a labourer in the field and that of a labourer in a tan-yard; the latter may get a few pence a day more than the other, but he works a greater number of hours than that other, and he works harder, and he is not always in wet, neither is he subject to slip between two pits, and fall into one of them and be scalded to death. I deny too, that, all circumstances considered, you pay your men as well as the breweries and the distilleries pay theirs. But supposing that matters were as you represent them, your duty to pay your men more, and your ability to pay your men more, would remain the same; and the only inference to be drawn from the general remuneration of labour in city or country would be this, that the legislature ought to interfere, and, by a poor-law or otherwise, compel the wealth of the country to pay more respect to the natural rights of its population.

MASTER TANNER. I would have paid the additional shilling a week if the men had asked for it in a proper way, but they turned out, and wanted to dictate to us in our yards, and they left our goods in a perishable state.

APOLOGIST. From your willingness to pay the additional shilling I infer your ability; and I make another inference, that you did not pay it when you ought to have paid it; set that fault against the fault of the men in not coming to you in a proper manner. These poor men were not philosophers or diplomatists; it might have been better, perhaps, if they had come forward, as some of you are in the habit of saying, in a more manly way. Do not you, however, by your harshness prove that the men formed a just notion

of your generosity; nor give the public to understand that however they might have demeaned themselves you would act the part of tyrants. It is not virtually true that they left your goods in a perishable state; you first turned out of your employment between eighty and a hundred men, the general strike was the immediate and almost natural result. It is known to me, that, so far from the men having studied to destroy your property, some of them have, since the strike, gone by night to save it: by night I say, because the second class masters are afraid of the persecution of the first class to employ them by day. What a christian bond that is into which you have entered, to consign over a thousand persons to starvation! A most unjust and iniquitous bond it is.

MASTER TANNER. How is it unjust?

APOLOGIST. What! is there no obligation, is there no debt of gratitude on my part to the man whose sweat has been enriching me for perhaps 20 years; who has put ten coats on my back, and ten blankets on my bed, and ten dishes on my table for every one that he has put on his own; whose food has been vinegar and gall, whilst mine has been milk and honey. Is it your principle, you a liberal, a reformer! that the officer, the gentleman alone is entitled to a pension, a retiring allowance, and that the *common man* has a claim to nothing? Why, some of you treat your brute beast with more consideration: the horse that has served you, when he has ceased to be useful, is not always shot, he is sometimes turned into the fields and let live.

MASTER TANNER. But if he kick his employer and destroy his property, he is shot.

APOLOGIST. To debar 3 or 400 families of almost the only employment available to them in a country like this, is nearly the same as shooting them! That I admit, but I do not suppose that you claim the same dominion over your men as over your horses; the rule of "bear and forbear" applies as well to masters as to men, they should make mutual allowances for human failings; and the master should not consider his obligation to his workman cancelled by a misdemeanor, nor the workman deem the master an object

of hostility because he may be betrayed, for instance, into the injustice of signing such a bond as we are speaking of. If, indeed, the workman gave evidence that he was utterly regardless of the property of his employer, and was prepared to destroy that property, and with it his own source of employment, then a master is justified in giving no further employment to him. It is absurd, however, to say that this is the case of the working tanners. I think their demands just, another may consider them unreasonable. Well! reasonable or unreasonable, they give them up, and they are content to return to their employments on the old terms. Property does not appear to be much endangered here. But you will not let them return. There you are heedless of the obligation which, I contend for it, you owe to the workman who has enabled you to stand here with your hands in your breeches pockets, and you are unjust. Oh! I am ashamed of your bond, and you will be driven from it one of these days by public indignation; how unlike the scriptural spirit is that by which you are actuated.

MASTER TANNER. Why, what does the scripture say that bears on it?

APOLOGIST. When the Hebrew bondsman who had been six years in his master's service, and who, during that time, was much better treated than the Irish tanner, leaves that master's house in the seventh year of right, mark how he is to be treated. "Thou shalt not let him go away empty, thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine press; of that where with the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him, and thou shalt remember thou wert a bondsman in the land of Egypt."

MASTER TANNER. If we had given them the shilling they required, what would prevent them from asking another shilling in a month's time, and another shilling in another month's time, and so on?

APOLOGIST. I have heard that question asked before, and by a shrewd man, and I strongly suspect that the shrewd man who puts it is of opinion that if they did ask for another and another shilling they would be asking for nothing more than

they were entitled to; I see no reason why they should not seek an additional shilling, if they think it their right; but it is not because they may misconceive their right to-morrow that you should refuse them justice to-day. "Be just and fear not," be that your motto. I have heard you declaiming against country gentlemen for giving but 8d. or 10d. a day to their labourers; now suppose the country labourers were to associate and say, "We will not work for less than 1s. a day," would you not inveigh against the country gentlemen who should meet them by saying, "We'll not give you a shilling, you may demand one and two-pence to-morrow." And how much more vehemently you would inveigh against them if you were told that they had entered into a bond never to employ their serfs again.

MASTER TANNER. You are giving yourself a great deal of trouble about this affair.

APOLOGIST. I think it is the duty of every man to stand by the poor when they are oppressed. I feel it would be a disgrace to me not to endeavour to save from destitution the families of those ill-treated men, numbering, perhaps, 1,500 individuals. These men stood by us in the fight for two Repealers against one class of Conservatives, and it is our business to stand by them now against another class of Conservatives. Again, though the master tanners have been the gainers by these men's labour, we shall be the loser by their idleness if it continue much longer; indeed, even whilst they were employed, the scanty wages they were allowed reduced several of them to the necessity of sending their children into the streets to pilfer in every quarter. If you want another reason, I am a shopkeeper, or a tradesman to-day, how do I know but I may be reduced to the condition of the labourer to-morrow. It is my personal interest, then, that that condition which is the lot of the great majority, and to which all are liable, and may be mine, to render it endurable, more than that—comfortable. I need not tell you that the history of your own city exhibits the children and grandchildren of men as wealthy as the wealthiest among you, reduced to the ranks, and having bitter cause in un-

requited labour, to regret that their parents had not been more studious to make the poor comfortable than to surfeit themselves with wealth; however acquired.

I am come to the sequel of my story. The master tanners having refused to listen to the proposition of the workmen, having declined to make any proposition of their own; Mr. O'Connell's interposition proving unavailing, the exasperation of the workmen was very great, indeed; and I was not the only person who was apprehensive that things would not end well. The wrath of the men was specially roused by two circumstances. The master tanner on whom Mr. O'Connell had imposed the duty of adjusting the difference, thought proper to employ, not in his yard, but on the quay, some fifteen or twenty of the obnoxious workmen. Soon as this was known, the despotism interfered, and the master tanner was ordered, under the penalty of violating the bond, to discharge his workmen, and they were discharged. Think, sir, of unfortunate men, several of them with families, without the means of purchasing a meal, and struggling with idleness for more than four weeks; think, sir, of them thus treated! About the time that this scene took place, it was rumoured among the men that the masters, not content with denying them employment in their own works, actually interposed to prevent their being employed in other establishments. I could scarcely believe the persons who communicated this circumstance to me; I fear, however, that there was some justification for the rumour. "And now," said a leading master tanner to me, "since they have burned the rick of hay, we have resolved to prevent them getting employment even in other establishments." Let me hope, however, that there was no settled design of this description; indeed, when I expressed my regret and astonishment at finding the rumour among the men sustained by the declaration of this master, he drew in his horns, and began to mention some acts to prove that he, at least, was not divested of the bowels of compassion. The countenances and language of some of the men who met me one day in the streets, whilst they were labouring under the excitement

produced by the circumstances I have mentioned, were of such a nature as to cause me to put a master tanner on his guard against the possible consequences.

A fourth attempt was now made to soften the hearts of the capitalists; it originated in the wish of the small masters to shake off the yoke which the great ones had imposed on them; some of them were beginning to be serious losers by the bond; they could not get competent persons to manufacture their goods, and they were obliged either to suspend their works altogether, or to go on with them at a disadvantage. They would willingly take back the old hands, or give employment to some of those who had struck in other yards, but they were afraid of the anger of the chiefs. A most respectable clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Russell, one whose heart yearned for the sufferings of the unemployed tanners, and who is deservedly high in the estimation of the masters, was the person who conducted this fourth and last attempt. Under his advice a meeting of the workmen was held, and a memorial to the masters was adopted and signed by them, and four citizens, Messrs. Brennan, Jeremiah Murphy, Joseph Morrogh, and Michael O'Donoghue, named to negotiate for them on terms mutually advantageous to master and man. I understand that the subscribers to the memorial pledged themselves that they would have nothing to do with any illegal association (they had been charged with having connected themselves with the Cork Union of Trades), and that, in future, they would openly come forward and declare to their masters their reputed grievances. They prayed the rescinding of the bond. A meeting of the masters was called, the memorial submitted to them, and its prayer refused. There were but *nine* voices in its favour. "They will want *our* voices at another time," observed one of the poor tanners.

(To be continued).

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 8.

BANKRUPTS.

BADENACH, G., and T. Jenkinson, Liverpool, brokers.
 BANNISTER, J. P., Harley-mews, Mary-bonne, hackneyman.
 BISHTON, J., E. Kempson, W. J. Jellicorse, and W. Callum, Capponfield Iron-works, near Wolverhampton, iron-masters.
 ELLIOTT, R., Prince's-street, Coventry-st., Westminster, licensed-victualler.
 EVANS, J., Bridge-street, Lambeth, grocer.
 HICKSON, W., Bail of Lincoln, Lincolnshire, grocer.
 ROWLEY, J., sen., Watney-street, Commercial-road, baker.
 SCOTT, J., Wakefield, grocer.
 SHERRY, J., Southampton, innkeeper.
 THOMSON, W., Cross-lane, Tower-street, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CARSWELL, W. and G., Paisley, merchant.
 SINCLAIR, G., Glasgow, writer.

TUESDAY, MAY 12.

INSOLVENTS.

MAWHOOD, H., High Holborn, dealer in lace.
 MOTTRAM, P., Oxford-street, dealer in lace.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

RACE, J., Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, grocer.
 WARD, W., Coventry, ribbon-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

COOPER, W. J., & J. Beattie, North Shields, Northumberland, drapers.
 DYMOCK, R., Oxford, saddler.
 GRIFFITHS, T. jun., Wellington-street, Strand, bookseller.
 GUNNING, W. B., Egham, Surrey, brick-layer.
 HALL, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, hatter.
 HOULDER, W., Paignton and Brixham, Devonshire, tea-dealer.
 MASON, W., Watford, Hertfordshire, timber-dealer.
 MAYSTON, E., North Elmham, Norfolk, general shopkeeper.
 MORRIS, M., jun., South Shields, Durham, ship-owner.
 RIX, G., late of the Albany-wharf, Camberwell, potter.
 SPENCER, F. C., Halifax, Yorkshire, wine-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 11.—We have had a good supply of Wheat at market this morning, which sold at much the same prices as this day week, but the trade was rather dull than brisk.

The supply of malting Barley was short, but adequate to the demand; we note no alteration in prices of this article, nor in grinding Barley or Peas, but Beans 1s. per quarter dearer.

We had a further large arrival of Irish Oats this morning, in addition to a good many left over unsold from last week, and there being a good many vessels from Ireland coming on demurrage after to-day, it was necessary in some instances to submit to a reduction of 6d. per quarter on such from last Monday's prices, but good fresh English and Scotch Oats supported the terms of this day week.

The demand for all corn-under lock is very inactive.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire | 35s. to 37s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 24s. to 27s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Black | 24s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 26s. to 27s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 25s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 23s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed | 13s. to 16s. |
| Brew | 17s. to 19s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 11.

In this day's market, which was throughout well supplied, trade was, with prime small Lamb and Veal, "somewhat brisk; with the larger and coarser kinds of Lamb and Veal, as also with Beef, Mutton, and Pork, rather dull, at Friday's quotations.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|------|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 2 | to | 2 4 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 2 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 6 | to | 2 10 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | to | 4 0 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 4 | to | 4 0 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | to | 4 8 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | to | 6 0 |

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| 3 per Cent. } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur |
| Cons Ann. } | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 92½ |

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Just published,

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PRICE 3s., boards.

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8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

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LEGACY TO PARSONS;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

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By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

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N. B There are some copies on fine paper, gentlemen may have them bound to suit their own taste.

RHEUMATISM.

SIR,—Having been afflicted with Rheumatism for thirty years, and severely so for the last nineteen months, two months of which I was in St. George's Hospital, and have since been confined to my bed six weeks together under surgical treatment, during which time I was bled fourteen times, besides blistered and cupped and used other remedies, said to be infallible for its cure, but to no purpose, as I could scarcely rise from my chair or walk the length of my room; whilst in this state of suffering, a friend procured me one of your Rheumatic Bands, and I can truly say that it has afforded me a hundred times greater relief during the five weeks I have worn it, than all the other remedies put together; and I am now able to resume my business, to the astonishment of all who knew me.—I am sir, your obedient servant, J. H. FRESHWATER.

Harrow-on-the-Hill, 25. April, 1835.

To Mr. Coles, Truss-maker to his Majesty's Forces, 3, Charing-cross.

Read Coles on Rheumatism or Ruptures.

BENJAMIN EDGINGTON, Marquee, Tent, and Rick-cloth Manufacturer, removed from 5, Tooley-street, to 2, Duke-st., Southwark, foot of London-bridge.—The nobility, gentry, &c. are respectfully informed that Benjamin Edgington has prepared for sale an extensive stock of Marquees and Tents, admirably adapted for Horticultural and Floricultural Societies, Archery Meetings, Cricket Clubs, Public Dinners, Fêtes, and Fancy Fairs, as they effectually resist wet, are portable, easily erected and removed, and may be had of any dimensions. A Pavilion or Temporary Room, and Awnings erected, capable of dining 1,000 persons. Marquees, Tents, and Rick-cloths, with poles, &c. complete, new and second hand, for sale or hire. Netting and Bunting for Fruit-trees; Archangel Mats, Tulip Covers, Sun Blinds, Sacks, Ropes, Tarpaulings, &c. Flags and Banners, either Silk or Bunting, in every variety. Rooms decorated with Flags, for Public Dinners, Balls, &c. Orders by post, addressed 2, Duke-street, Southwark. A warehouse at 208, Piccadilly; and a stand on the London New Corn Exchange.

READ'S NEW PATENT.—J. READ begs most respectfully to inform the profession and the public, that after fourteen years' experience of manufacturing and fitting up of instruments by his own hands, he has succeeded, after a series of experiments, in effecting certain improvements in his STOMACH and ENEMA SYRINGES, by which they are rendered more simple, portable, and durable, than any instruments of the kind ever offered to the public. These improvements especially facilitate the administration of Enemas and Injections, as invalids may avail themselves of this valuable mode of relief, either sitting, standing, or even in bed, without any assistance. These instruments are fitted with auxiliaries, applicable to cases of piles, strictures, hemorrhoids, prolapsus ani, and other diseases of the alimentary canals; and are particularly suited to the more delicate complaints of females, by whom they may be used with the most perfect ease and privacy, no assistance being required. The above instruments, &c. &c., continue to be manufactured by the Patentee, 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly; where they may be seen and inspected. Female attendance if required. Sold also by Mr. Pepys, Poultry, Evans, Old Change; and Stodart, Strand, and may be had of the most respectable chemists in town and country.

MORISON'S PILLS.

Attested statement of Cases in Dorsetshire,
From December, 1832, to August, 1834.

By HARRIET HART.

To Mr. John Beanharn, General Agent for
Dorset and Somerset.

"La Virtù, o la Verità,
Sostanza, gloria d'umanità."

No. 1.

Case of Robert Gale.

THIS man, who is about sixty years of age, has been frequently relieved from severe colds by taking the Pills, which he brings our own man-servant, I had administered to him. On the 18. of June, 1833, he was seized while in his bed, with Paralysis on his right side. Upon going to him, I found him highly delirious; the head and eyes full of blood, a raging pulse at his temples, but none could be felt at the wrist of his right hand; the tongue swollen, and so all appearance in a state of putridity, racked with pain and shivering in all his limbs; with great sickness at the stomach. In this state, eight Pills, No. 2, were given; five hours after he was put into a warm-bath, the benumbed side well rubbed, and, upon his leaving the bath, another dose of eight Pills, No. 2, was given him, with warm diluents; a profuse perspiration and sound sleep ensued. The following day, with repeated friction, and from ten to fifteen Pills, circulation was restored to the benumbed side, the pulse was reduced, the head and eyes were relieved, and in the evening he was able to sit up and to leave his bed some hours. The Pills were taken night and morning, and on the third day after his attack, he walked in his garden. A fortnight after, he was as active as ever, working in the hay-fields, being as he himself declared, "both stronger and better than he had been for years." Can the value of Morison's Pills be too highly extolled by this man? He, who instead of exhibiting an emaciated paralytic form, with tottering legs, swinging arms, shaking head, and distorted countenance, is, as he himself asserts, both younger and stronger by many years, than he felt before he took the medicines. No; more, much more than I can detail, does he express in thankfulness for his most extraordinary recovery, which has, I believe, scarcely a parallel.

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury. Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vale-mecum. Dr. Andrews also recommended it. Cases.—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65; Silver-street, Golden-square; of gait serena; Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of

cataract; Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia; Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre. GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF is sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and to the patronage. Sold in every country town.

Nearly forty years established, for the sale of Shirting, Sheeting, Household and Table Linen, manufactured without any admixture, from pure flax, and sold in any quantity. Whole pieces at the Factors' Prices. At 4, Holborn side of Bloomsbury-square.

THE IRISH LINEN COMPANY beg leave to state, that the above house is their only establishment. Since the dissolution of the Irish Linen Board, vast quantities of Shirting, Bed, and Table Linen, made from an admixture of cotton and flax, are constantly imported from Ireland into this country, and vendued to the public as genuine Linen Cloth. Such fabrications are not, and never will be, sold at this establishment; and the public may rely on being supplied with real flaxen cloth, the same as that sold at this house for nearly forty years, at greatly reduced prices. The purchase money returned should any fault appear. Good bills and Bank of Ireland notes taken in payment, or discounted. Country and town orders punctually attended to by John Donovan, 4, Bloomsbury-square.

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| | £. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|
| A Suit of Superfine Clothes..... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, Black or Blue..... | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto, Imperial Saxony..... | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| A plain Suit of Livery..... | 4 | 10 | 0 |

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 23RD, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



REPORTING.

In common language it is *reporting*, meaning the work of giving to persons not present at a transaction, an account of the proceedings relative to that transaction; and, the giving to the people reports of what passes in the two Houses of Parliament, is justly deemed the most useful branch of all the occupations of the daily press. I have to state to my readers very signal proofs of the *worse than uselessness* of the London press in this respect. It is *worse* than useless; because, by failing to do its duty as to this matter, it leads the people to conclude that none of the members of the Parliament have done their duty: and it disguises from the people the bad acts of those members of the Parliament who do not scruple to do all the injury they can to the people.

I am now writing on Tuesday, the 19. of May; and when I have given an account of the conduct of the *London press* with regard to the proceedings in the House of Commons on Friday the 15., and on Monday the 18., the reader will see that we must now resolutely set to work to do *something* to put a stop to this misrepresentation of our conduct; or that we must be content to be exhibited to our constituents as a parcel of negligent, lazy, ignorant, fuddling, toping fellows;

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.

or that we premeditatedly betray the confidence that our constituents have reposed in us. In my observations on the censures passed on me by Mr. ROEBUCK, at a late meeting in London, where Mr. WAKLEY was in the chair, I observed that this country never could have been brought to its present state; that the people never could have been made to submit to what they have submitted to, *had it not been for the press*; because, if men were left to judge from their *feelings*, they would judge of the Government by the *good or evil* that they derived from its acts: but, accustomed to pay attention, not to traditional maxims; not to their own experience of good or evil; but to pin their faith *on the sleeve of writers*, one large portion of whom are always at the call of Government to gloss over its acts; and the other portion of whom, if not seeking for payment from the same source, dare not do their duty for fear of the Attorney-General and his fangs; this being the case, the press makes them submit quietly, to that which their fathers would have died rather than submit to; and thus we are now living under laws, the very idea of which laws ever being proposed, would have shocked men fifty years ago.

One part of the work of this press is to *stifle*; to *suppress*; to keep *from the knowledge of the people*, that which they ought to know; and of this suppressing, I am now about to give some signal instances.

My readers all well know, that the people look into the daily papers *to see what takes place in Parliament*; and that that which they do not find any account of, they conclude, of course, *has not taken place*. Now, when the public looked at the papers on Saturday morning, the 16. of this month, they found that the House of Commons had voted £131,100 4s. 11d., under the name of "*Civil Contingencies*"; and they saw an account of the thing (in all the papers alike) measuring about *nine inches of one single column of the newspaper*, the whole of which might have been spoken by any

member in about six minutes, and which my Secretary would have written down from my dictation in about twenty minutes. So that here were we all represented as six hundred and fifty-eight ignorant beasts, or corrupt knaves: and, when you, my readers, come to read over the list of these Civil Contingencies yourselves, and feel your blood boil at every line, you will exclaim, What a set of stupid, or spiritless, or drunken, or corrupt rascals these members of the House of Commons must be! This would be gross injustice to the whole of the members without discrimination, and particularly to those who diligently and resolutely performed their duty. The figure we cut is this; that we voted away £131,100 4s. 11d., with about fifty or sixty words uttered by Mr. HUME, and a couple of unmeaning sentences uttered by me.

What was the fact? This estimate for the *Civil Contingencies* was moved about a quarter before six o'clock: and, with an average of about one hundred and thirty members constantly in the House, we were engaged in constant and earnest inquiry and discussion until twelve o'clock on this very estimate. Mr. HUME spoke, at the least, thirty times; asking questions, sifting into the various items of this estimate; pointing out its injustice to the people; pointing out the inutility of the thing charged for; in short with patience, with perseverance, with pertinacity in fidelity to his constituents, beyond all praise, saying that which every one of those constituents ought to have communicated to him through the press; and there he is by those "*reporters*" exhibited as *having done nothing at all*, except merely dividing the house on a question about the yeomanry cavalry (which *dropped in* after the former debate); and even with regard to this division, none of his powerful and cogent reasons were given by this villanous press!

Besides Mr. HUME and myself (I was upon my legs twenty times at the least), there was Mr. ROEBUCK, Mr. SCHOLEFIELD, Mr. YOUNG, Dr. BOWRING, Mr. TOOKER, and several other gentlemen, whose names I do not now recollect, who took an active part in this discussion,

which was by far the most interesting one that I ever heard anything of in the House of Commons. It was of all importance: and yet here we are exhibited, coming home at one o'clock in the morning, jaded half to death with fatigue; here we are exhibited, the next morning, as a set of lazy or corrupt vagabonds, whom the unfortunate people seem to have elected for the sole purpose of franking letters, or, at the most, for the purpose of strutting into the House of Commons to tacitly betray them.

NOW, I AM DETERMINED TO STAND THIS NO LONGER; I have ample means for putting an end to this base state of slavery to a set of *suck-mugs* and their mercenary employers. If there were no daily press; if there were no dependence placed upon it by the people, I should not care a straw about the matter: I would much rather that there should be no reports of parliamentary debates: but, if there be to be reports; if the people be to pay for a gallery for the "*gentlemen of the public press*"; if there be privileged persons to be placed in that gallery, I will endeavour to take care that they shall not (as they did on Friday night), put their cheeks into their hands, and sit with their eyes closed, while the result of deep potations seemed to be oozing from their mouths. I will endeavour to take care to prevent that in a very short time.

I am hesitating whether I shall or shall not try the daily press until the end of next week. But, this is my intention, to cause to be set up an evening paper, to be called "*Cobbett's Evening Journal*," to be published by Mr. Oldfield, at Bolt-court; to be owned by men inaccessible to corruption; and conducted by men who will not enter into a concert with others; tuck their dirty cheeks into their filthy paws and snore out the fumes of the gin while those important matters, the estimates of the public expenditure, are before the House. I do not, and I never have wanted these people to give any report at all of anything *said by me*; neither actively nor passively can they misrepresent me in this nation; those that dislike me will believe the misrepresentations; and that cannot make them

dislike me more than they do now. Those that like me are of a stamp which would not induce them to dislike me, even if the devil aided by all these *reporters* were to enter into a conspiracy for the purpose. But, it is not me; it is the *public cause* that is affected by this villany. The knowledge that the people ought to have is kept from them by the means of these contemptible instruments; and, if this be done any longer, it shall be the *people's own fault*.

I beg my readers to observe on the curious and interesting circumstance, that all the villainous daily papers gave *just the same account* of this occasion! Curious, that all the *suck-mugs* should just have caught the same few words; equally curious that all the lazy toppers of the *evening papers* should have done the same thing. The weekly papers, several of which appear to be perfectly honest and very industrious, have no means of doing anything further in this case than merely copying what the daily papers have done; so that an edict or law to prevent the divulging the debates of which I have been speaking; *a law to hang men* for promulgating true reports of these debates could not have been more effectual in preventing true accounts of them being made to the people! I may be asked, how it is that the PROPRIETORS of newspapers do not compel the hired *suck-mugs* to attempt to do their duty, at any rate; how it is that they do not, for their *own interest's* sake, interfere and compel the *suck mugs* to give something like reports of what passes on these important occasions. Ah! Are we *quite sure* that these proprietors do not find it their INTEREST to order the *suck-mugs* to suppress? Both factions are equally interested in this case; the estimates were *framed by the Tories*, and brought before the House by the *Whigs*. But whether this had been the case or not, both factions would have joined in supporting the estimates. The daily papers belong to the two factions; some to one and some to the other. These papers fight like dog and cat for their respective factions; but always unite *against the people*, and particularly in the justifying of any sort of

expenditure of the people's money, be it what it may; so that the non-interference of the mercenary proprietors is easily accounted for. The *suck mugs* have no power of suppression: they are mere servile tools in the hands of the mercenary proprietors. Let the readers judge of how much *value* it is to the two factions, and to all the tax and tithe-eaters, to keep discussions like those of Friday night and Monday night from the *knowledge of the people*! Let the readers judge of how much *value* this suppression is to the whole of the phalanxes of corruption; and then let the readers *wonder*, if they can, at this apparently *carelessness* of the *suck-mugs*! To be sure they are wondrously ignorant in relation to all matters of *fact* that are stated in the Parliament. They are very adroit, and surprisingly adroit, at putting down words, or the substance of words, of an harangue that has little *matter*, comparatively, in it; but their total ignorance of law, and of all law; their ignorance of the history of the country, and of its establishments and institutions and great affairs, is surprising. Their reports of speeches relative to the currency, for instance, make a man afraid to open his mouth upon the subject. In the case of the *estimates*, the discussion is almost all matter of fact, or immediately turning upon some kind of fact. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *suck-mugs* are pleased at being instructed by their employers to lay their bloated cheeks in their paws, while such discussions are going on. But this is *not the cause* of the suppression: if the mercenary wretches of proprietors did not find MORE GAIN in suppressing than in promulgating, they would soon brush up the faculties of the *suck-mugs*, or they would have sober and attentive men to supply their place.

The readers will please to observe once more that the papers of *both factions concur in this suppression*; that all the daily papers belong to one faction or the other; or, at least, if there be a single exception from this rule, that exception, as far as *reporting* goes, is not an exception at all; and there is not the *smallest* reason to expect that, from any daily paper, now in existence, justice will ever be done to the people in this respect.

I, therefore, with as little loss of time as possible, will cause to be published, under the title above-mentioned, a daily evening newspaper, not under my own proprietorship nor my own editorship, though I may write in it myself; and I request all my readers in every part of the country *to be prepared* for the issuing of this paper, the exact time of doing which I shall probably be able to state in my next Register.

I have beaten this beggarly, lying, corrupt, London press. In nine days, or less, from publishing the "*LEGACY TO PARSONS*," the first edition, of *five thousand copies*, was sold, and I believe about five hundred bespoken and paid for beforehand, of a new edition of *ten thousand*; and this, observe, *without an advertisement in any newspaper*; without a copy sent to any hum-drum reviewer, that he might notice it; without any of those "*Blue-lion*" efforts which are so notoriously made by the "race that write" in this corrupt and all corrupting *wen*; in short, with nothing to rely upon more, and wanting nothing more, than my own *name* and the nature and character of the thing itself.

And, thus situated; thus honoured and confided in by the much larger part of this whole nation, it would be an abandonment of an obvious duty in me not to put a stop to the audacious abuse of the people that I have described above; the deluding of them; the cheating of them; the cajoling of them for the purposes of the two factions. The wretched creatures who conduct newspapers are such a mass of suck-mugs and lie-a-beds; of dilatory; of miserable; of sickly; of emasculated creatures; and there is such improvidence connected with the expenditure of the papers; such a waste of money; such tribes of useless reptiles maintained about them, that the poverty and pecuniary embarrassment which are the effects of all this, very frequently lead to the corruptions which produce the suppressions of which I have been complaining. I will take care to select such persons as shall be able to send a paper to the press without the talent inspired by the contents of a pewter-pot or of a gin-bottle; I will take care not to be the cause of the House

of Commons being disgusted by a nasty beast tucking his cheek into his paw. I have not desired to do this thing; but the contrary; I have caused it to be intimated to the proprietor, or proprietors, of one paper, that I would give it all the support in my power if it would only engage some person (and one man may do it perfectly well) to give its readers faithful reports of these important money proceedings. Why, it "*was willing*" to do it; it "*wished*" to do it; but what is the use of being *willing* and *wishing*? It had the power or it had not; if it had the wish, and the power to act on the wish, why could it not *engage*? Alas! talk, talk, talk! Talk everlasting, but never do! After all, however, there was no reliance on account of the division of the proprietorship, or some cursed thing or another: all a *ramble-scramble* affair with which one could have nothing to do. Sound principles, great knowledge, sober heads, early rising, order in all proceedings, airy rooms, washed hands, and clean shirts: these are all absolutely necessary to such an undertaking; and these, with God's pleasure, I will soon bring into play upon the *carcass of corruption*; which is like the "*body of this death*," to which St. Paul, with such real and matchless eloquence alludes, and which did not cling closer to the body of the murderer in Palestine than this corruption, of which the *suck-mugs* are a branch, clings to the unhappy people of England.

One more word about the *suck-mugs*. It seems odd at first sight; but, poor as they generally are themselves, and compelled to work like coal-heavers by their mercenary masters, they are all *aristocrats*! They try to ape the manners of young gentlemen of rank and of fortune; call Lords merely by their title, or name, without prefixing the designation of their rank; and talk of other gentlemen, who have no title, without prefixing the word *Mister*; so that you would swear that they were the pot-companions of them all! Then some of the members, on their part, while they despise the *suck-mugs*, reflect on their *powers of exhibiting*; and condescend to familiarities perfectly disgusting.

The *suck-mugs* ridicule everything that is seriously said in defence of the *working-people*, as if for the purpose of causing it to be believed that they themselves are afraid of having *THEIR estates swallowed up by the poor*! The *suck-mugs* are always on the side of corruption; invariably take the side of the strong against the weak; speak of the working-classes in the true "*doctrinaire*" style; seem to consider them as inferior animals; and, if the *suck-mug* be *Irish*, he has generally the *excessive, the indescribable baseness to join in the fashionable ridicule of the miseries of his own poor countrymen*; than which I know of no greater infamy of which the human heart is capable.

From the causes such as I have stated, the people of this kingdom have been cheated, abused, and brought down to submit to that which they now endure. I cannot put a stop to the cheater, completely, all at once; but I never yet did fail in anything that I set my foot to firmly; and I venture to say that I do not fail now. I shall not assume a proprietorship myself in a newspaper; but the thing shall be done a great deal better than it would be done if I did assume such proprietorship; because I hate London, and neither can nor will live in it, for a constancy; and besides I have a very fine farm to attend to, and have there a *brick-floor* to sit on and write legacies to parsons. I have long promised a *POOR-MAN'S BIBLE*; it is half done. I have promised a *LEGACY TO LORDS*, which is to appear by the Feast of Saint Michael, old style; and this *LEGACY TO LORDS* will, I think, top-up very well my *MISCELLANEOUS LIBRARY*, especially when I have written and published another comedy to be called "*BASTARDS IN HIGH-LIFE*." People blame me for talking of publications so long beforehand, and for having so many irons in the fire. But I always accomplish the thing at last; and, as to having several irons in the fire at a time, I always find it the pleasantest thing in the world. Somebody called me, a good while ago, the "*monarch of the press*." A monarch means a fellow that can do with his subjects just what he likes. It is well for

this press that I am not its monarch: if I were, I would give one-half of it to the devil, on condition that he would take the other half away.

So much for *suck-mugs*, their mercenary masters, and my intended means of counteracting them; and now for the insertion of matter in proof of their villainy.

All the latter part of the *Register* my readers will find filled up with a copy of the Estimate of "*Civil Contingencies*," which occupied six hours and a quarter of the debate of Friday night; of the 131,000*l.* not 2,000*l.* ought, in my opinion, to have been voted. I do beseech my readers to read through all the items of that "*estimate*"; to *look well* at them all; not to hurry over, but to look into them, and to see what the money is *given for*. They will see money voted for jobs about the King's *yachts*, although the King has so large an allowance for all his expenses. They will see a sum of money voted for *BABAGE'S humbug box*. They will see a *MACCULLOCH* getting money for examining into *mines and mineralogy* in Scotland. They will see, in order to cap the climax of all that is monstrous, a charge against the people of 7*l.* 7*s.* for *tolling the bells* of a church in Dublin, for the death of the Duke of Gloucester. They will see a charge for *boxes* to hold the *great seal*!

Now, when the reader has gone through all these monstrous charges, and when he must gather from the atrocious London newspapers, that *none of us made any stand against them*, he must conclude that we were altogether a set of *unprincipled scoundrels*, or a set of *stinking cowards*. And is this just? Can a Parliament have its fair character with the people, if exhibited in this way to them? It was the most interesting debate that I ever was present at in my life: there was no member that was careless or inattentive, in the whole House; and twenty of us, more or less, took a part in opposition to divers of those charges.

I will now give an instance of what took place on the "*Ordnance Estimates*" on the 1*st.*; one of the charges was in the following words:

Estimate of the Charge of the Ordnance
Superannuated, Great Britain and Ire-
land, for the Year ending 31. Mar., 1836.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Military</i> .—Superannuated and | £ |
| half-pay officers | 51,000 |
| Retired general officers | 6,597 |
| Pensions for good services.... | 4,737 |
| Pension for an invention | 1,200 |
| Pensions for wounds | 6,420 |
| Widows and children of officers | 22,554 |
| Retired officers, &c. | 7,128 |

99,636

Civil department 64,622

£164,258

Now, this *superannuated* means, *unable to be in office any longer on account of age or infirmity*. "So," said I, "we have passed a Poor-law Bill on the principle that no relief ought to be given for *age or infirmity*, because the working-people ought to *save money* to keep them in old age or infirmity; but here it is proposed to us to vote £164,258*l.*, almost all from the earnings of poor people, to persons who have been a long time receiving high salaries and even to their widows and their children, all of them for their lives. And let this be recollected of us; let this be recollected by our constituents, that we are called upon to vote for this one batch of persons; those belonging to the ordnance only, as much, within about fifty thousand pounds, as the amount of *all the poor-rates for the whole of the principality of Wales, North and South!* Let the people recollect that fact as illustrative of our character and conduct; and now VOTE it as soon as you like!"

Alas! the people could "recollect" nothing about the matter! The *suck-mugs*, on whom our putting them into a gallery taught the people to depend, have told the people nothing about the matter! Ought such an infamous thing to exist any longer? And ought not I, who have the power, to put an end to its existence? I ought to do it, and I will do it: the *suck-mugs* shall do their duty; or, at any rate, their base and mercenary employers shall no longer profit by smothering.

I request my readers and other friends

throughout the country to pay attention to this article; and to be *prepared duly* for the issuing of the paper. I shall not make it big enough for a table-cloth, nor calculated for any other purpose than that of giving true information with regard to what passes in Parliament; with regard also to the *markets* of all sorts, and with regard to those things, especially things connected with politics, which the people in general ought to be made acquainted with. I think it possible that I may be able to start it in a fortnight from next Saturday. However, the reader shall have full information on this subject in the next Register.

And now, with regard to the *Register itself*. It is my intention, at present, to close it; to put it out at full blaze, on my next birth-day, the 9. of March. I have often wished to put it out; but have always been deterred by the certainty, that, when my arms were laid down, the whole crew of the "*race that write*"; that all the hundreds of stinking villains, in the pay of corruption, would fall upon me, stabbing, kicking, biting, and scratching. But, having *new arms*, before I lay down the old ones, I may lay them down with safety; and more than safety; because I shall now have an *abundance of talent* to aid me in defeating the *suck-mugs* and their mercenary masters.

I have before said, that my next work is to be THE POOR MAN'S BIBLE; the next, THE LEGAC^y TO LORDS. The last I have promised to have in the hands of SIR ROBERT PEEL by the next Feast of St. Michael. Then, putting out the Register, at the end of the NINETY-FIRST VOLUME, I shall (having my news always in order) have time to write a history of my own life, showing the Progress of a Plough-boy to a seat in Parliament, beginning his career by driving the rooks and magpies from his father's pea-fields and his mother's chicken-yard, and ending it by endeavouring to drive the tithe and tax devourers from the fruits of the labour of his industrious countrymen.

I conclude with once more requesting my readers to go patiently through the *Parliamentary paper* that I have inserted in the following pages of this Register.

WM. COBBETT.

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES.

An Account of the Sum expended under the Head of Civil Contingencies, in the Year 1834; and an Estimate of the Amount required for 1835.

Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 8. April 1835.

DETAIL OF THE ITEMS

Composing the above-mentioned Sum of 131,400*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*, being the Total Amount of the Expenditure.

No. 1.

EXTRAORDINARY DISBURSEMENTS OF MINISTERS AT FOREIGN COURTS;
TOGETHER WITH OUTFIT AND EQUIPAGE.

FRANCE.

His Excellency Earl Granville, his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of France; for post-office charges, allowance to the chaplain to the embassy, couriers, extra allowance for stationery, annual allowance for stationery in the consular-office, wages to servants in care of the ambassadorial residence at Paris; law expenses, including a payment of 72*l.* 4*s.* for professional services in the public service of the embassy during the years 1828, 1829, and 1830; salary to the architect, Mr. Silveyra; annual charge for water supplied to the embassy, and binding the archives of the embassy, in the four quarters ended the 30. June 1834 £ 1,387 11 1

AUSTRIA.

The Right Honourable Sir Frederick Lamb, his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Austria; for post-office charges and couriers, and wages to the messenger to the chancery at Vienna, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 443 19 7

RUSSIA.

The Honourable John D. Bligh, his Majesty's acting minister plenipotentiary at the court of Russia, for post-office charges and wages to the messenger to the chancery of the embassy, in the four quarters ended 30. September 1834 545 3 0

PRUSSIA.

The Earl of Minto, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Prussia; for post-office charges and couriers, and conveyance of official correspondence, in the four quarters ended 30. September 1834 653 19 9

Carried forward £ 3,030 13 5

Brought forward £ 3,030 13 5

SWEDEN.

The Honourable John Bloomfield, his Majesty's chargé d'affaires at the court of Sweden; for post-office charges, and expenses incurred in collecting information relative to the poor laws in Sweden, in the two quarters ended 31. March 1834 131 4 0

Sir Edward C. Disbrowe, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Sweden; for post-office charges, in the quarter ended 30. June 1834 73 5 7

DENMARK.

Peter Browne, esq., his Majesty's chargé d'affaires to the court of Denmark; for post office charges and expenses incurred in collecting information on the poor law and tithe system in Denmark, in the two quarters ended 31. March 1834 147 1 11

BAVARIA.

Lord Erskine, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Bavaria; for post-office charges and journey performed on his Majesty's service, in the five quarters ended 30. June 1834 349 11 7

FRANKFORT.

Thomas Cartwright, esq., his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Frankfort; for post-office charges, and journey performed on his Majesty's service, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 .. 326 15 1

NETHERLANDS.

The Honourable George Jerningham, his Majesty's chargé d'affaires at the Hague; for post-office charges, and allowance to the chaplain attached to the mission, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 242 3 0

SWITZERLAND.

David Morier, esq., his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary in Switzerland; for post-office charges, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 69 15 11

SAXONY.

The Honourable Francis Forbes, his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Saxony; for post-office charges in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 157 4 2

WIRTEMBERG.

The Honourable Henry Wellesley, his Majesty's chargé d'affaires at the court of Wirtemberg; for post-office charges and expenses incurred in collecting information relative to the poor laws of Wirtemberg, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 .. 146 0 9

Carried forward £ 4,673 15 5

Brought forward £ 4,673 15 5

SPAIN.

George W. F. Villiers, esq., his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Spain; for post-office charges and couriers, illumination on the occasion of the queen being proclaimed; house rent at Aranjuez and conveyance of servants and furniture there, journeys to and from that place during Mr. Villiers' residence with the court; expenses incurred by the detention of Mr. Villiers's horses and servants at Bilboa and Bayonne for a considerable period of time, owing to the disturbed state of the country, and subsequently in the expense of large escorts of troops to ensure the safety of his effects from the sea coast to Madrid; in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 .. 2,471 14 8

PORTUGAL.

Lord Howard de Walden, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal; for boatmen and courier attached to the mission at Lisbon, expenses incurred by Colonels Badcock and Wylde on his Majesty's special service, hire of a boat, and purchase of a boat for the service of the mission to prevent the necessity in future of hiring one, and couriers, in the two quarters ended 30. June 1834 798 5 5

COLUMBIA.

William Turner, esq., His Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Columbia; for post-office charges and law expenses, in the four quarters ended 30. June 1834 197 16 8

MEXICO.

Richard Pakenham, esq., His Majesty's chargé d'affaires in Mexico; for post-office charges and couriers, and expenses of conveying official correspondence to and from Vera Cruz, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 268 5 4

NAPLES.

The Hon. W. Temple, His Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Naples; for post-office charges and couriers, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 236 9 8

TUSCANY.

George H. Seymour, esq., His Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Tuscany; for post-office charges and allowance to Mr. Aubin, whilst employed on His Majesty's special service, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 665 10 0

SARDINIA.

The Right Honourable Sir Augustus Foster, His Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Sardinia; for post-office charges, journey performed by him on His Majesty's service, and allowance to the Vaudois chaplain at Turin, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 344 0 10

Carried forward £ 9,655 18 0

Brought forward £ 9,655 18 0

AMERICA.

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| Charles Bankhead, esq., His Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Washington; for post-office charges and salary to His Majesty's packet agent at Boston, in the quarter ended 31. Dec. 1833 | 107 | 9 | 0 |
| The Right Hon. Sir Charles Vaughan, His Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States of America; for similar services as the above, in the four quarters ended 30. June 1834 | 489 | 18 | 1 |

CONSTANTINOPLE.

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|---|
| His Excellency Lord Ponsonby, His Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte; for post-office charges and couriers; first dragoman's account; house-rent and repairs, and pensions to the widows Logothette and Dendrino, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 | 929 | 5 | 8 |
| Ditto, for salaries of dragomans and students, attached to His Majesty's embassy at Constantinople, and pension to Mrs. Pisani, in the six quarters ended 30. September 1834 | 4,625 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, amount granted to the dragomans and other persons employed by His Majesty's embassy at Constantinople, in consideration of the losses sustained by them from the fire at Pera in 1831 | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, reimbursement of expenses incurred in repairing the house occupied by the embassy at Therapia, in consequence of the destruction of the British Palace at Pera | 614 | 18 | 5 |

GREECE.

| | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|
| Edward Dawkins, esq. His Majesty's minister plenipotentiary in Greece; for salary to the clerk attached to the mission at Nauplia, and in conveying the official correspondence across the Morea, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 | 225 | 0 | 9 |
|---|-----|---|---|

SPECIAL MISSIONS.

| | | | |
|---|-------|----|---|
| The Right Honourable Sir R. Adair, G. C. B.; expenses incurred by him whilst employed on a special mission abroad | 4,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. J. H. Caradoc, ditto ditto in Spain .. | 472 | 7 | 6 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel Wylde, ditto ditto | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| Lord William Russell, ditto ditto, balance of account | 1,847 | 15 | 9 |

REIMBURSEMENT OF FEES ON APPOINTMENTS.

In reimbursement of the legal fees paid on the appointment of the undermentioned persons; viz.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Lord Howard de Walden, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the King of Sweden | 286 | 3 | 6 |
| Hon. W. Temple, ditto ditto, at Naples | 91 | 18 | 6 |
| H. S. Fox, esq., ditto ditto, at Rio de Janeiro | 91 | 18 | 6 |
| Lord Howard de Walden, ditto ditto, at Lisbon | 91 | 18 | 6 |
| George Villiers, esq., ditto ditto, at Madrid | 89 | 16 | 0 |

Carried forward £ 27,319 8 2

| | | | |
|---|----------|----|---|
| Brought forward | £ 27,319 | 8 | 2 |
| Lord Ponsonby, ambassador at Constantinople | 125 | 4 | 0 |
| Hon. F. R. Forbes, envoy extraordinary at Dresden | 59 | 5 | 6 |
| Hamilton Hamilton, esq., ditto at Buenos Ayres | 59 | 5 | 6 |
| Hon W. T. F. Strangways, secretary of embassy at Vienna | 59 | 5 | 6 |
| Arthur Aston, esq., ditto at Paris | 59 | 6 | 6 |
| John Kennedy, esq., secretary of legation at Naples | 54 | 0 | 6 |
| Hon. G. S. Jerningham, ditto at the Hague | 51 | 18 | 0 |
| J. M. Grant, esq., ditto at Lisbon | 51 | 18 | 0 |
| Andrew Buchanan, esq, first attaché at Washington | 10 | 8 | 0 |
| Newton S. Scott, esq., ditto at Madrid | 10 | 8 | 0 |
| Sir Alexander Malet, bart., ditto at Lisbon | 10 | 8 | 0 |
| Arthur Magenis, esq., ditto at St. Petersburg | 10 | 8 | 0 |

OUTFIT AND EQUIPAGE OF MINISTERS &c. AT FOREIGN COURTS.

| | | | |
|--|-------|---|---|
| Lord W. Russell, to provide for the expense of his outfit and equipage proceeding to undertake his mission to His Majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the King of Wirtemberg | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| T. W. Waller, esq., ditto, as secretary to his Majesty's legation in Greece | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir G. Shee, bart., ditto, as his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Berlin | 2,000 | 0 | 0 |

No. 2.

EXPENSES OF ENTERTAINING AND CONVEYING PERSONS OF DISTINCTION, AMBASSADORS, GOVERNORS, &c.

For the entertainment and conveyance of the following persons to their destination on the public service; the amount being in each case fixed by the Lords of the Admiralty; viz. on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for Foreign affairs.

| | | | |
|---|-------|----|---|
| His Excellency Lord Howard de Walden, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her most faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, on board the Lightning steamer to Lisbon | 47 | 0 | 0 |
| Major Wyld, attached to the embassy of Lord Howard de Walden, from Lisbon to Setubal, on board his Majesty's brig Leveret | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| His Excellency Lord William Russell and suite, his Majesty's late minister at Lisbon, from thence to England on board the Lightning steamer | 62 | 0 | 0 |
| The Infante Don Carlos and his suite from Portugal to England, on board his Majesty's ship Donegal | 834 | 19 | 0 |
| His Royal Highness Dom Miguel, with his suite, from Portugal to Genoa, on board his Majesty's ships Stag and Nimrod | 1,076 | 2 | 0 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel L. B. Badcock from Lisbon to Cadiz and the Algarves and back to Lisbon, on board his Majesty's brig Leveret | 14 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Pisani from Tenedos to Smyrna | 25 | 1 | 7 |
| Mr. J. A. Grant, secretary of legation at Lisbon, from this country to Lisbon, on board his Majesty's ship Orestes | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| His Excellency Lord William Russell and suite from Woolwich to Rotterdam, on board the Firebrand steamer | 16 | 18 | 0 |
| Sir E. C. Disbrowe, his Majesty's minister in Sweden, together with Lady Disbrowe and his suite, to Stockholm, on board the Lightning steamer | 52 | 12 | 6 |

Carried forward £ 33,016 6 9

| | | | |
|---|----------|----|---|
| Brought forward | £ 33,016 | 6 | 9 |
| Mr. Mandeville, secretary of legation to the British embassy at Constantinople, on board his Majesty's steam vessel Meteor, from Therapia to Ancona, on his way to England with dispatches for his Majesty's Government | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Percy Doyle, first attaché to the British embassy at Constantinople, from Vourla Bay to the former place, on board his Majesty's cutter Hind | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Capt. H. D. Jones of the Royal Engineers and an attendant, from Malta to Constantinople, on board of ditto | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Dawkins, His Majesty's minister plenipotentiary in Greece, and suite, to Attica and Eubœa, on board his Majesty's ship Barham | 78 | 0 | 0 |
| Colonel Baligoud, commander of the troops attendant upon his Majesty the King of Greece, and suite, to Negropont, on board of ditto | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Hamilton, his Majesty's plenipotentiary to the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, and suite, to Rio Janeiro, on board his Majesty's ship North Star | 140 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Chamberlain, his Majesty's consul at Coquimbo, and family, to Rio Janeiro, on board of his Majesty's ship Challenger | 344 | 15 | 0 |
| Colonel the Hon. J. Walpole, consul-general in Chili, to South America, on board of ditto | 63 | 15 | 0 |
| Mr. Frederick Chatfield, appointed his Majesty's consul at Guatemala, to Jamaica, on board his Majesty's ship Belvidera | 54 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Vice-Consul Usher, his lady and family, to Port au Prince | 131 | 9 | 5 |
| Mr. Anderson, surgeon to the superintendents of the British trade at Canton, to China, on board of his Majesty's ship Andromache | 63 | 0 | 0 |

On the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The amount issued to defray the expense incurred by stipendiary magistrates appointed under the Slavery Abolition Act, in proceeding to the colonies to which they have been appointed: viz.

| | | | |
|---|-------|----|---|
| To the West Indies: seventy magistrates, each receiving 75 <i>l.</i> | 5,250 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Cape of Good Hope: eight magistrates, each receiving 100 <i>l.</i> | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Mauritius: Six magistrates, each receiving 120 <i>l.</i> | 720 | 0 | 0 |
| The amount issued to defray the expense of Lord Belmore's passage from Jamaica to this country on his recall from the government of that island | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| For the entertainment and conveyance of the Earl of Mulgrave, Governor of Jamaica, and suite, on board his Majesty's steam-vessel Rhadamanthus, on the occasion of his Excellency making a tour of that island, and visiting the most populous districts of its coast | 355 | 0 | 0 |
| The Earl of Mulgrave, late Governor of Jamaica, and his suite, from that island to England, on board his Majesty's ship Pallas | 325 | 10 | 0 |
| The Marquis of Sligo, appointed Governor of Jamaica, with his Lordship's family and suite, from England to that island, on board his Majesty's ship Blonde | 388 | 0 | 0 |

Carried forward £ 42,146 11 2

| | | | |
|---|----------|----|---|
| Brought forward | £ 42,146 | 11 | 2 |
| The Marquis of Sligo, Governor of Jamaica, and suite, on board his Majesty's steam-vessel Rhadamanthus, on the occasion of his Excellency making a tour of that island | 78 | 0 | 0 |
| Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Barbadoes, and his staff, on board his Majesty's ship Belvidera, from Barbadoes to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent and back | 59 | 10 | 0 |
| Captain Prescott, Governor of Newfoundland, on board his Majesty's sloop Champion, to St. John's in that island | 77 | 10 | 0 |
| Lieutenant-Governor Rendall, on board his Majesty's sloop Britomart, from Bathurst to M'Carthy's Island | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| Governor Sir George F. Hill, and suite, on board his Majesty's sloop Dispatch, on a visit to the coast of the Island of Trinidad | 121 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. James Busby, British resident at New Zealand, from New South Wales to the former place, on board his Majesty's ship Imogene | 34 | 0 | 0 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. G. Colebrooke; to defray the expense of his passage to the Bahamas, as Lieutenant-Governor of that colony | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Governor E. M. M'Gregor; to defray the expenses of his removal from Dominica to Antigua, on his appointment to the government of the Leeward Islands, and his visits to the dependencies of that government | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, to defray expenses of the hire of a vessel for his conveyance to the Island of Barbuda and St. Christopher, on his Majesty's service | 21 | 12 | 0 |
| For the entertainment and conveyance of the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes, and suite, during a visit to the islands within his Lordship's diocese, on board his Majesty's ship Forte | 180 | 0 | 0 |
| The Rev. Edward Eliot, Archdeacon of Barbadoes; to defray expenses of the hire of a schooner for the purpose of visiting officially several of the neighbouring colonies | 114 | 5 | 9 |
| The Rev. Mr. Sweeny; to defray the expenses of the passage of himself and family from the Bahamas to this country | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| The Rev J. Magrath; to defray the expenses of his passage to the West Indies, as one of the stipendiary clergy in the diocese of Jamaica | 60 | 0 | 0 |

No. 3.

EXPENSES DEFRAID BY OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD,
NOT BEING PART OF THE CIVIL LIST.

In the Department of the Lord Chamberlain, for Furniture, &c. supplied to certain Public Officers, &c. and for other Services not forming a part of the Civil List, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| The amount expended for furniture, ironmongery, &c. for Whitehall Chapel, New Palace Court, and Almonry Office, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 | 59 | 18 | 2 |
| For robes, collars, badges, &c. for knights of the several orders, in the half year ended 30. June 1834 | 113 | 17 | 9 |

Carried forward £ 43,630. 4 10

| | | | |
|---|----------|---|---|
| Brought forward | £ 43,630 | 4 | 0 |
| For boxes for great seal, marshal of the ceremonies, pursuivants, watermen and messengers, badges and attendance of watermen at the House of Lords, in the three quarters ended 30. June 1834 | 787 | 8 | 2 |
| For furniture, &c. for his Majesty's yacht the Royal George, in the quarter ended 30. June 1834 | 621 | 2 | 0 |
| For portraits of his Majesty, expense of conveying plate, &c. for his Majesty's embassies at Paris and Lisbon, in the quarter ended 31. December 1833 | 763 | 9 | 8 |

No. 4.

VARIOUS PUBLIC SERVICES.

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|----|
| The commission for inquiring into ecclesiastical revenues and patronage in England and Wales; on account of salary and contingent expenses | 1,227 | 4 | 4 |
| The commission for inquiring into the practical operation of the poor laws in England and Wales; on account of salary and travelling and other expenses, and advances to assistant commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the poor in Ireland | 2,052 | 5 | 0 |
| The commission for inquiring into fees in the courts of justice under the authority of the Act 1 Will. IV. c. 58 and 70; on account of remuneration and expenses | 3,942 | 0 | 0 |
| The commission for inquiring into the forms of proceeding in the Court of Session and in the Sheriffs' Courts in Scotland, &c.; on account of contingent expenses | 1,814 | 0 | 11 |
| The commission for carrying into effect certain stipulations relative to the demarcation of the boundaries of the new state of Greece, agreed upon between the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers, parties to the Treaty signed at London on the 6. of July 1827 | 1,410 | 12 | 6 |
| The commission for carrying into effect the Convention signed at London on the 29. September 1827, between his Majesty and the United States of America, stipulating the reference to the arbitration of a friendly Sovereign of the disputed points of boundary, under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent | 928 | 10 | 0 |
| The commission instituted under the Convention between his Majesty and the Government of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, signed at Buenos Ayres on the 19. July 1830, for the consideration of the claims of British subjects for losses sustained during the war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| The commission for inquiring into and reporting upon the laws and regulations respecting the different branches of the Revenue of Excise; on account of the salary of their secretary, and expenses of the commission | 1,600 | 0 | 0 |
| The commission for inquiring into the employment of children in factories in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain; on account of salary and expenses to the close of that commission | 551 | 18 | 8 |
| The commission for dividing the boroughs named in Schedule (A) of the Act intituled, "An Act to provide for the better Government of certain Boroughs when incorporated," into wards | 175 | 0 | 0 |

Carried forward £ 59,703 16 1

| | | | |
|--|----------|----|---|
| Brought forward | £ 59,703 | 16 | 1 |
| The commission for inquiring and reporting upon the actual state of the public establishments of the island of St. Helena, and of the East India Company's property there | 380 | 0 | 0 |
| The commission for inquiring into the practice and proceedings of the Courts of Common Law; balance due upon the account of Mr. Faulkner as Secretary, beyond the amount of the estimate for this service | 44 | 11 | 6 |
| The commission for inquiring into the Criminal Law; on account of expenses | 178 | 5 | 9 |
| The amount paid for relief of certain distressed Spanish subjects residing in this country, wholly without the means of subsistence, who had been employed with the British army, or under British authorities in Spain, or who had otherwise rendered service to our military operations in that country | 8,400 | 0 | 0 |
| The expenses incurred for office-rent, &c. for Inspectors of Factories | 216 | 13 | 0 |
| The amount issued in reimbursement of advances made to certain Polish refugees on board the Prussian ship Union | 235 | 18 | 3 |
| The expense of Sheriffs' convictions and overpayments, in the year 1834 | 2,293 | 7 | 6 |
| The amount issued to defray the expenses incurred on account of and for services connected with the Cholera Morbus | 624 | 15 | 3 |
| For works to C. Babbage's machine for the calculation of various tables | 1,200 | 13 | 6 |
| To Dr. McCulloch, in remuneration for labour, and to defray expenses incurred by him in the year 1832 in completing the mineralogical survey of Scotland | 884 | 14 | 0 |
| To Lieutenant R. Lowe, on account of salary as Agent for Emigrants at Liverpool, one quarter to 31. March 1834 (subsequent to which date the salary was voted on Estimate in Supply), and expenses incurred in the prosecution of ship-owners for frauds practised upon poor emigrants, maintenance of witnesses, &c. .. | 164 | 8 | 7 |
| To Lieutenant J. R. Forrest, on account of salary as Agent for Emigrants at Leith, to the 12. October 1834, the appointment having been made after the estimate providing for this service was voted in Supply | 52 | 1 | 3 |
| In reimbursement of the expenses incurred under the authority of an Address of the House of Commons of 24. May 1833, upon the subject of Schools and Education | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| To defray expenses incurred in procuring information connected with the Reform Bill | 28 | 14 | 5 |
| To Mr. Hitchcock, in remuneration for his services while employed as Clerk to the Commissioners for inquiring into the practicability and expediency of consolidating the different branches connected with the civil administration of the Army | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred in indexing and binding the Triennial Slave Registry Returns of the Island of Jamaica, for his Majesty's Secretary of State | 34 | 4 | 9 |
| To defray expenses incurred in the purchase of a sword presented to Captain Bodenhoff, of his Danish Majesty's Navy, in testimony of the sense entertained by his Majesty, of that officer's services during the disturbances which took place in the Island of Tortola in 1831 | 55 | 4 | 6 |
| Carried forward | £ 75,124 | 8 | 4 |

| | | | |
|--|----------|----|----|
| Brought forward | £ 75,124 | 8 | 4 |
| To remunerate C. F. Koch, esq., his Majesty's Consul at Frankfort, for his services, and in reimbursement of his expenses in coming to this country, where his services were required on the occasion of the negotiation and conclusion of the Treaty between Great Britain and Frankfort, of the 13. May 1832, Mr. Koch not being in the receipt of salary as Consul | 181 | 0 | 0 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred by the Irish Government in the hire of the Kingstown Steamer, for the necessary service of conveying the police up and down the River Suir to co-operate with the magistracy of the counties of Waterford and Tipperary | 970 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Treasurer of the Ordnance for supplies furnished for the inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island | 106 | 16 | 9 |
| To the same for a fire-engine supplied to his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople | 113 | 19 | 7 |
| To the Corporation of Berwick, amount due to them on account of repairs of Berwick Bridge for two years and a half, to 10. Oct. 1834 | 226 | 2 | 6 |
| To the resident Surgeon in the Scilly Islands, for one year's salary to the 15. July 1834 | 86 | 2 | 0 |
| To defray the expenses incurred for attendance, medicines, nurses, surgical instruments, &c. in the Infirmaries of the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, for the year ended Midsummer 1834 | 424 | 11 | 1 |
| To defray the expenses incurred for the maintenance and care of an incurable lunatic for one year to the 27. April 1834 | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| To J. C. Hewlitt, deputy prothonotary of the Marshalsea and Palace Courts, for furnishing the court in Scotland yard with coals, candles, &c. in the 13 years from 1821 to 1833, both years inclusive | 652 | 18 | 4 |
| To defray the expenses of the prison of the Marshalsea and Palace Court, for one year to Christmas 1834 | 477 | 9 | 4 |
| On account of the expenses of the National Gallery of Pictures in Pall Mall | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Corporation of Trinity House, being the balance remaining due to them on account of payments for the maintenance of the Lighthouse at Heligoland, for two years to 31. December 1832 | 564 | 19 | 8 |
| T. Nettleship and H. Bicknell, for making up and publishing in the London Gazette weekly returns of the average price of Brown and Muscovado Sugar, and for expense of advertisements and other incidental charges, for the year ended 5. August 1834 | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| The Right Honourable James Edward Earl of Malmesbury, the amount due to him on his account as Governor of the Isle of Wight, for the year ended 5. April 1834, as certified by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests | 379 | 19 | 6 |
| T. N. Wittwer, esq., accountant to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, for having acted as accountant, on the part of the public, in investigating the accounts between the public and the East India Company, in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee of the House of Commons, in the year 1805, in conjunction with William Wright, esq., on the part of the said Company, for the year ended 5. September 1833 | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Carried forward | £ 81,158 | 6 | 10 |

| | | | |
|---|----------|----|----|
| Brought forward | £ 81,158 | 6 | 10 |
| The amount issued to defray the expenses incurred in printing and publishing State Papers, for the half year ended 5. July 1834 .. | 201 | 13 | 5 |
| Granted in aid of the Yarmouth Fishermen's Hospital, for one year to Midsummer 1834 | 134 | 16 | 6 |
| W. Westover, for services in the care of the King's Bench records, when removed into the house of the Master of the Rolls from Westminster Hall | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| The amount issued to pay the fees on passing declared accounts, and compensation to officers of the Exchequer, in lieu of fees .. | 3,200 | 0 | 0 |
| To defray the incidental expenses of the office of the Chief Bailiff of the Tower of London, for the year ended 5. April 1834 .. | 387 | 16 | 11 |
| To the executors of J. M. Grimwood, on account of Disbursements for the Record Rooms in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office .. | 16 | 7 | 3 |
| To H. M. O'Hanlon, Esq., being the moiety of the sum of 300 <i>l.</i> additional salary granted to him as counsel to the Irish Office, to make up his salary 900 <i>l.</i> per annum, which latter sum will hereafter be provided for in the Irish Estimates, and is intended to cover all expenses of his office, house-rent, pay of a clerk, and the preparation of the Index to the Irish Statutes | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| To defray expenses incurred in publishing, in the London Gazette a state of the bank accounts, upon an average of three months preceding, each month, from April 1832 to the month of December 1833, both inclusive | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| To the Corporation of London, for four years' rent, due at Lady-day 1833, of the land in St. George's Fields, which was intended for a new prison in lieu of the Fleet prison, but which is now required for the public service | 2,750 | 0 | 0 |
| To remunerate W. Cubitt, civil engineer, and in reimbursement of his expenses, in making a report upon the best mode of improving the harbour and docks at Leith | 250 | 2 | 0 |
| To defray expenses incurred in the consolidation and transfer of governments in the West Indies, with a view to reduce the expenditure, by making several of the governments subordinate to the Governors in Chief at Barbadoes and Antigua | 106 | 6 | 7 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred by Sir E. J. M. Macgregor, governor of Antigua, on account of the contingencies of his government, for the year ended 31. March 1834, beyond the amount of the estimate for this service | 598 | 1 | 0 |
| In reimbursement of similar expenses, and for the same period, incurred by Sir C. Schomberg, lieutenant-governor of Dominica .. | 31 | 4 | 11 |
| The sum issued in reimbursement of the fees and stamp-duty upon the grant of the use of the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster at Westminster, to the Judges of the Court of Bankruptcy .. | 25 | 4 | 2 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred upon the surrenders and reappointments of the five Judges, Bayley, Vaughan, Park, Alderson, and Williams | 1,204 | 14 | 8 |

The Expenses of passing under the Great Seal the following Commissions, viz.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Commissions appointing 14 Commissioners for inquiring respecting the State of Religious and other Instruction now existing in Ireland | 219 | 14 | 8 |
|---|-----|----|---|

Carried forward £ 90,451 15 11

| | | | |
|--|----------|----|----|
| Brought forward | £ 90,451 | 15 | 11 |
| Commission appointing 11 additional Commissioners, ditto .. | 198 | 6 | 2 |
| Commission extending the duration of the Commission for inquiring into Ecclesiastical Revenues and Patronage in England and Wales | 79 | 17 | 2 |
| Commission for inquiring into the County Rates, and the authority for the receipt of Fees by Magistrates and Sheriffs .. | 135 | 18 | 2 |
| Passing under the Seal appointed to be used in place of the Great Seal of Scotland, a Commission for extending the duration of the Commission for inquiring into the Courts of Law in Scotland | 50 | 10 | 1 |

The sums issued in discharge of the following services, which were heretofore charged upon the King's Civil List; viz.

In aid of the expenditure of St. David's College, the net income of the Livings annexed to this College for the maintenance thereof, not at present exceeding 400*l.* in the year, and the expenditure considerably exceeding 950*l.* .. 400 0 0

To the Bishop of Sodor and Man, to be distributed amongst the incumbents and schoolmasters of the island of Man, to 5. April 1834 89 9 0

The amount issued to pay arrears of the Annuity of 500*l.* granted by King Charles the Second to the ancestor of the late Sir Thomas Clarges in fee, and charged upon the coal duties; two years to February 1834 1,000 0 0

The sums issued to pay arrears of the Annuities granted to Colonel Fairfax by Charles the Second, and to Nicholas Yates by King James the Second, for the period between the 5. July, 1833 (up to which date a grant of Parliament was made for the purchase thereof and all arrears) and the completion of the surrender, delivering up the title-deeds, and paying over the purchase-money, viz.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|---|
| Arrears of Colonel Fairfax's annuity | 33 | 19 | 6 |
| Arrears of Nicholas Yates's annuity | 38 | 0 | 9 |

The amount paid in aid of the grant for the Expenses of the two Houses of Parliament to meet the deficiency on that grant, occasioned by the charge for expenses of witnesses having greatly exceeded the estimate 10,889 7 6

The amount of Fees, &c., paid at the Treasury and Exchequer .. 3,125 10 0

SERVICES PAID IN IRELAND.

The amount disbursed for the salary of the Secretary and Commissioners, and for other expenses connected with the General Board of Health on account of Cholera in Ireland .. . 487 10 11

The Directors of the Cow-Pock Institution, to enable them to carry into effect the purposes of that institution, for the year ended 5. January 1834 200 0 0

The Governors of the Meath Hospital and County Dublin Infirmary, for expenses of fever patients in said hospital, for one year to 4. October, 1834 718 2 5

Carried forward

| | | |
|----------|---|---|
| £107,898 | 7 | 7 |
|----------|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----|----|
| Brought forward | £ 107,898 | 7 | 7 |
| Paid the Secretary to the Commissioners for superintending the erecting of lunatic asylums, salary and incidental expenses, one year to 10. October 1834 | 121 | 15 | 10 |
| Paid the State apothecaries their account, for year ended the 31. December 1833 | 55 | 19 | 1 |
| The amount paid on account of the fountains in the Earl of Meath's liberties | 179 | 19 | 8 |
| Paid John Ebbs, deputy clerk of the council, in lieu of apartments, half a year to 5. January 1834 | 27 | 13 | 10 |
| Sir W. Betham allowance for a Parliamentary Record Clerk, one year to 10. October 1834 | 36 | 18 | 5 |
| The porter at the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, one year's salary, to 10. October 1834 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| The Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, half a year's composition for tithe of part of the Phoenix Park, in the parish of Castlenock, to 1. November 1833 | 8 | 18 | 1 |
| The Prebendary of Mulhuddert, ditto, to same | 18 | 1 | 5 |
| The Rector of St. James's, ditto, to 1. May, 1834 | 32 | 9 | 3 |
| The Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland, on account of the postage of letters from the National Debt Office, London, inclosing certificates for the transfer of stock from England to Ireland | 10 | 9 | 3 |
| The Minister of his Majesty's Chapel at Ringsend, one year's salary to 25. March 1834 | 184 | 12 | 4 |
| The Clerk and Sexton of ditto, ditto, ditto | 32 | 6 | 2 |
| Sir John Harvey, inspector-general of police, Leinster District, his additional allowance one year to 10. October 1834 | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Major Miller, ditto, Munster District, ditto | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Major Warburton, ditto, Western District, ditto, five quarters, to 10. October 1834 | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir Frederick Stoven, ditto, ditto, from 21. February, to 30. September, 1834 | 242 | 14 | 9 |
| For rent of premises on the City Quay, formerly occupied as a public coal-yard, for one year, to 29. September 1834 | 147 | 13 | 10 |
| Compensation to sundry Commissioners under the Tithe Composition Act, 2 & 3 Will. 4, c. 119 | 675 | 4 | 10 |
| H. Hatchell, expenses incurred by him while acting as tithe commissioner in the parish of Athnet | 33 | 1 | 8 |
| Examiners of Tithe Accounts, salaries and incidental expenses | 1,404 | 5 | 6 |
| The keeper of the Castle Chapel, for expenses incurred by direction of Government, in the year ended 30. April 1834 | 9 | 4 | 8 |
| W. H. Finlay, for furnishing Corn Returns, in the year ended 29. September 1834 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Expenses incurred in preparing Corn Returns, per order of Government | 199 | 10 | 0 |
| The treasurer to the Shelter for Females discharged from prison, the usual allowance in aid of the Institution | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| The expense of winding, cleaning, and repairing the Clocks in the Richmond Penitentiary, for one year to 4. October 1834 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| On account of salary to a late Lottery-officer for 195 days, from 24. June 1831 to 5. January 1832 | 24 | 16 | 3 |
| The holder of two outstanding late Irish lottery prizes | 18 | 9 | 3 |

Carried forward £ 112,765 6 8

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----|----|
| Brought forward | £ 112,765 | 6 | 8 |
| Sundry persons, as of his Majesty's royal bounty | 1,786 | 1 | 0 |
| Baroness Talbot, allowance for a house in the Phoenix Park, formerly occupied by the late Sir E. B. Baker, for a year and a half, to 19. July 1834 | 315 | 0 | 0 |
| The representative of the late John Killaly, civil engineer, balance of account for works done in the central district, in the year 1825 | 21 | 16 | 7 |
| The amount paid on account of the Commission of Inquiry into the Ecclesiastical Revenue, being for the salary of the secretary and incidental expenses, for the year ended 2. October 1834, including the expenses of a journey to London of the secretary .. | 899 | 1 | 5 |
| To the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of the Poor; on account of the expenses of the commission | 8,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Commissioners of Inquiry into Religious Instruction; on account of the expenses of the commission | 7,000 | 0 | 0 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred in registering Frecholders under the Reform Act | 27 | 9 | 0 |
| In reimbursement of expenses incurred by a chief constable in procuring returns for the information of Government | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To Walter Glascock, escheator of Leinster, his salary from 5. April 1832 to 30. September, 1834 | 13 | 14 | 4 |
| For ringing funeral bells of Christ-church Cathedral three days, on the death of the late Duke of Gloucester, and muffing and preparing same | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| For provisions supplied to fifty free children embarked from the Foundling Hospital, Cork, for New South Wales | 10 | 13 | 4 |
| To Henry Walker, for the mayor, sheriffs, and commons of the city of Cork; amount of fines paid into the Exchequer by the sheriffs of said city in the years 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831, and as stated in the certificate of the clerk of the peace | 233 | 16 | 7 |
| Total Expenditure for the United Kingdom .. | £ 131,100 | 4 | 11 |

Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
16. March 1835.

THOMAS F. FREMANTLE.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE AMOUNT THAT WILL PROBABLY BE REQUIRED TO
DEFRAY THE EXPENSE UNDER THE HEAD OF CIVIL CONTINGENCIES
FOR ONE YEAR, ENDING 31. MARCH 1836. •

One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Pounds.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
16. March 1835.

THOMAS F. FREMANTLE.

POOR-LAW BILL.

THE following article, which I have taken from the London papers of to-day, will give the reader a specimen of *what is at work!* **THE WHIGS ARE IN POWER AGAIN!** Vigour is again at work in vindicating the law! However, I have another place where it will be my duty to talk about this matter; only desiring my readers to read all these articles attentively through.

(From the Times.)

The Relieving Officer of the Western Division of the Ampthill Union entered on his duties for the first time on Monday last, when he rode over to Ledlington, a village in the union, to arrange with the overseer respecting the paupers, and on his arrival there received the treatment as detailed in the evidence below. On the Tuesday following, he proceeded on his duties to Milbrook, where he met with a similar reception, and was so grossly assaulted by the mob that he was compelled to seek shelter in the house of the Rev. G. Cardale, a county magistrate, who addressed the mob, and requested them to disperse quietly. Mr. Cardale and his son then accompanied the relieving officer, Mr. Osborn, down the village, when the mob continued their threats and vociferations so violently that the three gentlemen were again obliged to take shelter in a house. The paupers had now collected in such numbers, and their threats were so outrageous, that Mr. Osborn would not venture to make his appearance again that day, but remained concealed until night, when he went home by stealth. On Wednesday, about half-a-dozen constables proceeded to Ledlington, to take two women and some men into custody. They succeeded in apprehending the former, when they were met by about two hundred paupers, who threatened instant revenge unless the women were rescued. The constables, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, allowed their prisoners to escape. A great number of special constables were sworn in during the middle of the week, and, to their shame be it spoken, between twenty and thirty re-

spectable men, either from cowardice or self interest, preferred paying the full fine of 5*l.* to risking their persons when the public safety so loudly demanded their services. Thursday was the usual day for the meeting of the Guardians, and accordingly they assembled at the Ampthill House of Industry, at the usual hour, twelve o'clock. They had not been long in deliberation, when the paupers, men, women, and children, came flocking in from all quarters in great numbers, many of the men armed with bludgeons, sticks, &c. Several of the men told the Guardians that they wanted work, and to be paid for it in money, but that they would not take relief in bread. They were told that their demand for money could not be complied with, when they commenced a most desperate attack upon the windows with stones, brick-bats, cabbage-stalks, and every missile that could be found. Many of the Guardians attempted to address the mob (who from various statements amounted to between 300 and 500 persons), but could not obtain a hearing. Stones continued to shower against the window, and in the room where the Guardians were assembled several gentlemen were severely hurt, and one in particular, whose eyes were much cut with broken glass. At twenty-five minutes past one o'clock, H. M. Musgrave, Esq., a magistrate, and President of the Board of Guardians, and whose firmness and resolution at this critical juncture have been highly applauded, boldly advanced into the mob, and in two places read the Riot Act. This had only a partial effect, for on the Guardians proceeding from the House of Industry to the King's Arms Inn, they were followed by a large concourse of people, shouting and threatening all the way. Opposite the inn, in the middle of the Market-place, a regular fight took place between the special constables and the mob; as often as any of the former took prisoners into custody, they were rescued by the latter. The magistrates and guardians now deeming the local authorities insufficient to overpower such numbers as had then collected, D. G. Adey, Esq., went off express for London, to request assistance from Government; and Mr. Grame, the

auditor to the Union, was also dispatched at five, a. m., on Thursday, for a body of the Metropolitan Police, who arrived, twenty-two in number, on Friday morning. They were shortly afterwards dispatched, accompanied by H. M. Musgrave, Esq., and a number of special constables on horseback, in search of the ringleaders, and between four and five in the afternoon returned, with several of both sexes in custody. The charges were immediately proceeded with before the following magistrates: Rev. G. Cardale, Rev. T. Barber, Rev. J. Beard, G. Musgrave, and H. M. Musgrave, Esq.

Mary Walker, Amelia Gulliver, Hannah Reed, and Elizabeth Henman, were first put to the bar, charged with rioting and tumultuously assembling, &c., at Ledlington, on Monday last, the 11. inst.

Mr. J. Osborn deposed that he is relieving officer to the western division of the Ampthill Union. Went on Monday last to Ledlington, to make inquiry if he could find work for the surplus labourers. Made an appointment with the overseer, and on arriving at his house, found the prisoners at the bar at the gate. They said, "We don't want you here, and we'll have money or blood, and before you leave this we'll have either the money out of your pocket, or the blood out of your veins." Witness remonstrated, and told them he had no orders to relieve them. They still cried out, "Money or blood." He then went into another room. One of the women said she knew witness had got money; and while he was surrounded she put her hand into his pocket and took out 4l. odd. A lad called out, "If he don't give us a shilling each, we'll have his blood before we go." Witness gave all the money he had, from fear only.

John Ruffhead, constable of Ledlington, was desired by last witness to come to the overseer's, where he saw Osborn surrounded by the women. Believes Osborn relieved them from bodily fear only. Heard them say, "Blood or money" several times. There were about forty men backing the women, and all calling out, "Blood or money," and all appeared of a mind.

W. Kingston, constable: Was present

at Mr. Bosworth's, on Monday; heard cries of "Money or blood," and some of the crowd, alluding to the relieving officer, called out "Neck him." Saw John Reed, J. R. Perkins, W. Turner, Michael Reed, and John Beale.

The Bench remarked that this witness appeared afraid to give his evidence.

Witness, however, denied that he was.

In defence, the women said they cried out, "We'll have money, or lose our blood." One or two remonstrated on the hardship of being obliged to leave their families.

The bench consulted a few minutes, when the four prisoners were fully committed for trial for the riot.

John Taylor, Henry Reed, and James Waters, were next put to the bar, charged with riotously and tumultuously assembling at Ampthill on the day previous (Thursday, May 14), with force of arms, &c.

Rufus Sharp deposed, that he is Governor of the House of Industry at Ampthill. On the day the guardians met saw about 150 labourers come in a body to the House of Industry. One man in a red waistcoat gave the word "halt." Witness asked his name, and tried to shut the gate. H. Reed (the prisoner) then tried to rush in at the gate, and called out to the other men, "Come on, don't mind him." Witness collared some of them, and tried to shut the gate; it was, however, forced open, and he then tried to get to the house as quick as he could. The prisoners collared witness. A great riot then took place. Stones and pebbles were thrown at the windows, 142 panes of which were smashed. A large hand-basket of stones was afterwards picked up in the house.

Richard Abbes was on duty on the day in question. Saw a mob of 200 persons. Heard Guardians address the mob, who cried out "Blood or money; no bread." Heard windows rattling. The prisoner Reed struck witness with a large stick, when he said, "Reed, you rascal, don't strike me." Saw Taylor trying to get witness away, and he rushed forward. Heard the Riot Act read by H. Musgrave, Esq., twice.

Reed, in defence, denied the assault,

and said he could have struck witness if he had a mind, as he had a stick in his hand.

Mr R. M. Morris stated that he particularly noticed the prisoners as ringleaders of the mob. Stood near Mr. May, who tried to reason with the mob. Went to the door of the House of Industry, as he considered the invalid paupers to be in danger. Mob rushed at witness, and the prisoner Taylor brandished a stick at him. The Duke of Bedford's steward came up, and received a blow at that time. Witness saw Waters put his fist in the face of Mr. J. Morris.

Robert Savage, constable of Ampthill, saw between 200 and 300 people. Heard them cry, "Blood and bread, or work and money." Saw the prisoner Waters strike J. Morris, Esq., with his right hand. Saw Reed there too. He appeared forward in the business, and cried out, "Pull him out." Witness considered the Guardians in danger of their lives.

H. M. Musgrave, Esq., sworn. I am a magistrate, a member of the Board of Guardians. Saw riot, and after my brother guardians had tried to address the mob, I did so too, and partly obtained silence. Reed said, "Oh, you —— villain, we won't hear you." Some called out "Silence." Reed called out "Bread, bread, and down with 'em, down with them." He was about two yards from witness, who having been pointed out by Reed, the yells became most discordant and intimidating. When the windows had been demolished, witness came out of the house, and saw the prisoner Reed rushing at Mr. Morris, who defended himself with an umbrella. Witness fetched the Riot Act, and said "Reed, you're the man who pointed me out." Thought Mr. M. Morris must have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the mob. Witness seized a stick, but did not use it. Found that reading the Riot Act produced an effect on the mob. Saw Reed time after time and considered him the ringleader of the mob.

Another witness heard Reed encourage the mob after the Riot Act had been read.

In defence, Reed said things had been said which had not been proved. He

took no stick with him, but found one in front of the house, and went home directly the guardians left the House of Industry. Did not hear the Riot Act read. Taylor said that a great many men, armed with sticks and hoes, had gone to the yards of Mr. Crouch and Mr. Faulder, and told the men to come out, or else he should not have done so. He was earning 10s. a week, and had worked for the same master for nine years.

John Burgoyne and William Letting were next charged with the capital offence of continuing to create a riot beyond the hour after the Riot Act had been read, notice of which had been posted on conspicuous parts of the town.

Richard Abbes, constable, deposed to the same facts as proved against the other prisoners, except that they continued their riotous behaviour beyond the time specified. Other men not so violent as Burgoyne.

Mr. Shaw, high-constable, said he saw Burgoyne very violent.

Mr. Cook, corn-dealer, deposed to having heard the Riot Act read between one and two o'clock. Saw the prisoners (except Burgoyne) in contact with several persons. They attacked Mr. Shaw, the high-constable, when witness went to his assistance. Letting's stick was loaded at one end with lead. Tried to get hold of it but could not succeed. Saw Morris, and went to his assistance.

Mr. R. Furze, relieving officer to the Eastern Division, corroborated the above, and saw Mr. Shaw stick up the notices, stating that the Riot Act was read at twenty-five minutes past one o'clock, and all persons remaining after twenty-five minutes past two would be guilty of felony.

Mr. Shaw deposed to seeing Burgoyne in the crowd. Witness lost his staff and his hat, which he did not find again, and was knocked down three times.

Burgoyne denied the assault. Letting said he came for no row, but was forced from his home in the morning by the men, who called on him in a body.

Both prisoners were fully committed on the capital charge.

A man named Walker, who was proved to be half an idiot, and who only attended

as an escort to his wife, was discharged from custody.

• It appears that Government promised Mr. Adey that the Household Troops from Windsor, with as many more as might be requisite, should be sent down on the shortest notice, whenever the magistrates might deem their presence necessary.

The examination ended at eight o'clock on Friday evening.

THE CORK TANNERS.

Case of the Cork Working Tanners; in a Letter to William Cobbett, Esq. M.P.— By THOMAS SHEAHAN.

(Concluded from page 440).

It is necessary for me now, Sir, in order that you may clearly understand what followed, to give you a notion of some of the electioneering movements in this city. The triumphant return of your friend, Dr. BALDWIN, and of his colleague, Mr. CALLAGHAN, in 1832, was mainly owing to the Cork Trades' Association. That body gave the first proof that a popular election could be carried even in the City of Cork (debauched as it had been by Whig, Tory, and Evangelical), without bribery. It took the great mass of the unrepresented into its hands. In its schooling of them in right principles it was indefatigable. The press of the rich lent it no assistance, but by a system of missions among the poor and industrious, it was enabled to dispense with the services of that "best possible public instructor," and eventually confounded it and its abettors by the fruits which it produced. The honest electors responded to the appeal of the tens of thousands without votes, and said that they held the franchise for the general good, and would so exercise it; and the voice of both awed the trimmer and corrupt into a performance, if not a sense of duty, and the popular candidates were returned by an immense majority. Mark! the unrepresented were the first operated on in this scheme of public good; and they, as it may be imagined, exerted their first in-

fluence on the poorest of the voters, such, for example, as were among the working tanners. Come we now to a few weeks before the last election. On its being rumoured that a dissolution of Parliament was at hand, a preparatory meeting of the trades' association was called, to consider the propriety of re-organizing the body, and of assisting in the expected election. It will be in the recollection of some of the members there assembled, that it was urged that the dispute between the masters and working tanners might seriously mar the influence of the association; and that it was a matter for consideration, whether, a dissolution not being certain, or in the event of a dissolution, an opposition to the popular candidates not being probable, it would be prudent, by calling the trades together, to hazard a display of feeling on the part of the working tanners and their friends, which might not alter the determination of the masters, and would be calculated to raise the hopes of the enemy. I am safe in saying that the tanners' affair had much to do in suspending the operation of the trades' association last election, and in imparting to that election one of its worst features. The trades' association did not meet, but the citizens did; and a list of names to serve as a committee for conducting the election of the popular candidates was read. Two of those on it, the names of master tanners, were received in aught but a flattering manner. The marks of disapprobation came principally from the working tanners, but they were discounted by the great mass of the meeting. Indeed, the language of some of the poor men for some time had been, "England never oppressed us so much as our masters! they say they are Christians, but there is no forgiveness or mercy, not to talk of justice, in their hearts. They take us by the arm at an election, and there is nothing that they won't do for us; and here they would let us starve." These words were calculated to produce their fruit, in a season of deep distress, among those whose poverty tempts them to confound right and wrong, and to secure a little pelf by any means. Two or three gentlemen, members of the City Election Committee, anticipating what

these things might end in, had an interview with one or two master tanners, and besought them not to paralyze any portion of the popular body by a longer adherence to the bond. The remonstrants were told that, after what had occurred at the theatre, a rescinding of the bond would be considered the triumph of intimidation; at the same time it was hinted to them, that if the men behaved well at the election something might be done for them. With what hearty scorn I received the report of this traffic in good works! The election came on, and the first day's polling gave evidence of two things: first, that the corporate party was prepared to do every thing from which honest men and respectable men would recoil, to carry their point. Next, that the poor freeholders and householders, whose feelings and principles were notoriously in favour of the popular candidates, were going over in alarming numbers to the briber. Few, if any, of the unemployed working tanners had as yet registered their votes in favour of the Conservatives; indeed it is but justice to say, that they always spoke worse than they felt. Others, however, not as well disposed as they, availed themselves of their case, and made it their justification for "selling their votes to the highest bidder." There were many of the poor voters still unpollled, and it occurred to me and a few friends that something might be done to prevent them from entirely disgracing the city and the class of electors to which they belonged. We said, "We shall see if we cannot bring in the working tanners to vote for the country." We convened a meeting of them without delay; we told them that we had no proposition to lay before them from their masters; that their country called on them to record with their votes their detestation of the bloody deed at Gurthroe; and that as we had stood by them in the dispute with their masters, they ought to stand by us against the common enemy." They replied with one voice, that they would vote for their country. We accordingly marched them into the great Lancasterian school-rooms, where several thousands of the citizens were met, and in the midst of that vast assemblage, and

hailed by the most enthusiastic cheers, we raised aloft the standard of "**THE POOR, BUT HONEST TANNERS.**" The effect on the outstanding voters was decidedly useful. I now draw to a conclusion of my detail. Several electors spoke in reference to the working tanners at the Lancasterian meeting. Amongst others, Messrs. James Hayes, William Fagan, and Joseph Hayes; the first-named gentleman praised them for coming forward to vote for their country, without stipulation. Mr. Fagan declared, that if the masters persisted in adhering to the bond after this manifestation of high feeling on the part of the workmen, the latter would be justified in going over to the enemy. This, no doubt, was somewhat hyperbolical, but, then, it was well intended. Mr. Joseph Hayes declared that the bond was actually rescinded. Observe, the last-named gentleman is the relation of Mr. CALLAGHAN, and his most efficient supporter. The election passed away, but the bond remained. Some of us were prepared to hear this of the *master* spirit, and were content with saying that we were glad that the poor men had voted neither for reward nor promise of reward. Mr. Joseph Hayes, however, felt personally committed in the business; he had declared publicly that the bond was rescinded; he had made the declaration on the authority of a master tanner; and he did not like to be suspected of making a misstatement designedly or on light grounds, to serve an electioneering purpose. Partly owing to the remonstrance of this gentleman, partly owing to the spirit of mutiny which was spreading fast among the little masters, and which threatened to defy bond and penalty, in part, too, to public opinion, which was muttering disagreeable truths in the ears of the capitalists, the bond was rescinded. Mark, however, it was not rescinded without a condition, that the master who should take into his employment any of those who had turned out, must require of him to make the following affidavit:

"—— came before me this day, and maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists of God, and saith that he will not continue or become a member of any society of

tanners' labourers, and that he will not, without his employer's consent, enter into any other society, nor pay, nor permit to be paid in his behalf, any sum or sums of money, or otherwise. And that he will apprise his employer of any combination which may come to his knowledge, affecting his interest as a trader.

"Sworn before me this day
of 183."

Some, "pressed by the hard hand of necessity," have sworn to this affidavit; others have recoiled from it. Pray, sir, does not the requiring of this affidavit look very much like an acknowledgment on the part of the master tanners, that justice is not with them. Why not depend on their good employments, and the five months' lesson of suffering they have taught their slaves, and on the opinion which those slaves ought to entertain, that they cannot better their condition? Oh! these are weak reeds against the conviction, that men's labour entitles them to something better than base potato diet, and that those who command that labour can afford to give it if they would. As to the tendency of this oath (unless counteracted by public spirit, and partly with that scope I write) it is afflictively mischievous? Is it desirable that the workman should know his employer only to hate him or to fear him; his fellow-man, only to spy or to suspect him? Is it desirable that his spirit should be broken or debased, and that in a country like this he should be rendered incapable of any generous or lofty act, moral or political? Is this condition of the labourer desirable, or is it not rather to be deprecated as a calamity of the very worst omen? And yet, the tendency of this oath is to make the man who takes it that vile, malignant, fearful thing. He who suggested the oath is fit for the *pit*. I am rejoiced to hear that one master tanner, who had the misfortune to adopt it, has now the grace to

abandon it. Let him complete his atonement by proclaiming to his men, that they are to consider that oath as though it never had been.

I now dismiss the Cork master tanners. They are as good men as Irish employers in general, and better than some of them. But how does it happen that the Irish labourer is so absolutely at the mercy of them all, and that persons whose cupidity, blind like every other passion, must be always running counter to his natural rights, exercise, in a manner, a power of life and death over him? The causes are obvious. First, there is no law in the land declaring that the labourer shall have a livelihood out of it. Next, there is no law declaring to the rich that they must provide remunerative employment or proper sustenance for that labourer. Did such laws prevail in Ireland, the Irish labourer would scarcely in any instance be outraged with a vile potato diet, or if any landlord or employer should make the experiment of feeding and housing him like the brute beast, he would receive no countenance from the lower wages or coarser food system of his neighbours. And as to such a scene as that of pampered wealth imposing a five months' fast on haggard poverty, under such laws it could not be enacted, the constitutional feeling of the country would rise in revolt against it. What has more mainly contributed than your poor-laws to protect the natural rights of your labourer, and to secure to him, amidst the extravagance of governments, and the plunderings of paper-money men, and the convulsions of trade, and the unpropitiousness of seasons, something like the subsistence of a man! How I was delighted at hearing you describe, during your visit to this city, the treatment which the agricultural labourers under your roof were in the habit of receiving! they got "full and plenty" of bread, and beer, and pudding, and bacon; and your outside labourers were paid 16s. a week. Long may you live, Sir, to prove the labourer's friend; may you succeed in your own country, in the full assertion of that labourer's rights; and may you see in this such a change in his condition as will make that success secure.

One wish more; may the Irish labourer's hatred of *low wages* be as lasting as his love of justice.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

THOMAS SHEAHAN.

Cork, April 22. 1835.

THE RACE THAT WRITE.

WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

VENERATED AND DEAR SIR,

PERMIT me, for the benefit of my working brethren, to offer a few remarks on the class above designated. I am sometimes provoked when I see you represented by this tribe; you, who have done more than any man living, or who ever lived, to instruct the people, and have done it with so much effect; you, who, while you insist on the necessity of our having bodily support, teach us to avoid intemperance, effeminacy, gaming, and every sort of frivolity; you, whose writings have given us more understanding than have all our teachers, and have made us to excel the ancients in wisdom; you, who have made many of us write more correctly, more sensibly, and more beautifully, than the tribe who condescend to "devote their talents and their learning to the instruction of the working classes"! when I see YOU reproached and vilified as the "enemy of education"; as one "who would feed us on bacon and beer" but would deny us all intellectual and "moral enjoyment"! So the Race that Write misconstrue, or misrepresent, your strong, hyperbolic, and (perhaps I may say) unguarded expressions. Althorp may say without censure, "Damn the House of Commons, save Westminster Hall"; every one knows his meaning; but should Cobbett say, "Damn your *heddekashun*, give the labourers bacon and beer," the howl is set up by THE RACE THAT WRITE, taken up by THE RACE THAT TALK, and THE RACE THAT READ yell symphoniously "Cobbett is the enemy of education"! The outcries of this crew might be disregarded; but to prevent misconstruction

on the part of sensible, though not discriminating readers, it may be necessary to say, that I do not condemn writing generally, nor do I object, in certain cases, to individuals living by writing; I will also allow, as a motive, a certain portion of vanity, or love of fame, present, or posthumous; but I despise the writer whose *only* or *predominant* motive is mercenary or selfish. Such a character as the latter I include in the "Race that Write"; such as you call "lazy white-fingered fellows;" "fellows with pens stuck behind their ears," &c. . . .

Mr. Cobbett, I had written the above some months ago, as introductory to further observations on the heddekashun system and its mischiefs; but laid it aside from a fear of being too obtrusive on your notice. Yet the love of justice and a sense of gratitude impel me now to notice the most unjust attack made on you by Mr. Roebuck, at the meeting of the Union of the Working Classes in London, and its reception, as given in the *True Sun*. I am not surprised at Mr. Roebuck's attack: no, no; for I know he is not "one of us." He is of "the learned" order, and of the *Malthusian* breed. I knew this a good while ago, by reading his papers (silly papers they are) in *Tait's Magazine*. I wish his *cheerers* would only look at one on Trades' Unions, and at another on the English Poor laws. But I am surprised, and have long and often been surprised, at the very stinted measure of gratitude which many of the working-people evince towards you, and am still puzzled to account for it. Is it that you are too honest to *flatter* us? Are you too *familiar* with us; not writing, like the "learned friend" in Tait, Mr. "I. A. R." in the *we-and-you*-style; (how I cursed his pedantry and presumption when I first read it! and that Tait and he knew) but as a man entirely on our level? These are, no doubt, in part, causes of the subject of my regret; but the more potent cause will be found in the heddekashun system.

THE RACE THAT WRITE, finding now less profit and employment in aristocratic toad-eating, are fain to become "demagogues;" or, in their

own words, they are "willing to write for the instruction of the working-classes." I think it was he of the "Blue Lion," who, urging the abolition of the "taxes on knowledge" in the House of Commons, (or was it the *homme de lettres* in the Lords) said that by this means the seditious and blasphemous writers would lack employment; while philosophers and moralists would be encouraged. "Mr. Chadwick," I think he said, "Mr. Chadwick was willing to write for the instruction of the 'working classes.'" How condescending in Mr. CHADWICK! Had I time and space, I should be able to show my working brethren how the heddekators form themselves into a distinct fraternity of a higher order; from which they exclude the "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; the vulgar, the unlearned; or, if these appellatives won't go down with us now, "not regular students"; as saith the "*Working Man's Companion*," in his advocacy of *The Wrong of Idleness*. But let these hints suffice to set sensible working men a thinking; and to show us that some of them see through the trick.

Among the working people themselves there are also a few of the heddekahun crew, like the local Methodist preachers, assuming a superiority over, or a leadership among, their brethren; vain, cock-combical, lazy; fain, fain to leave the bench, or the stool, for the desk, or the rostrum. A man of this sort, aiming, as the means of gratifying a selfish and sordid ambition, at a *lionship* among the aristocracy of learning, will submit to the lowest acts of servility; and will practise the vilest arts of sycophancy towards the greater leaders, the extraordinary directors, as I may call them, of the "Philosophical Reformers." This is another, and a new designation, again; and (Lord preserve us!) RICARDO is placed at the head of them! Now, sir, for I must cut short, *you* will not bow the knee to the Baal of learning; you have dashed down its Dagon before the ark of common-sense; *you* have mocked its mysteries, and blasphemed its priesthood; the heddekators see this, and hate you; they feel your superiority, and envy you;

they do not, they dare not read your writings, and scarcely ever quote them, from fear of the unavoidable consequences of feeling, and of exhibiting their own inferiority; * therefore they must call you some ill name or other. *Jacobin* will not do; *Tory* was tried, but it failed very lately; it must therefore now be "Enemy of education for the working classes." The base and slanderous epithets descend from the extraordinary to the ordinary directors; from these to the managers and leaders of Unions; and the ignorant and stupid portion raise a "cheer"; which is mechanically followed by the unthinking. This will not last long; but were it even to be continued, the true patriot would say with Paul, "I will gladly spend and be spent for you; although the more abundantly I love, the less I am loved of you"!

I am,

Venerated and dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. MORRISON, Sen.

Dunfermline,
12. May, 1835.

If Mr. Cobbett feel my communications troublesome, I should not, and would not esteem him the less for giving me "the hint."

If the foregoing be thought worthy of a place in the *Register*, it may require correction, as it has been hurriedly written.

I earnestly entreat Mr. Cobbett to look at Nos. II. and III. of *The Rights of Land*, in the *Liberators*, which will be sent to him.—T. M., sen.

N.B.—The *Liberators* have not been received

* A trifling circumstance will sometimes establish an important fact. When Roebuck says, "Cobbett wants only *mutton* for the labourers," it shows that the "learned gentleman" is not a reader of Cobbett. He is, indeed, a fit person to charge you with sentiments which you disclaim!

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 15.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BALL, W., Worcester, skin-merchant.
HAYNES, G., Trinity-street, Southwark, licensed-victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BOAST, D., County-terrace, New Kent-road, surgeon.
 HACKETT, J., Leicester, printer.
 PASK, J., Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, leather-cutter.
 TONKS, J., Birmingham, wire-worker.
 WATTS, W., Lutterworth, Leicestershire, cattle-dealer.
 WOODWARD, T., Piccadilly, tea-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CONNELL, J., Glasgow, general-agent.
 GREIG, A., and P. Baillie, Edinburgh, music-sellers.

TUESDAY, MAY 19.

BANKRUPTS.

BASS, C., Kingston-upon-Hull, innkeeper.
 BAZZMI, A., High Holborn, doll-manufacturer.
 BROWN, W., Gloucester, victualler.
 GLASS, J., White Hart-street, Drury-lane, victualler.
 GOLDSMID, L. P., Quadrant, Regent-street, bill-broker.
 HALL, J., and J. Wagner, Edgworth, Lancashire.
 HANCOCK, S. C., Newbury, Berkshire, cheese and bacon-factor.
 HAYNES, W., Coln Saint Aldwyns, Gloucestershire, miller.
 JOHNSON, W., Gracechurch-street, auctioneer.
 KIRKLAND, M., and G. Robinson, Manchester, muslin-manufacturers.
 LAURENCE, T., Farnham, Surrey, fell-monger.
 MAWHOOD, H., High Holborn, dealer in lace.
 MURGATROD, C., Shelf, Halifax, stuff-merchant.
 TAYLOR, W., Hitchin, Hertfordshire, cow-dealer.
 THOMPSON, W., Brassington, Derbyshire, cattle-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 18.—We had a full market of Wheat this morning, for which we experienced a dull sale to-day, at a reduction of 1s. per quarter from last Monday's prices.

In malting Barley little or nothing doing, the season being over.

New Beans brought rather more money.

In grinding Barley and Peas we not only alteration.

We have had a further large arrival of Oats

since this day week, mostly from Ireland. We had three or four days rain last week, which has been succeeded by fine warm weather; in consequence of this and the large supply, we experienced a dull limited sale for Oats to-day, and prices yielded 6d. to 1s. per qr. from the terms of last Monday. It appears to us that the advance in Oats was grounded on the deficiency of stocks, and not on the prospects of the coming crops, and we expect to see the trade rally again as soon as the present glut is cleared off.

In Corn under lock nothing doing.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire | 35s. to 37s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
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Sostanza gloria d'umanità."

No. 2.

Case of Hannah Bagg.

IN the beginning of May, 1833. I was re-
quested to see a poor girl, aged 14, who
had, for several years, shown indications of
scrofula in her constitution, for which every
remedy usually resorted to had been tried,
failing, as might naturally be expected, of
success. When I first saw her, she had an
immense enlargement of glandular swelling
on the side of her neck and face, most fright-
ful to look at, quite distorting the eye; be-
neath the arm (on the same side) was a simi-
lar enlargement, also at the elbow, which was,
at least, twice the proper size, with an im-
mense wound, discharging a most offensive
humour. Having put her upon a course of
the Pills, I left home for a fortnight, and upon
my return, was much pleased at the progress
which, during even so short a time, had been
produced towards her recovery. The enlarge-
ments were all, evidently dispersing, and the
wound at the elbow was healing. I will merely
add, that by a daily persevering use of the

Pills during three months, and adhering
steadily to the advice given her, this poor girl
is now perfectly cured of a cruel disease, which
would have sent her, most probably, after an
useless life and years of suffering, to her grave;
whereas the Medicine has not kept her one
day from her employment, an apprentice to a
dress-maker, although she took in her course
of cure, as many as twenty-eight Pills a day.
She is now capable of becoming an active and
useful member of society, and in thankfulness
for her cure by Morison's Pills, she has, at her
own request, had her case laid before the
public in the Dorset County Chronicle, attested
by herself, her mother, and her former
mistress.

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Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under
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Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena;
Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of
cataract; Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house,
Middlesex, of ophthalmia; Miss S. Englefield,
Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache.
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such a remedy, and have not availed them-
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ture of "Thomas Prout" is on the wrapper.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 88.—No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 30TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



GRIDIRON.

MR. SPRING RICE, in common with so many others, will continue to misrepresent (from error, no doubt) my Gridiron-prophecy, made in America in the autumn of 1819, as soon as I heard of the passing of PEEL'S Bill. They say that I prophesied that the Bank of England would never pay in gold again. I prophesied no such thing. The prophecy was this, and it has been been repeated in the *Register* twenty times; that I would suffer myself to be broiled "upon one of CASTLE-REAGH'S broadest gridirons, while SID-MOUTH stirred the coals, and while CANNING stood by and made a jest of "my groans, *if ever that bill were carried into full effect.*" The bill provided for the total abolition of one-pound notes throughout the kingdom, to take place in the year 1823. Has it taken place? No; and it cannot take place, with the other provisions of the bill, which provided for the payment of the interest of the debt in standard gold. It is as easy to pull down the sun from the sky, as to cause these two things to exist at the same time. The bill has been repealed with regard to its most important provisions. The prophecy has been ful-

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.

filled; and, therefore, the venerable Chancellor of the Exchequer is in error.

However, the passage which I read in the House the other night from Lord WESTERN'S pamphlet is quite enough for me: "MR. COBBETT foretold as early as 1818 (before the destructive bill was passed), that a gold standard at £3 17s. 10¹/₂d. would inevitably reduce the price of wheat to 4s. 6d. or 5s. a bushel. Our statesmen were as little informed as BABIES of that which Mr. COBBETT understood so well." This is enough for me. Lord WESTERN observes, however, as far as I know, in twenty passages of his pamphlets, that the bill has never gone into full effect for one moment.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

EVERY word that I have uttered in the House with regard to this Duke and his big workhouse, I will prove to be true; but I should anticipate unfairly, if I were here to publish the bill of fare, and various other facts. "Face to face" is what I like best; and face to face I will have it out, if there be any one to face me.

DAILY PAPER.

I CANNOT announce, this week, all the particulars relative to this intended publication of a daily paper. Every one will see that it requires a little time to make all the arrangements for so great a concern; and especially at a moment when

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I have duties to perform that necessarily take up so large a part of my time. As soon as the arrangements are made, I will ~~am~~ ^{and} the day of publication; and then the public shall see, if I cannot defeat this monstrous combination of *suck-mugs* and their mercenary masters.

"HEDDEKASHUN."

SEEING a charge against the people of this country, and nine-tenths of it against the industrious classes; seeing this charge against the people in one of the estimates now before Parliament, as being proposed to be voted for the purpose of keeping up the humbug of "heddekashun," I think it proper to lay before my readers part of the contents of a book which I have just received from BOSTON in America, written by a physician of HARTFORD in Connecticut, in the year 1833. This gentleman thinks it his duty to lay before his countrymen the evils of a too early teaching of children by books. He brings authorities from all quarters, and, amongst the rest, he quotes me as an authority. He has done me the honour to send me a copy of the book; and I here insert a copy of his letter accompanying his book.

"TO WILLIAM COBBETT.

"Sir,—I embrace the opportunity afforded by a townsman visiting Europe, to send you a small book I lately published; I beg your acceptance of it. At page 74 is an extract from one of your valuable works.

"I also embrace this opportunity to tender to you my thanks for your numerous and valuable writings.

"With sentiments of great respect,

"I am your obliged and obedient

"Servant,

"A. BRIGHAM.

"Hartford, Connecticut,
"March 18, 1835."

The Scripture says, that "prophets are not honoured in their own countries." I am an extraordinarily fortunate prophet, for I am honoured both at home and abroad; and have the additional good fortune of being hated by fools and knaves all over the world. At last I appear to be *extorting* honour from these in my own country.

I have always held the opinion, an opinion originating in that of a very sensible father, that early teaching of book-learning had a tendency to enfeeble, if not destroy the mind. I am sure that I owe my astonishing capacity to labour mentally, to the circumstance of my not having known anything at all of books, worthy of being called knowledge, until I was fourteen years of age. In divers parts of my writings I have strongly urged parents to abstain from attempting to make their children little prodigies of learning; and to no one of seven children have I ever given, or caused to be given, a copy to write from, or a lesson in reading. The females are as learned as any women need to be; and the three eldest sons may all fairly and justly be called scholars; and my real opinion is, that if I had pursued the course which parents in general would have pursued with regard to these children, they would

have been persons of a character and description very different from that which they are now. In my English Grammar I tell the son to whom I addressed it, and who was then about 14 years of age, that, up to that time, he had not been requested ever to look into a book; that his elder brothers learned to write of themselves, from seeing me write; that he had learned to write from seeing them write; that I had done my best to give him the great blessing described by Lord BACON, "a sound mind in a sound body"; that he had them both; but that it was now time, as I did not intend that he should live by bodily labour, for him to begin to be a scholar, and to learn things which it was unnecessary for labourers to know anything about; but that, at the same time, however book-learned he might become himself, he ought to take care never to consider, and particularly never to call, labourers "ignorant men"; seeing that they would always have a sort of knowledge, and of ability, which he would never possess. *Grammar*, I told him; and grammar of his own language was the only foundation of all book-learning; and that, as I was going to write an English grammar, he ought to copy it word for word, and letter for letter, as I proceeded. This he did; and in his handwriting it went to the press, while I was in Long Island, to which I had exiled myself, in order to avoid the dungeon prepared for me by the execrable borough-mongers, as agents of whom SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH held the keys; and from which Long Island I, at intervals of the writing of the grammar, battered the boroughmonger-crew with more efficiency than ever; and in that Long

Island, too, made and published the grid-iron prophecy, which has now been so amply verified; and whence, too, I published the letter to TIERNEY, distinctly telling him, that if such a bill as PEEL'S were passed wheat would come down to five shillings a bushel, and possibly to three shillings and sixpence.

Having hooked these matters in, I return to my subject, by saying, that this son has published an "*Italian Grammar*"; that he has published, more recently, a "*Latin Grammar*"; that he has studied the law regularly; and that an attorney of great practice has told me that he is a very learned lawyer. Now, without pretending to offer even an opinion as to the abilities, or the extent of the learning of this son; and without having any right whatever to offer any such opinion, I have a right to cite these facts in confirmation of my own opinions with regard to book-teaching. I had battles enough to carry on to prevent both sons and daughters being sent to school. About other matters; about eating, dress, and the like, I cared very little; but upon the schoolmaster and schoolmistress score, I was inflexible. Neither scoldings nor tears, nor anything else, would move me from that resolution, though having to face auxiliaries in the contest. This was a duty that I had to perform, and I performed it well and faithfully.

LORD ALTHORP, when I opposed a grant of money for these children-schools, insisted that there was great use in them, as, by their means, children were taught *before they were able to do work*. "That," said I, "is one of my great objections: before they can work, they

"ought to be growing to be able to work ;
 "and they get that ability by rolling
 "about on the ground, and scrambling
 "over hedges ; and not by being shut
 "up in a stifling hole, amongst numerous
 "other children."

Do we see young birds flock together, or young anythings? No : we see them mix with the old ones, and thus learn their manners, and their mode of getting their living. Can a child who converses with nothing but children learn to be a man? If a hundred children were brought up till they were twenty years of age to see nobody but one another, it would be a mass of half idiocy altogether ; and we should see all the lords and baronets and rich 'squires little better than idiots ; if they did not set at nought the commands of their schoolmasters and their parents, which, very fortunately for themselves, they generally do ; and hence they become, generally speaking, men of sounder sense, and infinitely more pleasant persons to come in contact with, than the intolerable wretches who spend their time in poking over books, and who become what are called literary men, who are the pests of the community ; and to knock whom on the head, if it could be made conformable with the peace of society, a mallet ought to be kept in every parish church, to be used by the churchwardens and overseers, and which would very seldom endanger the parson himself, he generally understanding shooting and hunting a great deal better than anything else ; and miserable is it for any parish where the parson is a pedant, and a sort of bastard lawyer, with *Burn's Justice* everlastingly in his hands, wherewith to disturb the

peace to the everlasting torment and curse of the people.

After all this rambling I would come back to my American physician ; but I must stop a bit, to call the attention of my readers to the memorable affair of the *learned Doctors* and Mr. WILLIAM IRELAND, who has DIED recently, and to whose memory I would do full justice if I could. I have recently received the following letter ; and I request the attention of my readers to the subject ; for it belongs to this very matter of which I am now treating. It amply illustrates the base and bad passions of pedants ; their injustice ; their cruelty ; their inexorable spite and malice. We are frequently told of the effects of "education" in *softening the manners* ; and we are given to understand that this education can be derived only from books. We call people "barbarous" if they have no acquaintance with reading and writing. "The race that write" have command over the paper, the pen, and the ink ; and they cry up their trade upon the principle that the tanner proposed to fortify the town with leather. In the case of Mr. IRELAND we shall see how book-learning tends to soften the manners and mollify the heart ; though, it may be observed, the manners may be softened to a degree of hypocrisy deserving perdition, while the heart is hardened to a state surpassing that of steel or of flint ; and of this we shall see proof quite complete in this case of Mr. IRELAND, a short sketch of whose history I must now give to the YOUNG MEN of England, from whom alone the country has any good to expect.

About the year 1799, and for, perhaps, twenty years preceding that time, it was

the fashion amongst the fools of England to admire the plays of SHAKSPEARE; and about the year 1799 the nation became absolutely SHAKSPEARE-mad. I saw the madness going on, and had seen it from the time that I myself began to read. I read the books; I was under no influence but that of my own mind; I found, here and there, passages in these books, which delighted me very much; but, for the main part, I could see nothing but wild absurdities; low punning and indecent allusions. In short, with very few exceptions, I despised the book, and wondered how anybody could admire it. In this state of my mind, with regard to this book, caring and thinking, however, very little about the matter, I returned to England in the year 1800, and found all London in a sort of commotion about "*Ireland and Shakspeare manuscripts*," and the dreadful charges about some imposture. I was a politician, and did not want to hear anything about "Shakspeare manuscripts." The reader will please to observe, that, while in America, I had been very zealous in defending my own country, knowing nothing at all about the real merits of the war in which she was engaged. I was, therefore, received very graciously by all the partizans of PITT and the war; amongst others by Dr. IRELAND, now Dean of Westminster, who had been the tutor of sapient LIVERPOOL, and who, therefore, in addition to his living of CROYDON, and some other things, soon after my return to England, became Dean of Westminster. The Doctor, in addition to his merits as a tutor, had the greater merit of having written and published a pamphlet in defence of PITT and the war. By way of

gratitude to me, for having been the pleader of the cause in the United States, the Doctor (then Mr.) IRELAND, in being introduced to me, did me the honour to present me with a copy of his pamphlet, which he put into my hands, with a most solemn caution, in very nearly the following words: "My name is 'IRELAND,' "Mr. COBBETT; but I beg you to believe "that I am in nowise related, even in "the most distant degree, to the impostor "of that name, who has lately committed "so infamous a fraud upon the public." This led me to inquire into the meaning of all this fuss. I always had a natural hatred of oppression; I had no very great opinion of SHAKSPEARE's writings; I expressed to a friend a wish "to see this impostor"; I soon saw him; he told me his story, and put his published narrative into my hands, the truth of which narrative never has been contradicted in any one particular to my satisfaction. Mr. WILLIAM IRELAND was then a very young man: having been articled to an attorney, and living near the theatres, he had been a haunter of the playhouse; but his natural good sense had prevented him from becoming Shakspeare-mad. His father, however, who was a gentleman of respectability, in his state of life, happened to be the maddest of the mad. Amongst other effects of this madness was a resolution of the father to perform a "*pilgrimage*" to the house where SHAKSPEARE was born, which, as they said, was near the town of STRATFORD-UPON-AVON, in Warwickshire. Having determined upon the pilgrimage, he also determined to take his son along with him. They found the house, or reputed house, to be an old lumbering farmhouse

of large dimensions, and ancient structure. The first ceremony performed by the father, being shown into a room where, he had chosen to believe, SHAKSPEARE had sitten, was to go upon his bare knees, lift up his hands and eyes, and cut other mad capers in adoration of SHAKSPEARE. Having performed these antics, he asked the farmer's wife, or the farmer, whether they had ever seen any written papers about the house. After a good deal of anxiety expressed by him on this subject, he was told that, some years ago, in clearing out one of the upper rooms, there was a great parcel of old written papers found. "Well," exclaimed the father with surprising eagerness, "and where are they?" The farmer and his wife had no distinct recollection of the disposal of the invaluable documents, but presumed that they had been "*flung into the fire.*" Upon this, the father exclaimed, "Oh! wretched woman! do 'you know what you have done! do 'you know that you have done an injury 'to the world which you can never repair?"

I suppose that the farmer and his wife thought the man mad, and as far as related to that matter mad he certainly was. These scenes, however, had a very different effect upon the mind of the son, who thought that the Shakspeare manuscripts might be *made*, and his father thus gratified to his heart's content. Upon going home it was easy for him to find manuscripts of the time of Queen ELIZABETH which SHAKSPEARE wrote; but then there must be paper to write upon, that was made in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH. There was a bookseller of the name of EARLE, who lived in Albemarle-street, and who dealt in old books, and the son of this bookseller was an intimate acquaintance of WILLIAM IRELAND. From him he got the blank leaves of old books, yellow as a kite's foot. On these he wrote several things in SHAKSPEARE'S *own hand*. Love-letters, prayers, marginal notes in a Bible, printed in the age of Queen ELIZABETH; poems, as dull, as quibbling, as punning, and as indecent in their allusions, as SHAKSPEARE ever wrote; and at last a couple of plays, entitled "VORTIGERN and ROWENA," and

"HENRY THE SECOND," which he wrote at the age of eighteen. He made his father believe that all these manuscripts had been furnished to him by a Mr. TALBOT, who was a descendant of the family of SHAKSPEARE; and as I understood from him, his father really believed the fact. The father, not the son, published the manuscripts by subscription. The "learned world" disputed as to the genuineness of the productions: one side contending that they were genuine, and the other side that they were not; but the play of VORTIGERN was acted at DRURY LANE, or COVENT GARDEN, I forget which; the parties opposed to the genuineness contrived the matters so that the play should not succeed to any great extent; but a certificate under the hands of Dr. PARR, Dr. WHARTON, and GEORGE CHALMERS, declared it to be their conviction that no human being but SHAKSPEARE himself could have written these manuscripts. At last it was discovered by nothing but the indiscretion of WILLIAM IRELAND himself, that he was the author of the manuscripts! Instantly the base wretches, from every quarter, poured on upon him; instead of admiring his ingenuity, and apologizing, as well as they could, for their own folly, in having been SHAKSPEARE mad, they pitched on upon him like tigers, called him a forger, called him an impostor, and almost literally hunted him from the face of the earth. His father, who had received all the profits from the subscription and publication, full of terror at the threatened vengeance of the exposed pedants, joined against him, cancelled his articles with the attorney, disowned him, drove him from his house, and Mr. WILLIAM IRELAND told me, that having crept into a beggarly lodging in an alley in Swallow-street, I think it was, he existed there ten days upon four pounds of potatoes! I never heard, and I believe no man ever heard, of injustice and cruelty to surpass this. Such is the effect of book-education in softening the heart!

I published this account in substance, in my "*Advice to Young Men*"; and I received a letter from Mr. IRELAND at the time, declaring that my statement in that book was correct. It remains for

me now to insert a letter which I have received from a friend of the widow and children of Mr. IRELAND, and to add a few remarks upon the contents of that letter, the name of the writer of which I do not insert, merely because he has not positively authorized me to do it; but I shall be glad to see him at any time, and to do any thing in my power to further his laudable views.

"London, May-day, 1835.

"SIR,—You are respectfully acquainted that 'Wm. Henry Ireland,' of Shaksperian notoriety, the author of Vortigern and Rowena, and Henry II., the forged plays said to be Shakspeare's, and other interesting pieces, left this sublimity world on Good Friday, the 17., and was interred in the burial-ground of St. George's, in the borough, on Friday, the 24. ultimo.

"Mr Ireland has left a widow and two daughters, and like most authors without any provision save what can be made of a few poetical scraps, and prose pieces unpublished when collected together and submitted to public competition by sale, with perhaps a copyright or two."

"There is also an unpublished MSS. entitled the 'Reminiscences of Wm. H Ireland,' a performance full of anecdote relating to the Shaksperian controversy, to theatrical persons and literary characters of that period, which I believe it is intended to publish by subscription for the benefit of his family (if practicable).

"'The Shaksperian forgeries,' as they are termed, proved to be the bane of his life and the seed of all his subsequent misfortunes, public prejudice making no distinction between the forger of a literary production and the forger of a bill of exchange, nor whether the author, the victim of his ingenuity, were living or dead three centuries ago; no allowance was made for the invention or literary talent of a youth scarcely eighteen, so powerfully displayed in the Vortigern and Rowena, and Henry II., the two historical dramas imitative, but never avowed by

"him to be the production of Shakspeare. His family, from the manner in which Mr. Ireland always spoke of you as a friend, flatter themselves that you will be kind enough to spare them an hour from your literary and public engagements to write an obituary article for them in one of your publications, they will, in addition to what is here stated, furnish you with particulars of his various literary performances, published and unpublished, and other incidents of his life, the object of which is a hope that your all-powerful pen will be able to redeem his reputation from the opprobrious stigma under which he has so long lived and died, of a 'forger,' and claim for him at least the merit of a respectable dramatist, evinced I trust decidedly by the compositions of Vortigern and Rowena, and Henry II., than which some think we have had nothing better since; and though he may have been injudicious in attempting the Shaksperian style, surely as he never avowed them to be originally Shakspeare's, there was nothing criminal in that display of talent in a lad of eighteen only, as the public were left to exercise their criticism on his composition, and fairly to decide the question of originality, which they did against him, but at the same time refused to him the meed of talent he deserved, and treated him with the same severity for imitating the style of their favourite bard that he would have been had he attempted a forgery of the sacred text of Scripture.

"If so much can be spared from the occupation of your valuable time, it will be rendering the family an essential service and kindness, and the cause of literature and the drama no disservice. With these sentiments and motives but imperfectly expressed,

"I have the honour to subscribe myself,

"Yours most respectfully,

"———."

Now I do not know anything more than what is said in this letter of the circumstances of Mrs. Ireland and her children; but this I do know, that nothing would be more becoming of the

people of this country than to come to their assistance in some way or another, in order to show, if there were no other end to be answered, that we are sensible of the injuries inflicted on Mr. IRELAND by these savage literary monsters. If the gentleman who wrote this letter will have the goodness to call upon me on the subject, I will give him my advice with regard to the publications of which he speaks, and will do everything else for his widow and children that can be reasonably expected of me. I have heard from various quarters, at different times, accounts of the pursuits, the character, and the conduct of Mr. WILLIAM IRELAND; and I declare my belief that he was an excellently good man in all the relationships of life. He has always been more or less connected with the theatre and theatrical people; he happened to be in France when Mrs. JORDAN DIED; and, while she had A NUMEROUS FAMILY OF CHILDREN LIVING, all rolling in surfeiting luxury; he had to raise a subscription, and to subscribe himself, to purchase a coffin and a shroud, and to follow her body while it received Christian burial!

"To be sure," said he to me, in relating the sad story of her death, "she had faults, such as no man could justify; she had offended against the decorums of civil society: all the rest of the world might be excused for leaving her to her fate; but there were persons who ought to have perished rather than have suffered her to come to that fate; and who, at the recollection of it, ought to be covered with blushes to the end of their lives." These are amongst the last words that I ever heard him utter; and they expressed an opinion in which I most heartily concurred.

With regard to Mr. IRELAND, let these facts be borne in mind; that he was no forger, no impostor, according to the usual meaning of those words; that he had a perfect right to put forth the publications which he put forth; that there was nothing illegal and nothing immoral in any of his proceedings as to this matter; that Doctors WHARTON and PARR were deemed the two most learned men in the kingdom; that they declared

and certified that it was their conviction that no human being could write those manuscripts but SHAKSPEARE; that when Mr. IRELAND was discovered to be the real author, the whole band of literary ruffians fell upon him, and would have destroyed him, if they had been able, with as little remorse as men destroy a mad dog; that they compelled him to lead a hard life, and to struggle along for decent existence; that their ferocious injustice disabled him from making that provision which he otherwise would have made for his widow and children; and I do hope, that, with all these facts before us, we shall do something that may tend to the assistance of these unoffending persons, while it will serve the purpose of marking our indignation at the conduct of the literary ruffians who were his oppressors, and who are real impostors, living in luxury, generally on taxes raised from the sweat of the people; sometimes on the fruit of the delusions which they practise on that credulity, which ascribes learning, and piety, and fitness to guide, to all those who have the impudence to put forward pretensions, and to assume the title of "learned men."

Returning, for a moment, to the American physician and his book; it is a little book, which I think I shall re publish, it being particularly worthy of the attention of all fathers and mothers of families, if they desire that their children should grow up to be men and women of health, strength, and sense. It is possible that I may not publish it, and therefore I insert a good long extract, which I request all my readers to read it with great attention, especially if they be fathers and mothers, or at an age likely to be such. Before I do this, however, let me make a remark or two upon the causes of this "heddekating" rage. While the country continued to be inhabited by noblemen and by Commons; while the inhabitants of England consisted of noblemen, clergy, gentlemen, tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, artizans, and labourers, this heddekating rage was unknown; but these ranks and degrees being obliterated in some cases and confounded in others, a race of bloated money mongers having sprung up, the reasoning so obvious in

the former state does not now apply. Here is now a new crew coming every day into the possession of estates. The sons of these upstarts cannot receive *à home* any thing but precepts and examples which would totally unfit them for the society of persons worthy of the name of gentlemen. The greedy rogue of a father, who carries King's interest tables always in his skull, and who has yet the base and criminal ambition to see the wretches sprung from his loins swelled up into baronets or lords, shoves the cubs away from the paternal den to schools and colleges, where, with a filial feeling quite worthy of their origin, they soon forget all about their progenitors excepting the money. This taste and almost similar motives run through, this taxed society. The fifty millions a year of taxes must be divided amongst somebody; a fourth part of the whole community have their hands stretched forth to grasp a portion of it. They find that nothing can be done without "heddekashun"; and thus it is that "heddekashun" is the order of the day.

Parents, however, who wish their children to have sound bodies and sound minds, who would rather see them enjoy a shilling, being the fruit of honest industry, than a purse of gold, being the fruit of infamous fraud, will pay great attention to the passage which I am now about to quote from this invaluable American book.

WM. COBBETT.

EXTRACT.

CONSEQUENCES WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM INATTENTION TO THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE MIND AND BODY.—THE BEST MINDS NOT PRODUCED BY EARLY MENTAL CULTURE.

TEACHERS of youth, in general, appear to think, that in exciting the mind, they are exercising something totally independent of the body; some mysterious entity, whose operations do not require any corporeal assistance. They endeavour to accelerate to the utmost the movements of an extremely delicate machine, while

most unfortunately they are totally ignorant or regardless of its dependence on the body. They know that its action and power may both be increased for a while, by the application of a certain force; and when the action becomes deranged, and the power destroyed, they know not what is the difficulty, nor how it can be remedied. Fortunately they do not attempt to remedy it themselves, but call in the physician, who, if he affords any relief at all, does it by operating on a material organ. If medical men entertained the same views as teachers, they would, in attempting to restore a deranged mind, entirely overlook the agency of the body, and instead of using means calculated to effect a change of action in the brain, would rely solely upon arguments and appeals to the understanding. For if the mind may be cultivated independent of the body, why may not its disorders be removed without reference to the body?

Instructors of youth, and authors of books for children, would do well to acquaint themselves with human anatomy and physiology, before they undertake to cultivate and discipline the mind. The neglect of these sciences on their part, is a most lamentable evil. If they had been understood, I am confident that innumerable books for children, which have been highly recommended and esteemed very useful, would never have been published; books, which instead of being blessings to the community, have, I fear, done incalculable injury. Few things, I think, will be more surprising to future generations than the fact, that those whose business it is, in this enlightened age, to cultivate the human mind, were ignorant of the organ by which the mind acts, and of course were inattentive to the condition of that organ. It will appear strange hereafter, that many, through the medium of books, ventured to dictate the manner in which the mind should be disciplined and tasked; and when it became disordered, acknowledged its dependence on an organization of which they were ignorant, and expected to have it restored by those who, in all attempts to remedy it, act upon the bodily organization. Should teachers of youth venture thus, like Phae-

ton, to guide the chariot of the sun, while ignorant of the power they endeavour to superintend, and of the means of controlling its irregular action?

As reference has just been made to books for children, it seems a fitting opportunity to enlarge a little upon this topic. They are then *excessively abundant*. Some are announced as purposely prepared, "for children from *two to three* years old." Many are for the week-day infant school; some for the "Sabbath infant school"; some to teach children history and geography; others to instruct them in geometry, theology, and metaphysics. "The child's," "the girl's," "the boy's," books have been multiplied on almost all subjects, until they have become nuisances. Where is the proof that they have ever benefited a single child? Do the youth now, of the age of 15, who have used such books most of their lives, who committed to memory innumerable truths, and were taught to reason when at the age of 3 or 4, possess more active and independent minds than their parents possessed at the same age? Does their mental power *now* show the good effect of their early and extraordinary culture? Do not the numerous slender, delicate, and pale-faced youths who are seen in our colleges, and in boarding-schools for girls, exhibit the *bad* effects of this system? I ask again, where is *any* evidence that books, put into the hands of children before the age of seven or eight are of any lasting benefit, either to the body or the mind? I have shown that they may do immense injury.

But apart from the injury which such books produce, by too early exciting the mind and feelings of children, many of them are very objectionable, on account of the nonsense and falsehood which they contain. Some, designed for children from *two to three years of age*, contain such trash as the following: "Englishmen love roast beef and plum pudding. The Dutchman loves cheese and red herring. The Frenchman loves soup and salad. The German loves ham and pom-pernicle," &c. &c.* Surely children of

any age are better without such knowledge than with it. Other "books," "lessons," "manuals," and "tales for infants," and for "infant schools," contain much that is questionable as to its truth, much that infants had better not know, and much that is far above their comprehension. Some contain garbled accounts from Scripture, of the creation of man, and his apostasy, and other religious truths which no child can understand, or profit by, if he could understand them; the full account given in the Bible is far better. Other books for infants contain "Lessons in Geometry, Botany, Astronomy, &c. &c."

The method of teaching little children varies in different schools; but that is everywhere considered the *best*, which forces the infant mind the *fastest*. In some schools, the *memory* is chiefly cultivated, and children are taught innumerable facts. Here we see those who are scarcely able to talk, exhibited as wonderful children. They are declared to be deserving of the highest praise, and prophesied about as giving promise of great distinction in future, because they are able to tell us who was the oldest man, and many other equally useful and important facts. They are also able to tell us many truths in astronomy, geometry, chemistry, &c. &c., of which the innocent beings know about as much as do parrots of the jargon they deliver. In other schools, teachers are opposed to such practice; and say that a child should learn nothing but what he understands; that the memory should not alone be cultivated; therefore they teach children that Methuselah was not only the oldest man, and nine hundred and sixty-nine years of age, but that he was the son of Enoch, and the grandfather of Noah, and that a year means 365 days, and a day 24 hours; and all this they teach, in order, as they say, that a child may *fully understand* what he learns. Other teachers say, that it is very wrong to *compel* a child to learn; very wrong indeed; and that he should learn no more than he will cheerfully: but though they

* See Lessons for Children, two or three years old.

* See Lessons for Infant Sabbath Schools, 1831. Infant School Manual, 1830, and a vast number of other books for *infants*, with which bookstores abound.

do not gain their purpose by exciting *fear*, they awaken other passions of the strongest kind in the child, by a system of *rewards* and of *praise*. Now of all these methods, if there is any preference, it should be given to the first; for that is the least objectionable which has the least tendency to develop the mind, and awaken the passions prematurely. They must all, however, be wrong, if they call into action an organ which is but partially formed; for they do not conform to the requirements of the laws of nature, and wait for organs to be developed, before they are tasked.

I beseech parents, therefore, to pause before they attempt to make prodigies of their own children. Though they may not destroy them by the measures they adopt to effect this purpose, yet they will surely enfeeble their bodies, and greatly dispose them to nervous affections. Early mental excitement will serve only to bring forth beautiful, but premature flowers, which are destined soon to wither away, without producing fruit.

Let parents not lament, because their children do not exhibit uncommon powers of mind in early life, or because, compared with some other children, they are deficient in knowledge derived from books. Let them rather rejoice if their children reach the age of six or seven, with well-formed bodies, good health, and no vicious tendencies, though they be at the same time ignorant of every letter of the alphabet. If they are in this condition, it is not to be interred that their minds are inferior to those of children who have been constantly instructed. It is a great mistake to suppose that children acquire no knowledge while engaged in voluntary play and amusements.

They thus do acquire knowledge as important as is ever acquired at school, and acquire it with equal rapidity. Many think that the child who has spent the day in constructing his little dam, and his mill, in the brook, or the stream that runs in the gutter; or in rearing his house of clods or of snow, or in making himself a sled or cart, has been but idle, and deserves censure for a waste of his time, and a failure to learn anything. But this is a great error of judgment;

for, while he has thus followed the dictates of nature, both his mind and body have been active, and thereby improved. To him anything which he sees and hears and feels is new, and nature teaches him to examine the causes of his various sensations, and of the phenomena which he witnesses. For him, the Book of Nature is the *best book*, and if he is permitted to go forth among the wonders of creation, he will gather instruction by the eye, the ear, and by all his senses.

He is for a while just as ignorant that stones are hard, that snow will melt, that ice is cold, that a fall from the tree will hurt him, and a thousand other common facts, as he is of a "parallelogram," or "perimeter," or the "diameter of the sun," or the "pericarpium of flowers," or of many other similar things, which some think important for infants to know.* If his time is constantly occupied in learning the last, he will grow up ignorant of many common truths, and fail in the best of all learning, *common sense*.

The child, when left to himself, manifests a true philosophical spirit of inquiry. The story related of the celebrated Schöler, who, when a boy, was found in a tree, during a thunder storm, trying to find where the thunder and the lightning came from, is an instance of the natural tendency of every child to self-education. This tendency it is highly important to encourage, for it involves the cultivation of that spirit of inquiry, 'which is far more valuable than limited acquirements in knowledge; a spirit which teaches us to distinguish what is just in itself, from what is merely accredited by illustrious names; to adopt a truth which no one has sanctioned, and to reject an error of which all approve, with the same calmness as if no judgment was opposed to our own.'† But this spirit will never be acquired, when the child is taught from his infancy to depend upon others for all he knows, to learn all he does learn as a task, and not from the desire of ascertaining the truth and gratifying his curiosity.

Let not the parent, therefore, regret

* See Infant School Manual

† Brown's Philosophy.

that his child has passed his early hours out of school: for in all probability the knowledge he has gained while running and exercising in the open air at play, is more valuable than any he would have gained at school. At all events, he has gained what is far, very far more valuable than any mental acquirements which a child may make, viz. a sound body, well-developed organs, senses that have all been perfected by exercise, and stamina which will enable him in future life to study or labour with energy and without injury.

The remarks which I have made relative to the danger of too early exerting and developing the minds of children, are not made without some knowledge of the education of children in various parts of our country.

That children *do* have their mental powers prematurely tasked, is a fact which I know, from personal observation. I have seen a course like the following pursued in many families in various parts of the country, and I know that this course is approved of by many excellent persons. Children of both sexes are required, or induced, to commit to memory many verses, texts of Scripture, stories, &c. before they are three years of age. They commence attending school, for six hours each day, before the age of four, and often before the age of three; where they are instructed during three years in reading, geography, astronomy, history, arithmetic, geometry, chemistry, botany, natural history, &c. &c. They also commit to memory, while at school, many hymns, portions of the Scriptures, catechisms, &c. During the same period, they attend every Sunday a Sabbath school, and there recite long lessons: some are required to attend upon divine service at the church twice each Sunday, and to give some account of the sermon. In addition to these labours, many children have numerous books, journals, or magazines to read, which are designed for youth. I have known some required to give strict attention to the chapter read in the family in the morning, and to give an account of it; and have been astonished and *alarmed* at the wonderful power of memory exhibited on such occasions by children when

but five or six years of age. I have known other children, in addition to most of the above performances, induced to learn additional hymns, chapters of Scripture, or to read certain books, by the promise of presents from their parents or friends.

The foregoing account fails to describe the amount of mental labour required of many children in intelligent and respectable families.

The injurious and sometimes fatal effects of such treatment have been already mentioned. But I cannot forbear again to state that I have myself seen many children who were supposed to possess almost miraculous mental powers, experiencing these effects and sinking under them. Some of them died early, when but six or eight years of age, but manifested, to the last, a maturity of understanding which only increased the agony of a separation. Their minds, like some of the fairest flowers, were "no sooner blown than blasted." Others have grown up to manhood, but with feeble bodies and a disordered nervous system which subjected them to hypochondriasis, dyspepsia, and all the Protean forms of nervous disease. Their minds, in some cases, remained active, but their earthly tenements were frail indeed. Others of the class of early prodigies, and I believe the most numerous portion, exhibit in manhood but small mental powers, and are the mere passive instruments of those who in early life were accounted far their inferiors. Of this fact I am assured, not only by the authority of books, and my own observation, but by the testimony of several celebrated teachers of youth.

The history of the most distinguished men will, I believe, lead us to the conclusion, that early mental culture is not necessary, in order to produce the highest powers of mind. There is scarcely an instance of a great man, one who has *accomplished* great results, and has obtained the gratitude of mankind, who in early life received an education in reference to the wonderful labours which he afterwards performed. The greatest philosophers, warriors, and poets, those men who have stamped their own characters upon the age in which they lived, or who,

as Cousin says, have been the "true representatives of the spirit and ideas of their time," have received no better education, when young, than their associates who were never known beyond their own neighbourhood. In general their education was but small in early life. *Self-education*, in after life, made them great, so far as education had any effect. For their elevation they were indebted to no early *hot-house culture*, but, like the towering oak, they grew up amid the storm and the tempest raging around. Parents, nurses, and early acquaintances, to be sure, relate many anecdotes of the childhood of distinguished men, and they are published and credited. But when the truth is known, it is ascertained that many, like Isaac Newton, who, according to his own statement, was "inattentive to study, and ranked very low in the school until the age of twelve;" or, like Napoleon, who is described, by those who knew him intimately when a child, as "having good health, and in other respects was like other boys,"* do not owe their greatness to any early mental application or discipline. On the contrary, it often appears, that those who are kept from school by ill health or some other cause in early life, and left to follow their own inclination as respects study, manifest in after life powers of mind which make them the admiration of the world.†

* Memoirs of the Dutchess of Abrantes. This lady says, 'My uncles have a thousand times assured me that Napoleon in his boyhood had none of that singularity of character attributed to him.'

† Shakspeare, Moliere, Gibbon, T. Scott, Niebuhr, W. Scott, Byron, Franklin, Rittenhouse, R. Sherman, Prof. Lee, Gifford, Herder, Davy, Adam Clark, &c. The last named person was a very unpromising child, and learned but little before he was eight or ten years old. But at this age he was 'uncommonly hardy,' and possessed bodily strength superior to most children. He was considered a 'grievous dunce,' and was seldom praised by his father but for his *ability to roll large stones*; an ability however which I conceive a parent should be prouder to have his son possess, previous to the age of seven or eight, than that which would enable him to recite all that is contained in all the *Manuals, Magazines, and books for infants* that have ever been published.

OPINIONS OF CELEBRATED PHYSICIANS RESPECTING EARLY MENTAL CULTIVATION.

Of the danger of developing the minds of children to a great degree at a very early age, I have no doubt from my own observation; but I cannot expect to produce a change in public sentiment on this subject by the publication of my own views and opinions, especially in those parts of the country where parents are generally strenuous advocates for infant schools and early mental excitement; but I request all who have the care of children, and are desirous of giving them sound minds and sound bodies, to consider attentively the observations of those whose situations in life, great learning, and experience, have eminently qualified them to be high authorities on this subject. Let us then inquire what are the opinions of learned and experienced medical men, as regards the cultivation of the infant mind.

The celebrated Tissot, a learned and practical physician, honoured by sovereigns, and the friend and intimate companion of Zimmerman, and Haller, and the most distinguished men of his time, published a work on the *Health of Men of Letters*, which has been greatly commended, and in Europe has had great influence. In this work he says, "The effects of study vary much, according to the age of the student. Long continued application, in infancy, destroys life. I have seen young children of great mental activity, who manifested a passion for learning far above their age; and I foresaw, with grief, the fate that awaited them. They commenced their career as prodigies, and finished by becoming idiots, or persons of very weak minds. The age of infancy is consecrated by nature to those exercises which fortify and strengthen the body, and not to study, which enfeebles it, and prevents its proper increase and development." After referring to instances observed by himself and others, of disease and death caused by great mental application in youth, he adds, "I have elsewhere mentioned the injury that peasants do their children, by requiring of them more bodily labour than

they ought to perform. But those injudicious parents who require from their children too much labour of the intellect, inflict upon them an injury far greater. No custom is more improper and cruel than that of some parents, who exact of their children much intellectual labour, and great progress in study. It is the tomb of their talents and of their health." He concludes with this advice. "The employments for which your children are destined in after life, should regulate their studies in youth; not requiring (as is the custom with many parents) the most study in early life, of those who are to be devoted to literary pursuits, but on the contrary, the least." "Of ten infants," says he, "destined for different vocations, I should prefer that the one who is to study through life, should be the least learned at the age of twelve."

Let us ascertain what views are entertained respecting early mental culture, in those countries which have produced the most learned men. It is probably true that no other country has ever produced or now contains so many profound scholars as Germany. In truth, the Germans have so far surpassed the people of other nations, in whatever relates to the cultivation of the intellect, that Madame De Stael very justly styled their country "the Land of Thought." We may therefore derive great advantage in this inquiry from the opinions of the Germans, for the course they have adopted cannot be bad, since we find their scholars and learned men generally healthy, and remarkable for longevity. Besides, the effect of mental cultivation upon the health, the importance of physical education in early life, and the best method of perfecting both the mind and body, have for a long time been subjects of much inquiry, and engaged the attention of the most learned men in that country. Some of their most distinguished medical men have devoted great attention to this subject, and published their views and opinions. From some of their works I will make a few extracts. Upon this subject, perhaps there can be no better authority than that of the distinguished Hufeland, physician to the King of Prussia, who, by his learning, and acquaintance with the

greatest scholars of the age, is eminently qualified to decide upon this subject. In his valuable work on the *Art of Prolonging Life*, he observes, "Intellectual effort in the first years of life is very injurious. All labour of the mind which is required of children before their seventh year, is in opposition to the laws of nature, and will prove injurious to the organization, and prevent its proper development." Again, he says, "It is necessary that we should not begin to exercise the faculties of the mind too early; it is a great mistake to suppose that we cannot commence their cultivation too soon; we ought not to think of attempting this while nature is wholly occupied with the development of organs, and has need of all the vigour of the system to effect this object. If children are made to study before this age, the most noble part of the vital force is withdrawn from perfecting the organization, and is consumed by the act of thought; from which it necessarily results, that the bodily development is arrested or disturbed, digestion is deranged, the humors deteriorated, and scrofula produced. In fine, the nervous system thus acquires a predominance over all others, which it preserves for the remainder of life, producing innumerable nervous complaints, melancholy, hypochondria, &c. It is true, however, that diversity of character requires different methods in this respect. But in all cases the course to be pursued is directly opposed to that which is usually adopted. If a child shows at an early age a great propensity for study, instead of animating and encouraging him to proceed in this course, as most teachers do, it is necessary to moderate his zeal, for *precocity of mind is nearly always disease*, or shows an unnatural propensity, which it is most prudent to correct. A child of more dull intellect, whose thoughts are slow, may, on the contrary, apply to study at an earlier period of life, for in him this exercise is necessary for the proper development of the mental faculties."

Doctor Spurzheim, whose inquiries upon this subject have been very extensive, and who has for many years devoted himself to the task of ascertaining the influence of the organization upon the men-

tal and moral faculties, thus remarks, in his *Essay upon the Elementary Principles of Education*: "Many parents anxiously strive to cultivate the intellect of their children, and neglect to fortify their constitution. They believe that children cannot too soon learn to read and write. Their children, therefore, are obliged to remain many hours in school, breathing an impure air, while they ought to be developing the organs of the body by exercise. The more delicate the children are, and the more their affections and minds are precocious, the more important it is that the above error should be avoided; if it is not, premature death is often the consequence of this infraction of the laws of nature. We often see, also, that those much admired in infancy for their genius, waste all their energies in youth, and at a mature age, possess but ordinary minds. Experience demonstrates, that of any number of children, of equal intellectual powers, those that receive no particular care in infancy, and who do not learn to read and write until the constitution begins to be consolidated, but who enjoy the benefit of a good physical education, very soon surpass in their studies those who commence study earlier and read numerous books, when very young. The mind ought never to be cultivated at the expense of the body; and physical education ought to precede that of the intellect; and then proceed simultaneously with it, without cultivating one faculty to the neglect of others; for health is the base and instruction the ornament of education."*

* The above is taken from the French edition of this valuable work. A later edition in English, with additions, has been published, which I have not seen. The learned and estimable author of the above, is now in this country, and proposes to lecture upon the interesting science of phrenology; a science to which he has given a philosophical character, and which, by his labours, he has advanced to its present high standing. I cannot but believe that his visit to this country will be productive of great good, by directing the attention of the public to the immense importance of physical education; a branch of education the almost entire neglect of which, in this country, threatens dangerous and lasting consequences. As to the correctness of the phrenological system, I am not qualified to

That these views respecting early education, have had, and continue to have, a practical influence in Germany, I have been assured by those long resident in that country, and by Germans who have been educated there. By a learned and accomplished German lady, now resident in this country, and who in her own, enjoyed the best opportunities for knowing the views of the most intelligent class, I was assured, "There is but one voice in Germany upon this subject, and that is,—very early learning affords no advantage to the mind, and does essential injury to the body."

Italy has produced many great and distinguished scholars; and the same instructions upon early education have been given by some of her most learned men: Sinibaldi, in his great work on the *Science of Man, or Anthropologie*, thus speaks of education in early life:—"We ought not to fatigue the memory of children by precepts, fables and histories, of which they are not in a state to comprehend either the signification or morality: To force the memory, before that mysterious organ, the brain, is developed, is the same thing as to fatigue the muscles while imperfect, by long-continued working or by hard labour, which will produce a general languor, and arrest for ever the complete development of the organs of the body. Children at this age ought to be guided wholly by example. In one word, this first epoch of life, from birth

determine; but so far as I have had an opportunity of observing, I think it explains the phenomena of the morbid action of the brain far better than any other.

I leave this note as it was in the first edition, though the work referred to has been reprinted in this country. I still hope, that although its illustrious author lived but a few months after his arrival in this country, that his visit will be of great service to it, and that he will ere long be accounted a great benefactor.

In a letter which I received from him but a few days before the illness which terminated his life, he remarks upon the uncommon mental activity of the people of this country, and expresses his belief that the science which he taught would do great good here, and would "contribute to a reform in education." I trust that he has awakened a spirit of inquiry on this subject, that will not subside until the benefits he predicted are realized.

to the age of seven, ought to be entirely consecrated to the perfect development of the organization of children, and, by the agency of physical education, to render them as healthy, robust and strong as the nature of man will permit."

In France, the education of youth has engaged the attention of many learned and distinguished men. Numerous treatises upon the subject have been published, urging the importance of physical education. M. Friedlander, in a late work dedicated to M. Guizot, thus speaks of early instruction:—"From the highest antiquity we have this rule, that mental instruction ought not to commence before the seventh year." M. Friedlander thinks this rule is correct, and says that our climate, which necessarily confines children much of the time within doors, has led to the idea of teaching them early, and thus making them prodigies. He gives the following table for the hours of rest and labour, which he says is adopted by many instructors.

| Age. | Hours of sleep. | Hours of exercise. | Hours of occupation. | Hours of repose. |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 7 | 9 to 10 | 10 | 1 | 4 |
| 8 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 4 |
| 9 | 9 | 8 | 3 | 4 |
| 10 | 8 to 9 | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| 11 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| 12 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| 13 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| 14 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 4 |
| 15 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 4 |

M. Ratier, in an essay on the Physical Education of Children, which was crowned by the Royal Society of Bordeaux in 1821, thus speaks of early mental instruction:—"The labour of the mind, to which some parents subject their children not only too soon, but in a wrong direction, is often the cause of their bad health, and causes nearly all those who are distinguished by precocity of the intellectual faculties, to perish prematurely; so that we seldom see a perfect man; that is, one who exhibits an equilibrium of the physical, mental and moral facul-

ties." M. Julien, late editor of the *Revue Encyclopedique*, in his large and valuable work on *Physical, Moral and Intellectual Education*, remarks,—"All the pages of this work repel the double reproach, of wishing to hasten the progress of the intellect, and obtain premature success, or retard the physical development of children, by neglecting the means necessary to preserve their health. We have constantly followed the principle of Tissot, who wished that infancy might be consecrated to those exercises which fortify the body, rather than to mental application which enfeebles and destroys it." Again he observes, "The course to be adopted with children for the first ten years of life, is neither to press or torment them; but by plays, exercise of the body, entire liberty wisely regulated, and good nourishment, to effect the salutary and progressive development of the physical, moral and intellectual faculties, and by continual amusement and freedom from chagrin (which injures the temper of children), they will arrive at the tenth year without suspecting that they have been made to learn any thing: they have not distinguished between study and recreation: all they know they have learned freely, voluntarily, and always in play. The advantages obtained by this course, are good health, grace, agility, gaiety, and happiness; a character frank and generous, a memory properly exercised; a sound judgment, and a cultivated mind."

In a late work which holds a deservedly high rank in France, entitled *Medical Gymnastics*, by Charles Londe, similar views are inculcated, and the true physiological reasons assigned;—that the moral and intellectual man depends upon the physical; that the mental faculties depend upon certain organs, and the exercise of these organs develops them in accordance to a general law,—that "the more an organ is exercised, the more it is developed, and is able to execute its functions with more facility. Thus habit, education, and other like causes, do not change the moral and intellectual character, without acting on the physical man, or changing the action of organs; repressing some, and increasing others."

Professor Bousais, a man of great learning and genius, and one of the most distinguished physicians of the present age, thus alludes to this subject. "Intellectual labours give rise, in early life, to effects corresponding with the actual state of the individual constitution. Thus the brain, the growth of which is not complete, acquires, by the exercise of thought, an extraordinary energy and volume; the moral faculties become truly prodigious: but this advantage is sadly counterbalanced by cerebral inflammations, which give rise to hydrocephalus, and by a languor in the rest of the body, the development of which remains imperfect.

"It is easy to conceive what a number of evils must result from a kind of life so little in harmony with the wants of youth; hence we rarely see all those prodigies of premature intellectual education prospering. If encephalitis does not carry them off, they infallibly perish with gastritis or scrofula; most generally, all these evils oppress them at once; and if they do not sink under them in infancy, they carry along with them in mature age, an irritability which does not allow of their resisting the morbid influences. in the midst of which man is necessarily forced to live. They are seen to decay and die, in the prime of life, if they are not destroyed, in spite of all the efforts of the art, by the first violent inflammation that attacks them."*

Similar opinions have been inculcated in England, by some of the most distinguished medical men of that country; and particularly by the celebrated Dr. James Johnson, in several of his valuable and interesting works. I ought, however, to remark, that the Treatise of Locke on Education has had, in England, great influence; and undoubtedly has done much injury, by teaching the importance of "reasoning with children at a very early age." The practice has no doubt been carried much beyond what he intended; and its injurious effects are of late often alluded to. *Writers on Mental Alienation, state, that early and frequent attempts to reason with children, increases, if it does not create a predis-

position to insanity;† and its inutility has been satisfactorily and abundantly shown by several writers, and particularly by Rousseau in his *Emile*, or *Treatise on Education*; a work exceedingly defective and absurd in some respects, but abounding with many important and practical truths upon education. The work has had a great and beneficial influence in Europe, but appears to be but little known in this country.

The evil effects of the course recommended by Locke, have been noticed, as I have said, by the medical men in England. A late writer on dropsy of the head, observes, "the present plan of education, in which the intellectual powers are prematurely exercised, may be considered as one of the causes of the more frequent occurrence of this disease."†

Another writer, in a recent and valuable work, has also alluded to this subject, and in a manner that ought to awaken the attention of parents and teachers. He says, "It is undoubtedly too much the custom of the modern system of education to stimulate the infant intellect to premature, and therefore prejudicial exertion. The recommendations enforced by Struve, should never be forgotten; and if they are forgotten by parents, it is the imperative duty of the medical practitioner to point out the necessity of complying with them. We should operate upon the tender intellect of a child, by the gentlest progression. It must surely be more judicious to complete the instrument previous to its use, than to employ it in an imperfect state. It is the same with children as adults. In the cultivation of the mental powers, we are always to bear in mind the capability of the individual to answer the demands which are made upon him for exertion. It is not only irrational, but it is frequently destructive, to impose either upon the mind or body, but particularly upon the former, a load which it is incapable of supporting. It may be a source of consolation to those parents who are too apt to

*Voison, on the Moral and Physical causes of Mental Maladies.

*Treatise on Physiology applied to Pathology.

†Medico-Chirurgical Review, 1826.

lament any apparent loss of time in the very early periods of life, that early acquirements are not to be gained without destruction of health, and that the future progress and mental powers of the individual depend upon the foundation which is laid in infancy, by judiciously adapting the studies of the child to its age and constitution. By premature efforts to improve the power of the intellect, the organ in which they reside is exhausted. The practitioner, then, cannot too forcibly reprobate the pernicious enforcement of precocious studies. The injurious effects arising from the folly and false vanity of parents, who are ambitious of holding forth their children as specimens of extraordinary talent, are constantly presenting themselves to our view, in a train of nervous symptoms, and of susceptibility to ordinary impressions, which frequently pave the way to decided paroxysms of convulsions."^{*}

The same dangerous consequences, resulting from the premature development of the intellect, have often been noticed by medical men in the United States, and one of the most distinguished has thus happily referred to them, in a recent and able work.

"In an early age, before the organism has acquired its proper development, the brain its perfect consolidation, or the organs are confirmed in the order of their existence, premature exercises of the intellectual faculties are the source of many disorders. By the undue excitement of the brain, its organic functions are augmented unnaturally, the organic actions of the organs of nutrition, secretion, &c. are enfeebled; the muscular system is stunted and debilitated; the nervous system becomes morbidly irritable; and the brain subject to a variety of affections. Those highly gifted with precocious intellects possess miserable health, and are generally short-lived; they are cut off by chronic inflammations and disorganization of their viscera, or by acute inflammation of the brain."[†]

* Practical Observations on the Convulsions of Infants. By John North.

† Principles of Medicine, founded on the structure and functions of the animal organization. M. D.

INFLUENCE OF MENTAL CULTIVATION AND MENTAL EXCITEMENT, IN PRODUCING INSANITY, NERVOUS AFFECTIONS, AND DISEASES OF THE HEART.

Intellectual cultivation, and powerful mental excitement, have a very important bearing upon one of the most appalling and deplorable diseases which afflicts humanity; a disease which now prevails to a great extent in this country, and is, I apprehend, increasing with fearful rapidity. The disease I allude to is *insanity*, or disorder of the organ of the mind, which produces a derangement in the manifestation of the mental faculties.

We have no means of determining, correctly, the number of insane persons in the United States; but if there are as many in the other states of the Union as in Connecticut, the whole number cannot be less than *fifty thousand*, or *one in every two hundred and sixty-two* of the population, as is evident from the

NOTE.—The inutility of early cultivating the mind, and its evil results, have been noticed by observing men, not belonging to the medical profession. Cobbett, in his *Advice to Young Men*, a work abounding with most excellent remarks upon the rearing and education of children, observes, 'The mind, as well as the body, requires time to come to its strength; and the way to have it possess, at last, its natural strength, is not to attempt to load it too soon; and to favour it in its progress by giving to the body good and plentiful food, sweet air, and abundant exercise, accompanied with as little discontent or uneasiness as possible. It is the first duty of a parent to secure to his children, if possible, sound and strong bodies.'

A distinguished and popular American author has advanced, in a late work of fiction, the following just opinion upon this subject. "Knowledge should only keep pace with the natural growth of the human faculties. When I see a little urchin, who ought to be enjoying nature's holyday, and strengthening his constitution by wholesome exercise to bear the vicissitudes of the world in after times, kidnapped and sent to school, to sit on a bench for four or five hours together, employed in learning by rote what he is unable to comprehend, I cannot help contemplating him as the slave and the victim of the vanity of the parent, and the folly of the teacher. Such a system is only calculated to lay a foundation for disease and decrepitude, to stint the physical and intellectual growth, and to produce a premature old age of body and mind."—*Paulding. Dutchman's Fire-side, Vol. I.*

following facts. In the year 1812, a committee was appointed to ascertain the number of insane persons in the state of Connecticut. This committee addressed letters to physicians, and other persons in every town in the state, requesting correct information upon this subject. They received answers from *seventy towns*, and, after much deliberation and inquiry, reported, they were "satisfied there were *one thousand* individuals within the bounds of the state, mentally deranged, and that the condition of many of them was truly deplorable." On mentioning this statement, recently, to the distinguished physician of the *Retreat for the Insane* at Hartford, and my surprise at the great number reported by the committee, he assured me, it was less than he believed the actual number of insane persons in Connecticut. But if we admit there were 1,000 individuals mentally deranged in 1812, or one in every 262 of the inhabitants, then there were more than twice as many in this deplorable condition as in any country in Europe, in proportion to the population. The number of the insane in England has increased within the last twenty years; still there are but about 14,000 in that country, one half of whom are idiots.

In Scotland, the proportion of insane to the population, is one to 574; and in the Agricultural districts of England, one to 820.* There is, however, more insanity in England than in any other country of Europe.

An inquiry, therefore, into the *causes* of so much insanity in this country becomes very important; and these causes must be sought among the agents that act upon the brain. I have already shown that insanity is a disease of the brain, and that whatever powerfully excites this organ, may so derange its action as to produce derangement of the mind. Sometimes it is occasioned by a *blow* or *fall* upon the head, at other times by inflammation or fever, which produces an unusual determination of blood to the brain. But far oftener this disease is occasioned by *moral causes*, by too violent excite-

ment of the mind, producing morbid action in some parts of the brain.

Thus we find that insanity prevails most in those countries where people enjoy civil and religious freedom, where every person has liberty to engage in the strife for the highest honours and stations in society, and where the road to wealth and distinction of every kind is equally open to all. There is but little insanity in those countries where the government is despotic. The inhabitants of such countries possess but little mental activity compared with those who live in a republic, or under a representative government. There is but little insanity in China, and travellers state that there is but little in Turkey. The disease is uncommon in Spain and also in Russia, out of the large cities. In France there is much less in the country than in the cities.* Humboldt states that he saw very few cases of mental derangement among the American Savages. In such countries the spirit of inquiry and improvement is seldom awakened, or is soon stifled when it is; and the inhabitants exhibit but little more mental excitement than the brute creation.

In all countries the disease prevails most among those whose minds are most excited. Aristotle noticed, in his day, the great prevalence of insanity among statesmen and politicians. It is said, the disease prevails most among those whose minds are excited by hazardous speculations, and by works of imagination and taste; and but little among those whose minds are exercised only by calm inquiry. The registers of the Bicetre, in France, show, that the insane of the educated classes consist chiefly of priests, painters, sculptors, poets, and musicians; while no instance of the disease in naturalists, physicians, geometers, or chemists, has occurred.†

In all ages and countries, insanity has prevailed most in times of great moral and mental commotion. The crusades, and the spirit of chivalry that followed

* Esquirol. Art. Folie. Vol. 16. Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales.

† Conolly.

* Holiday.

them, the reformation of Luther, the civil and religious discords of Europe, the French revolution, the American revolution, greatly multiplied cases of insanity.* So true is it that moral and mental causes excite this disease, that Esquirol says, he "could give the history of the revolution, from the taking of the Bastille until the last appearance of Bonaparte, by that of some lunatics, whose insanity relates to the events which have distinguished this long period."

Not only do the commotions which powerfully affect the minds of people occasion immediate insanity in adults, but they *predispose the next generation to this terrible disease*; and this is a fact that deserves great consideration. Esquirol says that many women, strongly affected by the revolution, bore children whom the *slightest cause rendered insane*. He is supported by others in this opinion, *that strong mental emotion of the mother predisposes the offspring to insanity*.

Children do not, indeed, often become insane, though they do occasionally, from strong mental excitement, and injudicious development of the moral faculties. Esquirol has seen children rendered insane by jealousy, by fear, and the severity of their parents; and Pinel has made the same observation. The former relates the case of a child, "endowed with precocious intelligence, with a head uncommonly large," and who became mentally deranged at the age of eleven. He states also, that he has known many students, animated by a desire to surpass their comrades, to become insane after pursuing severe studies. M. Foville says, he has seen a child of ten years of age, whom the assiduous reading of romances rendered insane. This child at last believed himself one of the heroes of the works he had read, and passed most of his time in striking the walls, trees, &c., which he took to be his enemies.†

But though mental excitement may not often produce insanity during childhood,

it may predispose a person to this disease; and I believe it does, by giving an early predominance to the nervous system. The following facts support this opinion. Van Swieten says, that nearly all insane persons have had convulsions when young; and I have seen repeated instances in which premature exercise of the mental faculties appeared to be the predisposing cause of convulsions. I now know several boys, with large heads, and who are remarkable for the maturity of their understandings, and the great proficiency they have already made in their studies, whom slight exciting causes throw into convulsions.

In view of these few brief facts respecting *insanity*, we are forced to believe, that among the causes of the great prevalence of this disease in this country, are the following:

First, Too constant and too powerful excitement of the mind, which the strife for wealth, office, political distinction, and party success produces in this free country.

Second, The predominance given to the nervous system, by too early cultivating the mind and exciting the feelings of children.

Third, Neglect of physical education, or the equal and proper development of all the organs of the body.

Fourth, The general and powerful excitement of the female mind. Little attention is given in the education of females, to the physiological differences of the sexes. Teachers seldom reflect, that in them the nervous system naturally predominates; that they are endowed with quicker sensibility, and far more active imagination, than men; that their emotions are more intense, and their senses alive to more delicate impressions; and they therefore require great attention, lest this exquisite sensibility, which, when properly and naturally developed, constitutes the greatest excellence of women, should either become *excessive* by too strong excitement, or suppressed by misdirected education. If here was the proper place, it would be easy to show that efforts to make females excel in certain qualities of mind, which in men are considered most desirable, to make them as

* Esquirol, Rush, Voison.

† Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie Pratiques, Vol. 1.

capable as men, of long-continued attention to abstract truths, would be to act contrary to the dictates of nature, as manifested in their organization, and would tend to suppress all those finer sensibilities, which render them, in everything that relates to sentiment and affection, far superior to men.

But in general the mental peculiarities of the female mind are not regarded in education. Their intellectual powers are developed to the greatest degree, and thus their natural sensibility is changed or rendered excessive. This excessive sensibility is not always counteracted by bodily labour and exercise, for there is probably no country where women belonging to the wealthy class exercise so little, especially in the open air, as in this. But they here participate more, perhaps, than in any other country, in the excitement of parties and sects, which, in beings whose nervous system is easily excited, is very likely to produce strong emotions; and, as I have shown, such emotions may have deplorable effects upon their offspring.

It is fearful to contemplate the excited state of mind which everywhere prevails throughout this republic, and the vast amount of *machinery*, if I may so say, which is in operation, to increase and perpetuate such excitement; and the little attention that has hitherto been given to the dangers it may produce. The following facts in reference to the city of Hartford are probably applicable to many, if not most of the towns of the same size in the United States. This city contains about 7,000 inhabitants. Nearly all, if not all, the children of the city, commence attending school as early as the age of three or four, and attend six hours each day for several years. Nearly all attend school on the Sabbath also.* Most fami-

lies have a library, and books for children, besides newspapers and other periodicals. There are nine large churches in the city, belonging to six different denominations, exclusive of one for coloured people. These are all well filled twice, and frequently three times, every Sunday. Besides, there are religious meetings on other days, amounting, in the various churches, to twenty or thirty during the week. There are two lyceums, or literary associations, both of which meet once a week, and are open to all without expense. At one are, weekly debates, usually on some political or historical subject; and at the other is a lecture every week, on such subject as the lecturer pleases. Both of these are well attended. Every week *seven* large political newspapers, advocating the interests of three different parties, are published in Hartford; and also *five* large religious newspapers; no two of which belong to the same sect. Several other periodicals are published here, but not weekly. In addition to the papers

the fact, that most of them, especially the younger portion, attend school the other six days of the week, it appears to me, that every candid and reflecting person must perceive that it is a practice that ought in a great degree to be abandoned.

I know, from my own observation and inquiry in Manchester, and other large towns in England, that Sunday schools there, are among the best institutions ever devised. And I have no doubt that they are of very great service in many towns and sections of this country. I hope, in such places, Sunday schools will be continued; and that wherever children cannot attend school on other days in the week, that increased efforts will be made to have them instructed on a Sunday. But I cannot believe that those children who attend school during the week, and at the church on Sunday, should also attend school on that day. I know not of any good reason for it, nor of any evidence that such a course has been serviceable to children.

Much has of late been said, and very justly, I think, of the necessity of resting from accustomed labour one day in seven, in order to preserve health. Why is not such rest necessary for children also? But if Sunday schools are to be continued, for those children who attend school every other day of the week, I hope that the afternoon session will be discontinued; an alteration which has very wisely and very recently been made by the directors of the Sunday school attached to the largest religious society in the city of Hartford.

* About 1200 children, between the ages of four and sixteen, belonging to the city of Hartford, attend school on the Sabbath, both in the forenoon and afternoon. Most of these children attend at church also. Thus they are kept at school and at church at least six hours every Sunday. I regard this confinement of the body and the application of the mind, as too great for young children any day of the week, and when we call to mind

published in this town, men of business take one or more of those published in the larger cities, and most of the Reviews and Magazines of this country, and of England, are received here and read *

The papers published in Hartford are not circulated at a great distance, but are intended for the population of the town and vicinity, as the large villages in every section have papers published in their own town. From this statement it is evident that the inhabitants of Hartford are supplied with more mental excitement from periodical literature than many of the largest towns in Europe; yes, even far more than is afforded to the inhabitants of Naples, Madrid, and Moscow.

If, therefore, constant mental excitement is ever, or in any country, dangerous, it is so now in this country, and cannot fail ultimately to have most disastrous consequences, demanding the attention of the patriot and the philanthropist.

It is a common and just observation, that the permanency of our republican institutions depends upon the intelligence and the virtue of the people; but there may be other causes besides ignorance and vice, slowly and silently operating upon the physical man, which will as *certainly lead to the ruin of the country*. The decline of the Roman empire was marked by the general predominance of a nervous temperament, especially among the Roman ladies.

Cobbett attributes our superiority to the British in the late war to the greater strength of our soldiers. This superiority we should be careful to preserve, by the proper physical education of both sexes when young, and by cultivating every part of man's nature, and not the mind exclusively.

There is another, and I fear a more frequent and fatal disease than that of insanity, caused by mental excitement; and which, judging from my own observation, and the records of cases in modern

medical journals, appears to be increasing with frightful rapidity. I allude to organic diseases in the heart. The heart is a vital organ, and its sound state is essential to the possession of good health. When we reflect, therefore, upon the powerful influence which the feelings have upon this organ, the change from its natural action, caused by anger, fear, love, joy, avarice, ambition, envy, revenge, and all those passions and feelings that agitate civilized society, we shall not wonder that the diseases of the heart have increased in modern times. This disease has also increased in all countries during times of great political and moral commotion. Corvisart says, "it was more frequent in the horrible times of the French revolution than in the usual calm of social life."

Testa, in a late work on diseases of the heart, states the same fact as regards agitated Italy. This author considers the powerful and irregular operation of the passions, as the most frequent cause of organic disease of the heart. Whoever reflects upon these facts, must feel the importance of cultivating a quiet state of mind in order to preserve good health. This is important at all times of life, but particularly so during childhood. It should be recollected that the early development of the mental powers of children awakens the passions and appetites earlier than they would be, but for this premature mental cultivation, and therefore excites the heart while it is in a tender and delicate state, "At Hofwyl more than one instance has occurred, in which it was necessary to diminish the amount of a pupil's intellectual efforts, in consequence of the alarming tendency to sensuality which it produced."* But not only does strong mental emotion greatly endanger children, but it is to be feared that the emotions of the mother may predispose her offspring to disease. This is the opinion of Corvisart, Esquirol, and many other very accurate observers. I must therefore repeat what I have elsewhere said, that the powerful and constant excitement of the minds of the females of this country, together with their neglect of proper physical education, threatens

* On inquiry at the post-office, I learn that 80 daily, 110 semi-weekly, and 432 weekly newspapers, published in other places, are taken by the inhabitants of Hartford. Besides, more than 300 dollars are annually received at the same office for postage on papers and pamphlets that are received irregularly.

* Annals of Education. 1833.

dangerous consequences. Whoever notices their general attendance at meetings where strong feelings are awakened, and perpetuated for weeks and months, by very frequent meetings, especially in the night; and witnesses their violent emotions, and knows anything of the effect of excited mind and agitated feelings upon a delicate bodily organization, must, on reflection, fear, not only for the injury which such procedure must inflict upon the females themselves, but for that which may be entailed upon the generation to come. I believe these few hints are, at the present time, deserving the serious consideration of all who have influence to perpetuate or allay the excitement alluded to.

POOR-LAW BILL.

THE letter, which I have received, accompanying a copy of the villanous *Quarterly Review*, which Review, while the TOMES were out of office, wrote most bitterly against the Poor-law Bill, and called it every thing that was infamous; but which began to extol it the moment that STRATHFIELDSAY - WATERLOO (respecting whose grant there will be a motion made one of these days!) declared himself in favour of the bill: this letter has my best thanks; and the author is hereby informed that I will pay attention to the scoundrel-like article as soon as possible.

In the meanwhile, let us set regularly to work. I will do my duty, if the friends of the working-people will do their duty; and their duty consists in the following things:

1. Wherever the Poor-law Commissioners are at work, send me word of it by letter directed to BOLT-COURT, and give me the name of the Commissioner very particularly, and the thing or things which he is about to do.
2. Give me the name or names of any lords, baronets, or such people, that are co-operating with the poor-law commissioners; and tell me the place of their residence in the country.
3. Where there is any UNION, as they call it, give me an account of the number of parishes, and the probable extent and population of them.
4. Tell me who is the chairman of any committee or body of persons who are pushing on the thing.
5. If there be any regulation about separating man from wife, or children from parents, let me have them, and particularly if they be put into print.
6. Give me their dieting scale; and give me any other particulars that you think will be useful.

Unless I be thus assisted, it will be impossible to do justice in the discharge of my duty. I desire that all statements made to me may be perfectly true; and it is desirable that the writers should permit me to put their names, unless they can refer me to somebody that I know.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH,

AND THE OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

(Concluded from page 629).

MR. STANLEY said he did not rise for the purpose of entering at all upon the question of the repeal of the malt-duty, but to entreat the House to show some respect for its own time, and to join with him in endeavouring to put an end to the present most useless discussion (hear, hear); a discussion into which all sorts of extraneous topics had been introduced. He should not attempt to follow the hon. Member for Birmingham through all the topics upon which he had commented, nor to comment upon the language he had indulged in with reference to the noble Lord sleeping in the same bed with his victims (hear); but he wished to recall to the attention of the House the fact that the present question has been fully discussed within the last fortnight in a very large House, when the repeal of the malt-tax was negatived on the clearest proof being adduced that without that tax or a substitute it was impossible for

the Government to carry on the affairs of the nation. Would the House then now reverse its decision upon a subject which every individual admitted could not be done without a substitute being found and adopted? The hon. Member for Birmingham had himself admitted this, and yet he called upon the Government to make the bricks (adopting the hon. Gentleman's simile), but refused to supply the straw, a commodity absolutely necessary for the manufacture of the article. The manner in which the question had now been brought forward and treated was not the fair mode of dealing with it. The House had already decided upon the subject within the last fortnight, and he (Mr. Stanley) called upon the House to proceed to the order of the day, and to dispose of the ordnance estimates, and not vote for a motion which could lead to no practical benefit. It had been admitted, as he had already stated, that the malt-duties could not be dispensed with, unless some other means of contributing to the revenue should be substituted, but no such substitute had as yet been substituted. The discussion, therefore, could lead to no beneficial end.

An hon. MEMBER on the opposition benches said that it would lead to a property-tax.

Mr. STANLEY resumed: Let the hon. Member get a property-tax first, and he could then well enter into the discussion of the repeal of the malt duties (hear hear); but without a substitute, to talk of taking away 5,000,000*l.* from the revenue of the country was an absurdity. He must remind hon. Members, that, from the manner in which the question stood before the House, by voting for the business of the day being proceeded with, they could not be accused of voting against the repeal of the malt-duty, and he entreated hon. Members, if they wished to maintain their reputation in the country as men of business, not to countenance the continuance of a discussion which, as he had already said, could by no possibility lead to any result, but to accede to the proceeding at once to the business of the day.

Mr. ROBINSON had no wish to protract a re-discussion of the question of the re-

peal of the malt-duties, though he was surprised the argument that it had already been discussed should be urged by a Government which, last year, after a vote of the House had been given in favour of an interference with those imposts, came down a few evenings afterwards, and by a motion called upon the House to rescind that decision. (Hear, hear). For himself he was prepared to denounce the malt-duties as the most cnerous and exceptionable tax pressing upon the country, but he at the same time deprecated the demand made upon the Government to repeal them without a substitute being provided. (Hear, hear). He contended that a substitute could be found and adopted with safety to the revenue and with benefit to the whole community. He did not allude to any interference with the currency, though all the difficulties of the country arose from its depreciation in the year 1797. (Question, question). He was clearly of opinion that only one remedy existed by which the country could be relieved from its pressing difficulty. It was a remedy which he feared the House was not at present disposed to adopt, but it was a remedy which would effect no injury upon one class of capitalists to the benefit of another, a remedy that would affect the fundholder in common with other capitalists; that remedy was a tax upon the wealth and property of the country, by which alone Parliament could repeal all those taxes which were admitted to be impolitic and unjust. (Hear, hear).

Mr. CUMMING BRUCE had no wish to prolong the debate, but was anxious merely to state to the House a few facts, which would show that the agricultural interests of that part of the kingdom with which he was connected, were now under great depression from the operation of the present system of taxation generally. In the first place, however, he must call the attention of the House to the comparison of the average prices of wheat now and at former periods, and he had taken the average price at present obtained in counties in the southern district, as well as in the northern counties of Scotland. From the years 1829 to 1833, the lowest average was 5*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

per quarter, and from 1797 to 1801 the average was 47s. 1d. At present the average prices fixed in February last, in the county of Stirling, where there existed all the advantages of a ready market, and of a great manufacturing population, the average prices of agricultural produce were as follows: wheat, 46s. 5d.; barley, 25s. 4d.; and oats, 16s. 8d. At the same period in a northern county (the county of Moray) the average prices were, wheat, 43s. 5d.; barley, 25s.; and oats, 15s. 10d.; and in the county of Banff, wheat, 37s.; barley, 23s.; and oats, 15s. per quarter. Now he must remind the House that it had been stated before the agricultural committee of last year by one witness, Mr. Low, that unless the farmer in Scotland could realise in the market 58s. per quarter for his wheat, 32s. for his barley, and 24s. for his oats, he would be unable to meet his engagements without sacrificing all the profits which ought to appertain to him for his skill, industry, and his capital employed. The committee, which had been acquiesced in last year by the noble Lord opposite, had, by their report, shown the state of the existing distress amongst the agricultural interests, and had pointed out some measures of relief; yet a modification of the poor-laws, and other remedies suggested, would not afford any relief to the agriculturist north of the Tweed, neither would any alteration of the tithe-law affect the distress consequent upon the low prices obtained for agriculture produce. In Scotland all collision between the occupying tenants and the clergy had been avoided; but though no outcry had been raised, the former had to contribute to the church, though in a different shape, all that was paid by tenants occupying lands in England. The Scotch agriculturists had used great efforts, and with success, to improve the lands, but their condition was now daily becoming more distressing, and they were more and more unable to maintain a respectable and useful position in society, and the lands were passing into the hands of attorneys, money-lenders and legal crafts, a change than which none more injurious could be conceived. (Cries of Question). He was not prepared, how-

ever, to sacrifice the maintenance of the national faith, and the provision for the exigencies of the state, and therefore could not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham; but he would take the liberty of suggesting to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp) a means by which a partial relief could be afforded without to any considerable degree affecting the revenue. The suggestion was contained in a memorial signed by the malt-distillers of the Inverness collection, and those memorialists recommended as a very essential amendment the repeal of the malt-duty, and the substitution of a spirit duty, which they were willing to increase to 3s. 11½d. or to even 4s. per gallon. Now, as the modification of the poor-laws, or the proposed alteration in the tithe system, could not affect the agricultural distress in Scotland or Ireland, his proposition was, that the noble Lord opposite should separate the question of the malt-duties with reference to those two countries from the question as affecting England. (Loud cries of Oh, oh, and Question). It appeared that during the last year the duty on malt paid in Scotland was 523,539l. 1s. 6d., and in Ireland the amount paid was 246,347l. 4s. 9d., making a total amount of duty paid in those countries, upon 707,975 quarters, of 769,886l. Now the malt-distillers suggest the substitution of an increased duty on spirits of 6d. He (Mr. C. Bruce) would accede to an increase of 8d. per gallon. The total number of gallons distilled in Scotland in the course of last year was 7,979,000, and in Ireland upwards of 9,000,000, making together a total of 17,259,958 gallons. Upon this the increase of duty would realise to the revenue upwards of 600,000l., and therefore all that the noble Lord would, by the adoption of the proposition, be called upon to give up to the distressed agriculturalists of Ireland and Scotland would be about 169,000l. By this arrangement the resources of the noble Lord would not be much trenching upon, while a great boon would be extended to both countries. He should not vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham, but he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the House and the Government to

these facts with a view to redress the grievances and burdens by which the agriculturists of Scotland were oppressed and borne down. (Hear, hear, and cries of Question).

Mr. Pigor was understood to say, that in maintaining English prices we should maintain English comforts, English enjoyments, and English civilization. (Question).

Strangers were then ordered to with draw, and the House divided, when there appeared

| | |
|--|-----|
| For the original question | 142 |
| For Mr. Cobbett's Amendment | 59 |
| Majority for the Speaker's leaving the Chair | 83 |

LIST OF THE MINORITY

Of 61 (tellers included) who voted in favour of Mr. Cobbett's motion, "That it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all duties on malt shall cease and determine."

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Against the motion. | 142 |
| For the motion | 59 |
| Majority | 83 |

201 in the House.

ENGLAND.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Adams, E. H. | Keppel, Major |
| Aglionby, H. A. | Leech, J. |
| Astley, Sir J. | Lennard, Sir T. |
| Attwood, T. | Lister, E. G. |
| Barnard, J. G. | Mills, W. |
| Bell, M. | Parrott, J. |
| Bowes, J. | Pigot, N. |
| Buckingham, J. S. | Plumptre, J. P. |
| Burton, H. | Rickford, W. |
| Chandos, Marquis of | Robinson, G. R. |
| Chaplin, Colonel | Shawe, R. N. |
| Clayton, Col. W. R. | Simeon, Sir R. |
| Crawley, S. | Trelawney, W. L. S. |
| Curtis, Captain | Trevor, Hon. R. |
| Faithful, G. | Tyrell, Sir J. |
| Fancourt, Major | Tyrell, C. |
| Filden, J. | Vincent, Sir F. |
| Foley, E. | Walter, J. |
| Folkes, Sir W. | Wason, R. |
| Gaskell, D. | Watkins, L. |
| Hume, J. | Wigney, I. N. |
| Ingilby, Sir W. | Wilks, J. |
| James, W. | Winnington, H. |

SCOTLAND.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| Ferguson, Captain | Sinclair, G. |
| Maxwell, J. | Wallace, R. |
| Oswald, R. A. | |

IRELAND.

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Jacob, E. | Ruthven, E. S. |
| O'Connell, M. | Ruthven, E. |
| O'Connell, M. J. | Sheil, R. L. |
| O'Connell, J. | |

Tellers.

| | |
|-------------|---------------|
| Cobbett, W. | Curtis, H. B. |
|-------------|---------------|

Paired for the Motion.

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Berkeley, Hon. G. | Troubridge, Sir T. |
| Goring, H. D. | Tynte, C. J. K. |

Shut out.

Kennedy, J.

So that out of two hundred and thirteen members, there were sixty five for the total abolition of the malt-tax, the question being put in a manner direct, and without any possibility of its being misunderstood.

The Second Edition, just published.

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO PARSONS;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

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1. How came there to be an Established Church?
2. How came there to be people called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to *reform* it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separation of them?

DEDICATION.

TO JAMES BLOMFIELD, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Normandy Farm, 9. March, 1835.

BISHOP,

About six and twenty years ago, you drank tea at my house at BOTLEY, when you were a curate of some place in Norfolk; or a teacher to the offspring of some hereditary legislator. How rugged has my course been since that time: how thickly has my path been strewed with thorns! How smooth, how flowery, how pleasant, your career! Yet, here we are; you with a mitre on your head, indeed, and a crosier in your holy hands; I, at the end of my rugged and thorny path in a situation to have a right, in the name of the millions of this nation, to inquire, not only into your conduct, but into the utility of the very office that you fill.

It is now become a question, seriously, publicly, and practically entertained, whether you and your brethren of the established church should be legally deprived of all your enormous temporal possessions; and also, whether your whole order should not, as a thing supported by the law, be put an end to for ever. These questions must now be discussed. They are not to be shuffed off by Commissions

of Inquiry, or any other commissions: the people demand a discussion of these questions, and a decision upon them: the Parliament must discuss them; and, this little book, which I now dedicate to you, is written for the purpose of aiding us all in the discussion; so that we may come at last to a just decision.

I select you to dedicate my book to: first, because you were a zealous defender of the DEAD-BODY BILL, which consigns the corpses of the most unfortunate of the poor to be cut up by surgeons, instead of being consigned, with double and treble solicitude, to the care of a really Christian clergy, and provided with all the means and circumstances of the most respectful Christian burial.

Another reason is, that you were a *poor-law commissioner*; one of the authors of that book, which was slyly laid upon the table of the House of Commons, by the Whigs, in 1833; and one of the authors of that voluminous report and appendix, laid upon the table of the same House last year; on which report and appendix the *coarser-food bill* was passed; and in which report and appendix, you have communicated to the House of Commons the most infamous libels against me by name.

Another reason is, that you are a *church-reform commissioner*, under the present set of Ministers; and that I find, that, while you were Bishop of CHESTER, you made a G. B. BLOMFIELD, a prebendary of CHESTER, and that he now has, in addition to that prebend, two great church livings; namely, the rectory of CADDINGTON, and the rectory of TATTENHALL, each worth, probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a year. Now, bishop, this is a very solid reason for addressing my little book to you; for, if you can talk of "*church-reform*," and about seeking for the *means of providing for the cure of souls*, while this BLOMFIELD has a prebend and two great rectories, it is pretty clear that you want a great deal of *enlightening* on the subject. If you do not, however, many other people do; and therefore it is, that I write and publish this little book, which is my LEGACY TO PARSONS, and which I most earnestly hope

will very soon be amongst the most valuable of their remaining temporal possessions. You will find the little book go to the **VERY BOTTOM** of the matter; that it will unveil all the mystery that has hung about this church for so many years; that it will leave the people nothing more to ask about the matter; and put them in a situation to determine reasonably, at once, either to submit to the most crying abuses that ever existed upon the face of the earth; or to put themselves in motion for the purpose of legally, but resolutely, effectually, and for ever, putting an end to this abuse.

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 22.

INSOLVENTS.

BUSBY, T., Green-street, near Sittingbourne, Kent, grocer.
REINAGLE, R. R., Fitzroy-square, agent.

BANKRUPTS.

CARSWELL, W. and T. R. French, Manchester, linen-merchants.
DOWNS, G., Tickhill, Yorkshire, dealer.
HENDERSON, J. R., Leicester, wine-merchant.
HOBSON, E., Liverpool, grocer.
KEMP, T., Birmingham, gold-beater.
MOTTRAM, P., Oxford-street, dealer in lace.
PALMER, J., Worcester, hop-merchant.
WILLIS, H., Blackman-street, Southwark, carpet-warehouseman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BARKER, J., Edinburgh, surgeon.
THOMSON, J., St. Andrew-square, Edinburgh, stationer.

TUESDAY, MAY 26.

INSOLVENT.

WILD, T., Broseley, Shropshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WESTBROOK, C., Beaulieu, Southampton, tanner.

BANKRUPTS.

BEARDMORE, G., Burslem, Staffordshire, builder and carpenter.
BULLEN, H., Liverpool, brewer and rectifier of spirits.

GILLET, R., late of Chesterfield, now of Duffield, Derbyshire, brick-maker.

HARVIE, T., late of Calcutta, East Indies, since of Launceston, Van Diemen's Land, and of Jerusalem Coffee-house, merchant and shipowner.

HIGHFIELD, G. B., and J. Highfield, Liverpool, and S. Highfield, of Leghorn, merchants.

MASON, M., Preston, Yorkshire, farmer.

PALMER, T., St. Peter, Worcester, cattle-dealer.

PARKER, W., Steel-yard, Upper Thames-street, lead-merchant.

SCOTT, T., late of Wigan, Lancashire, now of Liverpool, linen-manufacturer.

SWAINSON, J. T., Liverpool, merchant.

WRIGHT, G., Sheffield, coach-proprietor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BARR, J. and G. Morrison, Mayhill, Glasgow, calico-printers.

BROWN, J., Murrygate of Dundee, merchant and spirit-dealer.

MORRISON, J. and Co., Glasgow and Islay, merchants and distillers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, May 25.—

We have had but moderate supplies of Grain since this day week.

Wheat met a dull sale this morning at last Monday's prices.

In prices of Barley, Beans, and Peas, we note no alterations since this day week.

Our market is clearing fast of the late large arrivals of Oats, we experienced a steady demand for this article to-day at full as good, or rather better prices than this day week; it appears as if nothing but a succession of large supplies could effect a depression in the price of Oats, so great is the scarcity and want in England, and the Foreign cannot afford to pay the present high duty.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 40s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire | 35s. to 39s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 35s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 30s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 36s. to 38s. |

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|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow | 38s. to 40s. |
| Pears, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 25s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 24s. to 26s. |
| Black | 25s. to 27s. |
| Northumberland and Ber- | |
| wick Potato | 27s. to 29s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 26s. to 27s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 28s. to 29s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 23s. to 24s. |
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 22s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. .. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed .. | 13s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, May 25.

This day's supply of Beasts, Calves, and Porks, was rather limited: its supply of Sheep and Lambs moderately good. Trade was, with Beef, Mutton, and Veal, somewhat brisk, at an advance of about 2d. per stone; with Lamb and Pork rather dull, at barely Friday's prices.

About 1,900 of the Beasts, more than a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, and Welsh runts, were chiefly (say 1,500 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, chiefly polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 100, chiefly Devons, Runts, and Shorthorns, with a few Scots and Herefords, from our different northern districts; about 100, for the most part Devons, with a few Runts and Herefords, from our western and midland districts; about 60, chiefly Devons and Runts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 40 lusty Townsend Cows, from the stall-feeders &c. near London. There were but very few Irish Beasts in the market. They are said, by some graziers, not to pay for stall-feeding.

At least half of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-down and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 5,000, consisted of about equal numbers of Southdowns, new Leicesters, and Dorsets, with a few pens of casual breeds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | 6 | 0 |

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|---------------|------|------|------|-------|------|--------|
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| Cons. Ann. } | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 92½ | 92 | 91½ |

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 88.—No. 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



CHURCH-RATES.

NOTWITHSTANDING there has been a discussion in Parliament on this subject, the public, owing to the ignorance or negligence, or both, of the reporters, appears to have but a very indistinct knowledge of the matter; and above all things seems not to know that the parsons have, in their courts, been terrifying and working the people for the last twenty-two years, in open defiance of the law; they having no more authority to meddle with such matters than any equal number of chimney-sweeps have had. I wish to make this matter quite plain, that all my readers, at any rate, may have nothing further to learn on the subject. I shall begin by inserting a circular letter from a gentleman in London to the members of the House of Commons, after which I shall insert the petition of Mr. Childs himself.

“CHURCH-RATES.—MR. JOHN CHILDS.

“Sir,—I hand you on the other side a copy of a petition from Mr. John Childs to the House of Commons, on the subject of church-rates, which will be presented by Mr. Hume.

“Mr. Childs is a Dissenter.

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.

“He is now confined in Ipswich jail, for not appearing to an ecclesiastical process to recover 17s. 6d. which, according to the process, he is charged to have ‘subtracted’ from somebody. “The 53. Geo. III. cap. 127, section 7, gives to the dominant sect, the power to enforce this rate, if under 10*l.*, and the sufferers do not raise certain objections before the magistrates. This course has not been taken, although the remedy is simple and cheap, and his goods might at any time have been seized, for the just and holy purpose of making him support a creed from which he dissents, and a ministry in whose worship he cannot join.

“Mr. Child is the senior partner in a large printing establishment in Bungay, the father of a family of nine children, has lived in the town for thirty years, is known as the head of a dissenting family, and for the offence, not of resisting payment, but of not appearing in their court to resist; the court Christian, instead of pursuing the course of the common law courts, and giving judgment by default for the amount claimed, construes *non-resistance* into contempt; deserts the professed object of the suit, the 17s 6d.; raises the crime it affects a desire to repress; converts the defendant into a criminal; constitutes the sheriff's officer its angel of peace; marks his missive of tenderness, “TAKE NO BAIL,” and administers its lessons of practical christianity in the felon's cell.

“The prompters of this suit have preferred a lengthy, cumbrous, and costly proceeding, to a short, an easy, and a cheap remedy. It will be obvious, therefore, that the ordinary motives for a suit, the recovery of the sum demanded, does not give rise to these proceedings.

“The spiritual courts profess to institute their proceedings for the ‘soul's health,’ and knowing that my friend's body has been preferred to the rate, I am compelled to conclude, that he has

“ been delivered to the centurion, that
 “ those holy impressions may be made
 “ upon his mind, which shall enable him
 “ to see the justice of paying the minis-
 “ ters of a faith he does not hold; and
 “ that his cell may win him, if not to
 “ their church, at least to the support of
 “ those saints whose mercy is embodied
 “ in turnkeys’ bolts and iron bedsteads.

“ The following paragraph in the *Ips-
 “ wich Journal* of May 15, indicates the
 “ sort of colour to which the friends of
 “ the dominant and persecuting sect of
 “ the Establishment will resort, to justify
 “ their not having availed themselves of
 “ the summary process of a summons,
 “ by which, for a few shillings, they might
 “ have enforced their exaction by the
 “ sale of the goods; and it also shows
 “ the covert intention is, to alarm the
 “ Dissenters by severity, into submission.

“ **REFUSAL TO PAY CHURCH-RATES.**—
 “ On Wednesday morning, Mr Childs,
 “ of Bungay, was committed to the
 “ county jail in this town, at the suit of
 “ the Consistorial Court of Norwich,
 “ for refusing to obey the injunction of
 “ that court, and is ordered to remain
 “ there until he shall have made satis-
 “ faction for such contempt. The cause
 “ of this proceeding was the refusal, up-
 “ on the part of Mr. Childs, to pay the
 “ church-rates of the parish of St. Mary,
 “ Bungay. *For some time past there
 “ have been disputes in this parish
 “ regarding the payment of the
 “ church-rate; and last year the goods
 “ of Mr. Morris were distrained on civil
 “ process, but having been offered for
 “ public sale, and some indications of
 “ popular tumult appearing, they were
 “ restored to him. The act of Parlia-
 “ ment under which this distraint was
 “ made proving inoperative, the church-
 “ wardens, Mr. Samuel Scott and Mr.
 “ John Bobbit, entered a process in the
 “ Ecclesiastical Court at Norwich, and
 “ Mr. Childs was cited to appear before
 “ the court, to answer the complaint
 “ lodged against him. He, however,
 “ refused to do so, and is now suffering,
 “ the penalty of his contumacy in the
 “ county jail.” — *Ipswich Journal*,
 “ 16 May, 1835.*

“ The above paragraph is a misrepresen-

“ tation. The goods of Mr. Morris
 “ never were offered for public sale. A
 “ private sale by appraisement was ef-
 “ fected. The rate and costs were paid
 “ from the proceeds. The balance of the
 “ amount was returned to Mr. Morris;
 “ an account of the appraisement, sale,
 “ and costs, was delivered by the church-
 “ wardens. *The law was in every point
 “ fulfilled; not the slightest indication of
 “ popular tumult was exhibited throughout
 “ the process; and it was only when the
 “ purchaser had, after several days, de-
 “ clared his disgust at the transaction,
 “ and restored the goods to Mr. Morris,
 “ that they were carried through the
 “ town with expressions of public satis-
 “ faction, unaccompanied by injury or
 “ danger to property or persons, and a
 “ more harmless manifestation of popular
 “ good humour was never witnessed.*

“ The people obeyed what they consi-
 “ dered, and society in general considers
 “ to be a bad, because an unequal law;
 “ but, like wise men, the sufferers mani-
 “ fested their opinion of its injustice. As
 “ one of the people deeply interested in
 “ the repeal of this odious power, I
 “ venture to crave your support of the
 “ prayer of Mr. Childs’ petition, and

“ I am, Sir, your’s respectfully,

“ ROBERT BESLEY.

“ 15, Northampton Square.
 “ 19. May, 1835.”

PETITION OF MR. CHILDS.

To the Honourable the Commons of the
 United Kingdom of Great Britain and
 Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The Petition of John Childs, of
 Bungay, in the county of Suffolk,
 printer, a prisoner in His Majes-
 ty’s jail of Ipswich, in the said
 county,

Showeth,

That your petitioner dissects from the
 doctrines and ritual of the Church of
 England, as by law established, and holds
 it incompatible with Christian liberty that
 the expenses of a religious service, to
 which he is unable to conform, should be
 levied upon him.

That during the last year a sum of

17s. 6d. is charged to have been assessed on your petitioner or his property, in respect of church-rate, and that the late churchwardens of Bungay St. Mary, Samuel Scott, tanner, and John Bobbit, ironmonger, caused him to be cited to appear in the Episcopal Consistorial Court, holden in the Cathedral Church of Norwich; but your petitioner, believing that the sacred scriptures do not confer on any religious sect the right to summon the members of any other sect to its own places of worship, or of determining questions of dispute between itself and such members of other sects, declined to appear at the specified time and place, but that a large and extensive establishment belonging to him was at all times in the said town and parish, upon which the said rate might, by the due course of law, have been levied.

That on the 12. day of May instant, your petitioner was arrested by an officer of the sheriff of Suffolk, and was delivered, on the following day, to the custody of the keeper of the jail at Ipswich, where he now remains.

That the warrant for his arrest purports to issue from the office of the said sheriff of the said county, in obedience to a writ of his Majesty, and to authorize the imprisonment of your petitioner, until he shall have made satisfaction for an alleged contempt of the said Episcopal Consistorial Court of Norwich, and is indorsed "Take no bail."

That your petitioner offered bail to any amount, but the same was refused.

That your petitioner has committed no contempt of such court, unless his non-resistance of its process is made by construction a crime deserving of imprisonment.

That in the fifty-third year of the reign of his late Majesty George III. an act was passed, entitled "An Act for the better Regulation of Ecclesiastical Courts in England, and for the more easy Recovery of Church Rates and Tithes" (cap. 127), in passing which act your petitioner verily believes it was the intention of the Legislature wholly to abolish the power and jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, in all cases of church-rate, where the sum to be recovered did not

exceed 10*l*.; but that whether that was or was not the intention of the Legislature, power is given, by the seventh section of that act, to the justices of the peace, by an easy, cheap, and summary process to enforce the payment of all church and chapel rates which do not exceed 10*l*., over and above the reasonable costs and charges, to be ascertained by such justices.

That the prosecutors in the present case, the said Samuel Scott and John Bobbit, avoiding the short and simple and cheap, and therefore less oppressive process, by the said act provided, have taken proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court, by which the costs of an expensive suit, and the pain and suffering of being cast into jail at a distance of forty miles from his family and a very extensive business, of which he is the head, are inflicted upon him, as a punishment for his conscientious refusal to pay a demand which he believes is not warranted by the Word of God, and with the view, as he submits to your honourable House it is reasonable to believe, of deterring his Dissenting brethren, whose worldly circumstances may be poor, by the fear of imprisonment and ruin, from acting upon their own convictions of religious duty.

Your petitioner, therefore, prays your honourable House to take measures for the immediate abolition of the barbarous and anomalous powers of the Ecclesiastical Court; powers inconsistent with all the principles of British law, and capable of being employed, as in the present case, to effect the purpose, and gratify the rancour of religious intolerance.

Your petitioner farther prays your honourable House to abolish all those laws which empower the members of the Church of England to levy the expense of conducting the worship of that one sect from persons who are unable to join in it, and which inflict on loyal and conscientious subjects the marks of civil and religious degradation.

(Signed)

JOHN CHILDS, of Bungay,
In the county jail of Ipswich, Suffolk.

Mr. CHILDS and his friends were under a great mistake from the very first. They seemed to have thought that the law gave the churchwardens *two modes of proceeding* to choose between. We referred to the act of Parliament itself, which, in the clearest possible terms, takes away the power of the Ecclesiastical Courts to enforce payment of church-rates, or to take any steps towards it, if the sum be *under ten pounds*. A Mr. KELLY, a Member for IPSWICH, argued all through, though a lawyer, as if there were *two modes of proceeding* for the churchwardens; and he praised GLOVER, the Archdeacon, and Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, up to the skies, as the most humane and gentle and kind and just of human beings. If this be the case, I have a right to hate him, at any rate, in an extraordinary degree; for no man ever discovered greater spite, malignity, or injustice against me; and for no other reason than that I, who had never seen the fellow before, drew up a petition, which was adopted by a meeting of the county of Norfolk, in spite of him and Daddy COKE: a real political malignant parson as far as my experience goes. Lord JOHN RUSSELL *praised* this fellow, too. The Attorney-General, who appears to me to speak what he thinks more frequently than any man sitting on the same bench, took up the act of Parliament, and expressed his astonishment that any one should be found to contend that there were *two modes of proceeding* for the churchwardens. He said that there was but *one mode*; that of summons before magistrates; he said that the Ecclesiastical Court had no legal cognizance of the matter; and that Mr. CHILDS had his

action of damages against the churchwardens, an action for false imprisonment!

I, who had read the act while the debate was going on, said, that, though the churchwardens ought to be punished for their baseness, in becoming the tools of the Ecclesiastical Court, it was the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court (GLOVER), who merited all the weight of punishment that Mr. CHILDS could inflict; for that he must have known what the law was, while it was possible that the churchwardens might not.

Dr. LUSHINGTON, who most clearly explained to us all the motives as well as the merits of the transaction, laid his heavy hand upon the *ecclesiastical judge*, and said, that he was the object most worthy of punishment.

If the reader will look into the act of Parliament (53. George the Third, chap. 127), he will see that it was utterly impossible that this disgrace which has been inflicted upon Mr. CHILDS should have proceeded from a mistake. Yet, plain as this act is; made, as it was, for the express purpose of protecting people against this Ecclesiastical Court, there is good reason to believe that this court has caused it to remain very nearly a dead letter, until very lately; and the people, notwithstanding this act of Parliament, have remained exposed to all the ruinous fees, fines, and mulctings of these courts.

The motive alleged for carrying the matter into the Ecclesiastical Court, rather than before justices of the peace, is, that if goods were seized for the payment of church-rates, *nobody would buy them*; and, certainly, this is very likely to be true; and the danger of not finding purchasers is very honourable to

the town of BUNGAY. This is quite swift process enough; without *trial by jury*; quite swift enough; but this, we see, fails; and, therefore, the state-paid clergy are all in commotion, seeing, that, at last, the churches must tumble down, or be upheld by themselves. A few years ago, there were *citations* everlasting, notwithstanding this act of Parliament. This can be no more: so that, here Mr. CHILDS has made a great alteration in the condition of this monstrous establishment; and it is, as I have so often said, and so recently said, the cruel oppressions on spirited individuals, which, finally, work in a way to overthrow the oppressors. Mr. CHILDS, who, be it observed, received no encomium from the Ministers, or from the regular Opposition, has the thanks of the whole kingdom for his courageous resistance of these oppressors; and his case, while our indignation is due to his oppressors on his account, is merely a specimen with regard to the oppression, and not with regard to the resistance; there having, I dare say, been thousands upon thousands who have been oppressed in the same way; but who, unable to resist beyond a certain point, have silently submitted to their ruin.

This is a matter that ought now to be inquired into; and if inquiry do take place, as it ought, I am mistaken if the result would not be of prodigious benefit to the people.

“ HEDDEKASHUN.”

In my last *Register*, I gave a long extract of the book sent me by Dr. BRIGHAM, of HARTFORD, in Connecticut.

On reading the book through, I have come to the resolution of re-publishing it, with the following Preface from myself; and, if I could, I would cause it to be read by every *father* and *mother* in England. To the rising generation it is the most valuable book that I ever saw in my life.

MR. COBBETT'S PREFACE.

In combating the *heddekashun* schemes, I have very frequently been met by an argument of experience brought from the United States of America; and have been told, that a large part of the good moral qualities, and of the bodily strength and the great prowess of the American people, is to be ascribed to the universal prevalence of *heddekashun* in that country.

In the first place, this universality is not true: the working-people in that country have very little more of the *heddekashun* than they have in this. Children are all sent to school, unless in very wild parts of the country; but their labour is so valuable that they are taken away at a very early age; and I remember that I had six or seven men that worked for me pretty constantly in the summer time in Long Island; and, though they had all been to school when they were children, not a man of them could write; and I hardly think that any one of them could read. They did work by the job sometimes; and, at the settlement, had to sign a receipt; and invariably they signed with a cross. I one day asked one of them, an excellent young man of about twenty-two or twenty-three, whether he had not been to school; when he laughed, said that he had, and that he used to be taught to make letters upon paper, but that he had forgotten all about it. He said his father had taken him away, wanting him to work. The father had done a great deal better for him; he had taught him to plough an acre and a half a day with a pair of oxen without a driver; and, if I could have taken up that man, his two oxen and his plough, and clapped them down in England, I would have freely given 100*l.*; and was I to

value a reader and writer, who could not plough so well, according to the value that I set upon this man?

However, the *heddekashun* is very general in the United States, and it has been attempted to make it universal. The consequences are most clearly, and forcibly, and terrifically laid before his countrymen by Dr. BRIGHAM, who, observe, sends forth his book from Hartford in Connecticut, which Hartford is looked upon as the Oxford of America. It appears that the physicians, and the really learned politicians and moralists of America, have begun to be alarmed at the progress of the numerous mischiefs of *heddekashun*, particularly as it debilitates, instead of strengthening the mind, and as it is ruinous to the body.

The Doctor proves the mischiefs innumerable of early book-teaching; and I am not a little proud to find a whole body of learned men in America, and a greater body of learned men and great physicians of other countries, all concurring in opinion (an opinion so often expressed by me) that sending *little children to school* is most mischievous to them; and that, if it did not arise from error in judgment in the parents, it would be an act of atrocious wickedness on their part.

I have insisted that children in the country (and there is the great mass of every people) ought to be at work, instead of perched upon a bench, having their little heads hammered about by a schoolmaster or a schoolmistress. I have been answered by an observation (an observation made by Lord ALTHORP himself, he being just as wise as any other of the *heddekashun* set), that children ought to be sent to school, *till they are able to work*. My reply has always been, until they be able to do some sort of work, they ought to be suffered to amuse and to exercise themselves according to their own fancy. Dr. BRIGHAM and his numerous authorities say just the same thing. This, in short, is the conclusion to be drawn from this beautiful and learned little book; that, if you wish your child to have a sound mind in a sound body, you must take care that what is called *heddekashun*, or study of books, be not imposed upon the child, until his

mind arrives at that state of strength, which nothing but a sufficiency of age can give. Another thing insisted upon by Dr. BRIGHAM is the necessity of good food for children. He says that "the nations best supplied with food have the most vigour of body and mind; that children, especially, should be well nourished; that good diet is an essential part of good education; that the method of rearing children, by restricting them to food which contains little nourishment, is very reprehensible." What would Dr. BRIGHAM say to the Duke of Richmond's bill of fare for his workhouse under the Poor law bill! What must he say to an English reformed Parliament passing a law, one of the objects of which was to reduce the working-people of England to a coarser sort of food!

Dr. BRIGHAM makes a strong appeal to PARENTS in the United States of America; he warns them against destroying their children, by forcing upon them an attention to books at an early age; and against the fatal notion that *spare diet* is proper for the rearing of children, to be healthy and sensible when they grow up; which warning he backs by innumerable instances of the fatal effects of the present practice; any one of which instances is more than sufficient to scare from the practice any parents who really love their children.

I cannot make, with like weight of authority, a similar appeal to ENGLISH PARENTS; but I really deem it a duty to my country, having this book in my possession, to print and publish an edition of it, at a price which shall bring it within the reach of parents in general; and to all those who have been accustomed to think well of my public efforts, I do most earnestly recommend the perusal of this book.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. ROEBUCK.

HAVE received great numbers of letters, in which the writers request me to publish an expression of their indignation

at the conduct of Mr. ROEBUCK, with regard to me, at the meeting held in London, Mr. WAKLEY in the chair. Having dealt with that conduct in a manner perfectly satisfactory to myself, I have taken the liberty to abstain from publishing these letters. But the following letter, coming from one of the constituents of Mr. ROEBUCK, and having the name of the writer at the bottom of it; I have thought it my duty to publish; and I publish it accordingly, requesting the attention of my readers to its contents.

Bath, May 13, 1835.

DEAR SIR,—If you can find space for the inclosed in your valuable *Register*, I shall feel greatly obliged. Trusting the abruptness of the request will not militate against its insertion.

I remain, dear sir,

Your great admirer,

S. SAUNDERS.

To Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M.P.

Bath, May 13, 1835.

DEAR SIR,—Considering you, above all men living, to be the great advocate of popular rights; that you have achieved more good than all the writers combined within the last thirty years; I was astonished at the presumption of Mr. ROEBUCK, the Member for Bath, in attempting to derogate your manifold deserts in the estimation of an audience, composed chiefly of a description of persons for whose welfare you have spent nearly a life of unceasing toil and anxiety. This gentleman must be fully aware that in comparison with yourself he is only as a drop of water is to the ocean; but as he wishes to be thought somebody, and as his very limited share of abilities will not produce the desired effect, he has recourse to bravado; which, however momentarily successful with the unreflecting, yet such vauntings will be deemed by the discerning portion of the community as the mere

tinkling of brass. This pretender, with his ragged regiment of shammy "*hed-deka-hunists*," insists that the working population through their political ignorance retard the advancement of good government; or, in other words, that the labouring classes, not knowing that their real interests and true happiness consist in a good government, are supine respecting the attainment of such. Now sir, I will maintain that the aggregate political knowledge of any one of the working population far exceeds that of this arrogant pretender; they know that, as component members of the social state, they have an inherent right to participate in the making of the laws that are to effect that state. They know they are debarred from the enjoyment of such rightful participation. They know that those who make the laws have an interest separate from that of the people, and inimical to the public good. They know the laws are so framed as to impoverish the industrious classes, and to aggrandize the idle and rich. They know they have a competent knowledge of what constitutes good government, and are desirous of obtaining it. They know that to prevent their obtaining good government the war against the French was prosecuted. They know that to prevent their obtaining good government the Habeas Corpus was suspended, and hundreds of them were incarcerated in jails. They know that to prevent their obtaining good government hundreds more of them were sabred at Peterloo. They know that, with all these tyrannical proceedings against them, they have continued steadily and perseveringly their undeviating course, till they gained that first step towards a good government, the late Reform Bill. They know likewise that the Reform Bill itself wants a great deal of reforming before it will insure them a good government; and which further reform they would soon accomplish, were it not that the little pretender, with the ragged regiment of shammy "*hed-dekashunists*," are throwing every obstacle in their way, by defaming them as an "*ignorant multitude*," vilifying the most patriotic members of society, and endeavouring to turn aside public attention from the only subject that can be of last-

ing benefit to them. These facts the labouring classes well know; and in knowing which, they know more than Mr. Roebuck ever knew in the whole course of his life. Can the little learned gentleman, the "homme de lettres et avocat," as you are pleased to designate him, disprove these facts? No; even he, with all his daring, will not have the assurance to attempt such. Then what comes of his assertion of the people's ignorance, and the necessity for his "heddekashun" scheme? Being a native of the city for which he is a representative, I have had frequent opportunities of judging as to his being a fit and proper person to fill the situation. His conduct, and his introduction to Bath by Mr. Hume, at the Upper Rooms, soon convinced me of his self-sufficient, domineering character. The Bath people, ever prone to give a hearty welcome to strangers, on the occasion alluded to, received Mr. Roebuck on his rising to address them with deafening cheers; which he answered by a most pompous, mock heroic waving of the arm, stating that he desired silence, for that the information which he should give them would be for their benefit, and not for his. Indeed, in all his various addresses the burden of his song was, that he had come down to "astonish the natives." But as at his first address the people were anxious to hear what the oracle of wisdom had to say, and he having a weak voice, and there being upwards of two thousand persons in the room, those behind pressed forward and caused a considerable inconvenience, which was endured for a long period, but at last became so great as to cause a sort of undulating motion to gain relief, and which induced the very discerning and unpresuming orator to say, that *when those persons had done amusing themselves he would go on.* At the conclusion of his speech, which proved to be a mountain in labour, he said he was not there as a mere novice, for he understood thoroughly every subject relative to politics; that he courted inquiry, and wished questions to be put to him. Now, as at that time there were several subjects that agitated the public mind, I thought it my duty to ask him his opinion on some of

them, and to not one of which could he give a direct answer. Pray, said I, as many persons are advocating an increased paper circulating medium, and others a debasing of the metallic currency, what is your opinion on the currency question? Oh! he replied, I am for branch banks; but the monetary system is of such a complicated nature, that it requires very serious consideration. What, asked I, is your opinion respecting the tithes? Why, said he, I am for equalizing the church property. But, observed I, my question was as to the tithes. Oh! replied he, that will be a consideration for Parliament. Pray then, continued I, in case your parliamentary conduct should be disapproved of by the majority of your constituents, would you, on receiving from them a notice to that effect, surrender to them the trust reposed in you at the end of twelve months? Why, said he, to do that I must accept the Chiltern Hundreds, which perhaps the Ministry may not grant me; so I cannot say I will offer to resign in a twelvemonth, but I will do so at the end of three years. Thinking I had a tolerably good specimen of his capabilities for an M.P., I desisted catechising him any further. But, sir, the climax of his extraordinary wisdom was exhibited in the commencement of his address to his constituents, the *inhabitants of Bath*, on his being declared duly elected: he said to them, "Gentlemen, I shall now, as I ever have done in addressing you, use such plain and simple language as will suit your plain and simple understandings."

I remain, dear sir,

Your most sincere admirer,

S. SAUNDERS

ARISTOCRACY, PARSONS, AND MONEY-MONGERS.

THESE three are *one*; and the creative part of the people is *another*. These three have all most heartily concurred in the affair of the Poor-law Bill; and every man of them will swear, if you put

the Evangelists into his hand, that *fifteen* ounces of mutton, weighed raw, including bone, is sufficient for a man to live upon for a week, including Sundays; and that his living, for three days of the week, is to consist of the broth made from this same meat, with about twelve ounces of bread each day, made of flour costing five shillings and threepence a bushel. Every man of them will swear this upon the holy Evangelists, and turn up his eyes like a saint at the same time. These three pull cordially together; they are everywhere, all over the country: they have all power in their hands: yet they fear. They know that they are detested; or, at least, they say they are: they complain of the hostility of the poor against the rich. Wise men, under such circumstances, would endeavour to put an end to the hostility, by measures of conciliation: not they; and never was it known in the world, that such men followed the dictates of even common prudence. These three know that they have now all power in their hands: they know that there may come a state of things, when they will lose this power. This is what they dread; and thus they go on making the breach wider and wider, by their efforts to retain their undivided power.

I have been led into these reflections, at this time, by a curious occurrence at TONBRIDGE in KENT. Many persons know that I have written and published a Comedy, in three acts, called "*Surplus Population and the Poor-law Bill.*" Some very decent and respectable players in London wished to act it; and I recommended them to take a tour in Sussex and West-Kent, and to begin at TONBRIDGE, on their way to LEWES. The manager proceeded to TONBRIDGE, and engaged a place for acting, at the *Angel Inn*. The aristocracy (by which I mean lords, baronets, squires; the parsons, the money-mongers) took the alarm: the landlord was frightened out of his bar-

gain with the players, who were thus obliged to give up their intention. About the same time one STREATFEILD, who it appears is a justice of peace of the place, and who is now become chairman of the PENSHURST Union, under the Poor-law Bill, issued a printed address, in which he justified the Poor-law Bill; and in which address he has the impudence to say, that the bill is intended to increase the comforts of the labourer; the people knowing well, that $7\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of mutton, weighed before cooking, including bone, was the meat allowed for a whole week to a boy ten years of age.

The Comedy, printed in a pamphlet, had found its way, in considerable numbers to TONBRIDGE: the aristocracy, parsons, and money-mongers, were resolved that it should not be acted there. They had read it. And their conduct and motives were like those of the king in HAMLET, when he, being at the play, rises hastily and cries, "Lights! Lights! Away! Away!" Well may they exclaim, with MACBETH, I think it is: "How is it with me, oh God! when every little noise alarms me"! How is it with them, indeed! How is it with them, when even the stirring of a mouse excites their fears! There are no combinations against them: there are no menaces; there is no appearance of any outward array; there is no appearance of resistance being offered to them: they know that they have allotted seven ounces and a half of mutton, weighed raw, including bone, for a boy of ten years old, for seven days: they know, at TONBRIDGE, that this STREATFEILD tells the poor, that the Poor-law Bill is for *their good*, and only for their good: all this is so; and yet the aristocracy, parsons, and money-mongers fear!

Only think of their being alarmed at a mere piece of ridicule on the damnable Malthusian doctrine! Only think of their taking flight, even at that! Why, it would be better to go under ground at once, even alive, than to move about on the top of it, in such constant dread. It is a state of things that never existed before in this world. And the folly surpasses even the baseness of their conduct. Do the nasty greedy fools imagine, that they

can keep the contents of "*Surplus Population*" from being known to the working-people? Are they asses enough to believe this? Why, the very circumstance of their having thwarted the players at TONBRIDGE will cause thousands and thousands of the *Comedy* to be sold in print! And do they think that this is the way to diminish the number of Cobbettites in the country! It will greatly augment them; because the general conclusion will be, that there was something which the aristocracy, parsons, and money-mongers, wished that the people should not hear.

The play-bill published at TONBRIDGE on the occasion, was in the following words:

THEATRE, TONBRIDGE.

Held at Tonbridge.
Will be performed, at the above place, in the Town of Tonbridge,

SURPLUS POPULATION

AND THE

POOR-LAW BILL.

A Comedy in Three Acts, by Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M.P. for Oldham.

SIR GRIFE GRINDUM (of Grindum Hall, in the County of Grindum, Baronet), Mr. LENNETT.
PETER THIMBLE, Esq., (a great Anti-Population Philosopher) Mr. MELVILLE.
FARMER STILES Mr. JOHNSON.
DICK HAZLE (Servant to Stiles) Mr. JONES.
TOM STILES (nephew of Farmer Stiles)

[Mr. LENNOX.

BARBONE Mr. G. TARRANT.
NED MAPLE Mr. HESLOP.
GUZZLE Mr. PATEMAN.
BEISEY BIRCH (going to be married to Dick Hazle) Miss HART.
MRS. BIRCH Mrs. HARRISON.

A Comic Song by Mr. Lennett.

A Favourite Song, by Miss Hart.

A Comic Dance, by Mr. G. Tarrant.

A Comic Song, by Mr. Johnson.

The whole to conclude with

A LAUGHABLE FARCE.

N.B. Mr. Cobbett will be present at the performance.

Doors open at half-past Six, commence at Seven.
Front Seats 1s.; Back ditto, 6d.

I have not been at a play since the month of June, 1803, when I recollect,

that I saw poor MRS. JORDAN, the mother of a *very considerable* family, of whom I shall have to say a great deal more another time, in illustration of certain parts of the Poor-law Bill. At the same time I saw her, whom we used to call Mother MELLON, who was afterwards Mother COURTS, and who is now the spouse of one, who, if the peerage speaks truth, is descended from the famous King CHARLES the Second. I have not been at a play since. They made me stand up and pull my hat off while "God save the King" was sung, and I deemed that to be such an infamy on me, that I never went to the play afterwards, though I had a free admission ticket to the theatres till I would absolutely keep them no longer. I wanted to go and see my own play acted, and to hear the choppers and the country-girls laugh at the doctrines of PETER THIMBLE and old GRIFE; but these alarmists defeated my laudable intention.

Now, what am I to do in this case; for to be wringed, and *not to have vengeance* is out of the question with me, if vengeance I can obtain. Why, this is what I intend, not to go to TONBRIDGE and quarrel with the fellows; not to degrade myself by a proceeding like that; but to *write another play*: to call it "**THE BASTARDS IN HIGH LIFE**"; to pull out the whole bastardized litter by the ears, and toss them out sprawling before the public, as boys do litters of young rabbits, by the poking in, and twisting of a bramble amongst them. Now this is what I will do; and give the Cobbettites another laugh, in spite of all the hell of aristocracy. How often have the whole mass of them repented of sending me to NEWGATE, and driving me across the seas! When they look at their present difficulties and dangers, which are undisguisable even from fools like them, how large a part of them do they, or at least may they reasonably, ascribe to me! Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, when he was out of temper with me one time, charged me with having been the ruin of the country. The aristocracy "you mean," said I. At that time his mind was not arrived at the pitch to make the distinction. He charged me with having "*frightened*"

e Ministers; with having terrified them by my horrible predictions; and at one time he charged me in print with having said in the *Register* that I wrote with the express purpose of leading them into mischief; and he cited my express words as being these: "Well, and what reason have you to presume that I write and publish anything for *their good*?" Does the farmer's wife, when she baits a fox-trap with a bit of meat, put the bit of meat there for the fox's good?" This was a very curious affair: I never wrote or published this; but I said it in conversation with a friend of Mr. ATTWOOD; and he forgot that, and ascribed it to the *Register*.

But now, this is a sound principle whereon to act. You are to use your pen in the best way that you can to effect the good of your country; and you are by no means to regard your country as comprised in the carcase of an ADDINGTON, a PERCEVAL, a CASTLEREAGH, a PEELE, a SPRING RICE, or an ALTHORP. And, as far as regards your ownself, if you have a wrong inflicted upon you; and if there be no law to afford you redress, it is not only your right but your duty to inflict vengeance on the wrong-doer: and if the wrong-doer be a body of persons, you are to inflict vengeance upon the whole body. This has been the rule of my life; and I never am right easy while I have received a wrong that is yet unrevenged. A man will be hated for this, I know; but who is there with common spirit in his breast that will not prefer hatred to contempt?—N.B. The price of "*Surplus Population*," in a neat pamphlet, is SIXPENCE.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

MY FRIENDS,—Before this will go to the press, you will have heard a prodigious talking, boasting, and scolding about "*corporation reform*," which is the great measure that the Whigs tell us they have in store to give us back our rights and happiness, while they are at-

tempting to take them all away for ever by their horrible Poor-law Bill. The sweet sound of "*corporation reform*" has, I dare say, reached your ears; and therefore it is my duty, or, at least, I am disposed to put you upon your guard against this monstrous deception. It will be proposed to give the right of voting for aldermen, mayors, &c., to the ten-pounders, as in the case of the Reform Bill as it is called; so that the excisemen, the half-pay officers, the pensioners, the retired clerks; all these swarms who are living on the working man's earnings; being able to rent a house of ten pounds a-year out of the fruit of his earnings, will have a vote in these reformed corporations, while the working man will have no such right; they, genteel souls, are said to have a stake in the country, though they must actually die for want of food, unless supplied by taxes earned by him.

Besides, it will bring bands of new and greedy fellows into office, who, pretending that they are chosen by, and speak the free voice of the people of the town, will do a thousand things that the present fellows dare not attempt; they will let the people know the difference between King Log and King Stork. There are thousands now gaping for plunder, that this, they think, will let them into.

If, indeed, this reform were to begin by bringing the delinquents to justice; by making them account fully and truly, on oath, for the money and the estates of which they have had the handling; and this, too, on pain of transporting or hanging: then I should say that it was a reform in reality. It has been publicly reported, and is very likely to be true; indeed, it is no secret at all, that the corporation of COVENTRY expended a sum of money for the purpose of *preventing my election for that city in 1820*. Now, if this be true, if the commissioners have discovered this fact, and if the parties be not compelled to restore the money to the city, will you be so childish as to believe that anything is about to take place worthy of being called a reform of corporations? Yet this is the great stalking-horse of the Whigs; and the cities and boroughs will be surprised in a

couple of years time, just as some simple people are surprised now to find that the "*reformed Parliament*" does them so little good, and deals them so much heavier blows than the boroughmonger-Parliament ever dealt them.

I sometime ago laid before you an "*estimate*"; which means a string of propositions to the House of Commons to vote away the people's money. I will now lay before you two more; the first begins with a demand of 36,800*l.* for "*secret services*"; and then it goes on till it gets to the total sum of 521,332*l.* The other "*estimate*" is for public buildings and fineries of various sorts, amounting to 175,000*l.* Now, I request you to read these through *with patience*; and, when your blood has done boiling, to put this question to yourselves: "Will this famous corporation reform tend to prevent such charges as these against us in future"? My opinion is, that it will not tend to lop off one single farthing; and of this opinion you must be, too, if you consider that the electors of members to serve in Parliament will be just what they are now. I beseech you, therefore, not to be deceived by any of the bragging of the Whigs, or of anybody else. It is very true that we cannot help ourselves at present: we have no power to prevent our money being thus expended; but we have the power to prevent ourselves from being dupes; and this I trust we shall prevent.

Only think of 36,800*l.* for "*secret services*," in a time of profound peace, and at the end of twenty years of peace. MADISON once wrote to the American ambassador in England, ordering him to answer the complaint of old LIVERPOOL, who accused the Americans of having blowed the story about Captain HENRY: "Tell him that republics have no secrets; they being too dear an article for our frugal means." Only think of BRADLEY KING, late stationer in Ireland, 2,500*l.* a year, only because he is no longer stationer. Only think of 20,000*l.* a year for "*heddehashun*." Only think of you, who never see London, obliged to work to help to pay 307,433*l.* for the flies and snakes and caterpillars and butterflies in the British Museum; only

think of your having to pay 7,655*l.* to finish the interior of an old chapel at WHITEHALL, for the gentlefolks to admire! Only think of your having to work to help to pay for a National Gallery to hold pictures, which you are destined never to behold! Yes: throw down the book, if you like, and swear as hearty as you please; but do not be so silly as to believe, that this is going to be put to rights; or that any benefit whatsoever is to arise to you from that prodigious humbug, "*corporation reform*." And now, in conclusion, I advise you to watch well the working of this corporation reform: it cannot bring you another Poor-law Bill, another rescinding of the vote upon the malt-tax, another Irish coercion Bill; but of one thing I am certain; that is, that it will bring you *no good*! If it bring you no evil, you may think yourselves well off. Fortunately you have no corporation; and most likely you will have none; and, therefore, the corporation reform may not do you any direct harm. I know nothing of the plan, in detail; but I am sure that those who support the two separate factions, will never consent to a corporation reform that shall give the working-people their rights. Some men always *hope* for good from every thing. I am not one of those. To hope is a mixture of wishing and expectation; not a particle of which latter enters into my mind upon this occasion. I know that I differ in opinion from many worthy persons as to this matter; and it will be amusing enough to see nests of old rats ferreted out of their holes; but to hold out the expectation to you that the measure will produce any good is contrary to my sense of duty. Read the following *estimates*; and recollect that they are voted by men chosen by the same identical persons that will choose the reform corporators!

I am

Your faithful friend

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

**A STATEMENT of the ESTIMATES for MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES
for Four Quarters of 1835-6.**

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|----------|
| Secret service | £ 36,800 | 0 | 0 |
| Printing, Lords and Commons, and stationery, &c. public departments | 191,756 | 0 | 0 |
| Gold and silver coinage | 10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Prosecutions relating to coin | 8,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Law charges | 16,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Convicts at home and abroad | 64,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Captured negroes | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Convict expenditure, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land | 112,576 | 0 | 0 |
| Expenses under commissioners of records | 10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir A. B. King, compensation | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Fees on turnpike-road bills | 6,000 | 0 | 0 |
| School-houses | 20,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Revising barristers | 22,700 | 0 | 0 |
| Geographical Society, expedition of discovery | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Erection of school-houses in Scotland, &c., model schools, England | — | — | — |
| Egyptian antiquities | — | — | — |
| East India Company, difference between par and market value of consolidated East India annuities | — | — | — |
| Expense of certain chapels destroyed in Jamaica | — | — | — |
| Purchase of Fairfax and Yates's pensions | — | — | — |
| Voyage of discovery to Polar regions | — | — | — |
| Grant to Mr. Morton on account of his patent slip | — | — | — |
| Mr. Marshall for his book | — | — | — |
| Pictures for National Gallery | — | — | — |
| Reward to officers, seamen, &c. Navarino | — | — | — |
| Steam navigation to India | — | — | — |
| Polish exiles | — | — | — |
| Hawkins's fossils, purchase of | — | — | — |
| Dartmoor Prison | — | — | — |
| Grant to Captain Ross | — | — | — |
| | £521,332 | 0 | 0 |

No. 1.

An estimate of the sum that may be required in the year from 1st April, 1835, to 31st March, 1836, to defray the charge of his Majesty's foreign and other secret services.

Thirty-six Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds.

No. 2.

An estimate of the expense of printing the Acts of Parliament delivered at the public charge to courts of law, sheriffs, magistrates, and others; for printing Parliamentary papers under the orders of the two Houses of Parliament; for providing stationery, printing, and binding for the several departments of Government in England and the colonies, and in Ireland and Scotland, from the 1st of April, 1835, to the 31st of March, 1836; and for providing paper for the printing purposes of the two Houses of Parliament for the session 1836, including the expense of the establishment of the Stationery-office.

One Hundred and Ninety-one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-six Pounds,

PARTICULARS OF THE FOREGOING ESTIMATE :

For Acts of Parliament and for the printing under the orders of the two Houses of Parliament :—

| | | | |
|--|----------------|----------|----------|
| For printing Acts of Parliament and bills, reports and other papers for the two Houses of Parliament, formerly stated in a separate estimate, now transferred to this estimate, the bills of charges being examined and paid through the Stationery-office | £ 56,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Paper for the use of the King's printer for the printing purposes of the House of Lords for the session 1836 | 5,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto for the use of Messrs. Hansard and Son, for the printing purposes of the House of Commons - ditto | 19,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto for the use of Messrs. Nicholls for the votes ditto | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | <u>£81,000</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |

For printing, under the superintendence of the Stationery Office (including the cost of paper and binding) the under-mentioned reports and papers presented or to be presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command ; viz.

| | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| Reports of the commissioners of inquiry into the Excise | £ 3,300 | 0 | 0 |
| Statistical tables, drawn up under the authority of the Board of Trade | 2,550 | 0 | 0 |
| Reports of Dr. Bowring on the commercial relations with France | 705 | 0 | 0 |
| Correspondence with the British commissioners relative to the slave trade | 470 | 0 | 0 |
| Reports of the commissioners of municipal corporation inquiry, Ireland | 1,875 | 0 | 0 |
| Reports of the commissioners of inquiry into Scotch burghs | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Report of the church revenue commission, England and Wales | 2,400 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Tidd Pratt, on friendly societies and savings' banks | 50 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|---|
| Total for stationery, &c. | £12,850 | 0 | 0 |
| Total for printing, &c. for the two Houses | 81,000 | 0 | 0 |

Total for the acts delivered under the promulgation orders, and for the service of the two Houses of Parliament.. 93,850 0 0

ENGLAND.

Stationery and Binding, &c.*

| | | | |
|---|--------|---|---|
| For the House of Lords | 2,100 | 0 | 0 |
| House of Commons | 3,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Treasury | 1,800 | 0 | 0 |
| Paymaster, civil services | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Admiralty and departments | 8,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Navy Pay-office and Greenwich out-pension | 750 | 0 | 0 |
| Ordnance departments and commissariat at home | 6,800 | 0 | 0 |
| Secretary of state, home department, and Alien-office | 650 | 0 | 0 |
| Secretary of state, foreign department | 1,200 | 0 | 0 |
| Secretary of state, colonial department | 1,200 | 0 | 0 |
| Privy Council-office | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Board of Trade | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Customs | 8,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Excise | 13,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Stamps and taxes | 9,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Post-offices | 4,500 | 0 | 0 |

Carried forward.....£ 52,750 0 0

| | | | |
|---|----------|---|---|
| Brought forward | £ 52,750 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissariat departments abroad | 3,700 | 0 | 0 |
| Medical board and departments at home and abroad .. | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| War-office, departments of account and recruiting districts | 3,700 | 0 | 0 |
| Military boards | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Chelsea Hospital | 1,100 | 0 | 0 |
| Exchequer | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Paymaster-general | 750 | 0 | 0 |
| Audit-office | 375 | 0 | 0 |
| Adjutant-general's office and recruiting department .. | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| Royal Military Asylums | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Commander-in-chief | 260 | 0 | 0 |
| Quartermaster general's office | 260 | 0 | 0 |
| National Debt-office | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| Office of Woods and Works | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| Insolvent Debtors Court | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| Judge advocate general | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| Office for registry of colonial slaves | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Treasury solicitor | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Inspectors of army clothing | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Chaplain general | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| State Paper-office | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Penitentiary | 130 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery-office | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Mint | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| Irish department office | 130 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissioners of inquiry into charities | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissioners of inquiry into courts of justice | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Court of King's Bench | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Court of Common Pleas | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Office of First Fruits and Tenths | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissioners in Lunacy | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Record-office, chapter house (repairing, binding and stationery) | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Acts of Parliament, forms of prayer, &c. required for the public departments not supplied under the promulgation orders | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| Amount of estimate for England | £ 78,415 | 0 | 0 |
| IRELAND : | | | |
| For the Adjutant-general's office | £ 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Chief secretary's offices | 1,400 | 0 | 0 |
| Commander of the Forces | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| Customs | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Constabulary and Yeomanry | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Court of Common Pleas | 190 | 0 | 0 |
| Commissary-general's office | 125 | 0 | 0 |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Solicitor of Excise | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Lord Lieutenant | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Court of King's Bench | 275 | 0 | 0 |
| Life Annuity office | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Law and Equity exchequer | 310 | 0 | 0 |
| Medical departments | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Carried forward | £ 3,485 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | |
|---|--|----------|---|---|
| | Brought forward | £3,480 | 0 | 0 |
| Office of Arms .. | .. .. . | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Ordnance departments .. | .. .. . | 1,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ordnance survey .. | .. .. . | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Police .. | .. .. . | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| Post offices .. | .. .. . | 1,400 | 0 | 0 |
| Quartermaster-general's office .. | .. .. . | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| Quit-rent office .. | .. .. . | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| Rolls office and Rolls court .. | .. .. . | 170 | 0 | 0 |
| Recruiting districts .. | .. .. . | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Stamp-office .. | .. .. . | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Teller of the Exchequer .. | .. .. . | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| Vice Treasurer's office .. | .. .. . | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Board of Works .. | .. .. . | 130 | 0 | 0 |
| Ecclesiastical inquiry .. | .. .. . | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery-office .. | .. .. . | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Insolvent Debtors' office .. | .. .. . | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Council office .. | .. .. . | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Poor inquiry commission .. | .. .. . | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Town major's office and General hospitals .. | .. .. . | 55 | 0 | 0 |
| | Amount of estimate for Ireland .. | £ 8,465 | 0 | 0 |
| | SCOTLAND: | | | |
| For the Customs .. | .. .. . | £ 600 | 0 | 0 |
| Excise .. | .. .. . | 2,800 | 0 | 0 |
| Stamps and Taxes .. | .. .. . | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| Post offices .. | .. .. . | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | Amount of estimate for Scotland .. | 4,500 | 0 | 0 |
| | England .. | 78,415 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ireland .. | 8,465 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total for departments in England, Scotland, and Ireland .. | 91,380 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total for the acts delivered under the promulgation orders and for the service of the two Houses of Parliament. . | 93,850 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total estimate for printing and stationery .. | 185,230 | 0 | 0 |
| | ESTABLISHMENT: | | | |
| For the Comptroller .. | .. .. . | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| Eight clerks .. | .. .. . | 1,544 | 0 | 0 |
| Storekeeper .. | .. .. . | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Eleven clerks .. | .. .. . | 1,535 | 0 | 0 |
| Two messengers .. | .. .. . | 140 | 0 | 0 |
| Three warehousemen .. | .. .. . | 330 | 0 | 0 |
| Five porters and one watchman .. | .. .. . | 343 | 0 | 0 |
| One carter .. | .. .. . | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| One paper-cutter .. | .. .. . | 104 | 0 | 0 |
| Contingencies, viz. rent of warehouse, taxes, coals, candles, postage, advertisements, extra labour, hire of horses and carts, &c. &c. .. | .. .. . | 1,470 | 0 | 0 |
| | Amount of establishment and contingencies .. | 6,526 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total estimate for printing and stationery .. | 185,230 | 0 | 0 |
| | | £191,756 | 0 | 0 |

No. 3.

An estimate of the sum that may be required in the year from 1. April 1835 to 31. March 1836, to defray the expenses of the Mint in the coinage of gold.

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Estimated charge | £ 10,000 |
| Balance applicable thereto | 7,000 |

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| To be granted | <u>£ 3,000</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|

Three Thousand Pounds.

No. 4.

An estimate of the sum that may be required to defray the expenses incurred in the prosecution of offences against the laws relating to coin, in the year from 1. April 1835 to 31. March 1836.

Eight Thousand Pounds.

No. 5.

An estimate of the sum that may probably be required to defray the expenses of law charges, in the year from 1. April 1835 to 31. March 1836.

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| Estimated expenditure | £ 16,244 |
| Balance applicable thereto | 8,000 |

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| To be granted | <u>£ 8,244</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|

Eight Thousand Pounds.

PARTICULARS

SALARIES :

| | | | |
|---|--------|----|---|
| Solicitor | £2,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Assistant solicitor | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| First clerk | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Second clerk | 175 | 0 | 0 |
| Third clerk | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Messenger | 136 | 10 | 0 |
| Chairman of the Westminster Sessions | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Messenger of the Press and Assistants | 127 | 12 | 0 |

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| Ground-rent and dues for chambers | 15 | 5 | 4 |
| Contingent expenses of the office | 98 | 11 | 11 |

PROSECUTIONS, SUITS, CASES, &c.

| | | | |
|---|-------|---|----|
| Fees to counsel | 5,310 | 9 | 9 |
| Expenses incurred in carrying on same | 6,231 | 4 | 10 |

£16,244 13 10

The above detail is founded upon an average of the expenditure of the three successive years ending 1833-4, this being the latest period to which the accounts are made up.

It is impracticable from any comparative statement of the expense incurred under each head of the estimate in any preceding year, to form anything like an accurate estimate of what may be required for the succeeding year, the expenditure depending so materially upon the state of the country. As however there will probably remain at the close of the present year, ending 31. March next, 8,000*l.* of the vote of last year, the estimate of 8,000*l.* is made with reference to that expectation.

4. December, 1834.

GEO. MAULE.

No. 6

An estimate of the sum that may be required in the year from 1. April 1835 to 31. March 1836, to defray the charge of confining, maintaining and employing convicts at home and at Bermuda; and in providing clothing for the convicts who may probably be transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

Sixty-four thousand pounds.

No. 7

An estimate of the sum that may be required in the year ending 31. March 1836, to defray expenses for the support of captured negroes and liberated Africans; under the acts for the abolition of the slave trade.

Twenty thousand pounds.

No. 8

An estimate of the sum that may be required in the year ending 31. March 1836, to defray the charge of maintaining convicts at New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

One hundred and forty-seven thousand, three hundred and six pounds.

Estimated amount of the bills which will be drawn from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, to defray the charge of maintaining convicts at those settlements, payable between 1. April 1835 and 31. March 1836

£100,000 0 0

The amount required to defray the charge of providing stores dispatched to those colonies upon requisitions received from thence prior to the close of the year 1833, according to the accounts prepared by the Board of Ordnance beyond the grants applicable to this expenditure

34,730 0 0

The amount required to defray the charge of stores, for which requisitions were received from these colonies in 1834, now about to be provided, according to the estimates of the Board of Ordnance

12,576 0 0

£147,306 0 0

No. 9.

An estimate of the sum that may be required to defray the expenses incurred under the direction and management of the commissioners of records, in the year ending 31. March, 1836

Ten Thousand Pounds.

No. 10.

An estimate of the sum required to pay the annual compensation awarded to Sir Abraham Bradley King, late King's stationer in Ireland, for losses sustained by him by reason of the revocation of his patent.

Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds.

No. 11.

An estimate of the sum that will probably be required in the year 1835, to pay the fees due and payable to officers of the Parliament on all bills for continuing

or amending any acts for making or maintaining, keeping in repair or improving, turnpike roads, which shall pass the two Houses of Parliament, and receive the royal assent.

Four Thousand Pounds.

| | | | |
|---|--------|---|---|
| Estimated charge for the year 1835 | £6,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Deduct balance in hand applicable to this expenditure | 2,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £4,000 | 0 | 0 |

No. 12.

An estimate of the sum necessary to enable his Majesty to issue money for the erection of schoolhouses in aid of private subscriptions for that purpose, for the education of the children of the poorer classes in England, in the year ending 31. March, 1836.

Twenty Thousand Pounds.

No. 13.

An estimate of the sum that will be required to pay the allowances and expenses of the barristers employed in revising lists of voters, &c. under the act 2. William IV. c. 45.

Twenty-two Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds.

No. 14.

An estimate of the sum that will be required to enable the Geographical Society to prosecute two expeditions of discovery, one into the interior of South Africa, from Delagoa Bay, on its east coast; the other into the interior of America, behind British Guiana.

One Thousand Pounds.

The grounds of the proposed vote are stated in the accompanying papers.

No. 1.

A statement of the estimates for miscellaneous services for four quarters of 1835-6.

| | | | |
|--|----------|---|---|
| Maintenance and repairs of public buildings and royal palaces .. | £50,320 | 0 | 0 |
| Kingston Harbour | 19,750 | 0 | 0 |
| Portpatrick Harbour | 11,875 | 0 | 0 |
| Holyhead and Howth Roads, &c. | 5,478 | 0 | 0 |
| British Museum, building | 16,000 | 0 | 0 |
| National Gallery, | 12,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Whitehall Chapel | 10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Houses of Parliament, temporary accommodation .. | 44,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Works at Hobb's Point | 6,129 | 0 | 0 |
| Windsor Castle | — | | |
| Revenue buildings, Bristol | — | | |
| Donaghadee Harbour | — | | |
| Royal Palace at Brighton | — | | |
| State Paper Office | — | | |
| Building churches, Scotland | — | | |
| Lighthouses, Bahama Straits | — | | |
| Westminster Hall | — | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £175,552 | 0 | 0 |

THOMAS F. FREMANTLE.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
8. April, 1835.

No. 1.

An estimate of the probable amount that will be required for the repairs, &c. of public buildings; for furniture, &c. for various public departments; for certain charges of watching, lighting, &c.; and also for the maintenance and repairs of Royal Palaces and works in the Royal Gardens, heretofore charged upon the Civil List; for one year, from 1. April 1835 to 31. March 1836.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Estimated expenditure for one year | £ 50,320 |
| Deduct balance of former grants applicable to the expenditure .. | 9,120 |
| | <hr/> |
| To be voted | £ 41,200 |
| | <hr/> |

Forty-one Thousand Two Hundred Pounds.

PARTICULARS OF THE FOREGOING ESTIMATE.

ROYAL PALACES.

Windsor Castle (excepting what is now under Sir Jeffery Wyatville).

Ditto the poor knights' houses, the tomb-house, the lower lodge stables, and other detached buildings, and the water-mill on the King's river, &c.
Hampton Court Palace; gardens, buildings, forcing-houses, &c., stables and out-buildings.

Hampton Court; stud-house, Longford river and Combe conduit, which supply the palace with hard and soft water; including also the bridges over the King's river.

Kew Palace; stables and other buildings belonging to his Majesty on Kew Green. Kew; the observatory, the pagoda and other buildings in the pleasure, botanic and kitchen gardens, including the forcing-houses, &c.

Kensington Palace; the buildings in the pleasure and kitchen gardens, including the forcing-houses, stables, and other detached buildings.

St. James's Palace.

Buckingham Palace; the boundary walls of the gardens, not under the direction of Mr. Blore.

Royal Mews, Pimlico, and riding-house.

Carlton House stables, and house, 104, Pall Mall.

The Royal Pavilion, Brighton, the stables and out-buildings.

Estimate of the probable expense for the ordinary works, repairs and maintenance of the foregoing royal palaces, buildings and works in the royal gardens, formerly charged on Civil List

For providing new fire-engines, &c. for Buckingham palace

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| Total of Royal Palaces | £ 22,842 |
| | 540 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £ 23,382 |
| | <hr/> |

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Houses of Parliament; including the Houses of Peers and Commons, committee rooms, offices, &c. &c.

Speaker's house, stables, &c.

Westminster; includes Westminster Hall (except the works under Sir Robert Smirke), the Courts of Law and Record Rooms to ditto, the Privy Seal and Signet Office, the Chapter House Record Rooms, the State Paper Office, the buildings in Cannon Row occupied by the India Board, Parliament-stairs and causeway to the River from New Palace Yard and Exchequer Offices.

Whitehall; includes the Treasury Buildings, the Houses of the First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Offices of the three Secretaries of State, the Council Office and Board of Trade, Whitehall Chapel (except the works under Sir Robert Smirke), the Almonry Office, the Marshalsea Court and House, Whitehall-stairs and causeway to the River.

The Horse Guards Buildings, together with the Paymaster General's House, the Army Pay Office, the Office for Military Boards, the Chaplain General's Office, the Comptroller's Office, the Guard-rooms, Orderly and Store Rooms, the Recruit Houses, belonging to the three regiments of Foot Guards, the Office of the Recruiting Department in Duke Street, Westminster, the Offices of the Department of Accounts, the Army Medical Board Office, and the various sentry-boxes of the Foot Guards.

Stationery Office.

The Royal Gallery of Pictures.

Somerset House and official houses.

British Museum (excepting the new buildings, which are under Sir Robert Smirke).

Insolvent Debtors' Court and offices.

Rolls House, chapel, stables and secretary's house.

Fleet Prison and official house.

King's Bench Prison.

Marshalsea Prison and official house.

The Tower; includes the White Tower, Byeward Tower, Bull Tower, the Record Office, the Chapel and Chaplain's House, the Jewel Office, the Governor's House, and twenty-two houses and apartments for the master jailer, the yeoman porter, and wardens; the building lately used as the Lion Office, and the late Clerk of the Works, and labourer in trust's houses; also the Court House in Wellclose square.

The Royal Mint.

The National Debt Office.

Office of Woods, Land Revenues, and Works.

The Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea.

Exchequer; Offices of the Comptroller General.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Estimate of the probable expense for ordinary works and repairs to the foregoing buildings | £ 13,190 |
| Estimate of the probable expense of providing for oil and gas lights at the Houses of Parliament, Whitehall and Westminster, the Horse Guards and Somerset House; also the expense of supplying water, winding turret clocks, watching at various public buildings, rates, taxes, &c. | 3,460 |
| Amount of one year's assessment for paving, lighting, cleansing, &c. the streets of Whitehall and Westminster under the act by which those rates were first imposed, and which would otherwise fall on the contingencies of the several departments | 2,745 |
| Amount of one year's assessment for the New Police establishment for the several public offices in the district of Whitehall | 263 |
| Total of the probable expense for ordinary repairs, watching, lighting, new police, &c. for public buildings and offices | £ 19,658 |

N. B. The above estimate provides for the necessary repairs of the offices of the Comptroller General of the Exchequer, formerly provided for out of the Fee Fund of the Exchequer; also for the supply of 250 boxes for records at the Chapter House, Record Office, Westminster.

FURNITURE FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND OFFICES.

| | |
|--|--|
| House of Peers. | Poor Law and Factory, Boundary |
| House of Commons. | & Excise Inquiry, Commissions. |
| Speaker's House. | Record Office, Whitehall. |
| Court of Chancery. | Record Office, Rolls House. |
| Court of King's Bench. | Royal Gallery. |
| Court of Common Pleas. | Jewel Office, Tower. |
| Court of Exchequer. | King's House, Tower. |
| Court of Master of Rolls. | The Chaplain's House, Tower. |
| Treasury Chambers. | Commander-in-Chief's Office. |
| First Lord's Official Rooms. | War Office. |
| Chancellor of Exchequer's Official Rooms. | Pay Office. |
| Home Office. | Adjutant General's Office. |
| Foreign Office. | Quartermaster General's Office. |
| Colonial Office. | Officers and Men's Apartments, |
| Council Office. | Horse Guards. |
| Board of Trade. | Judge Advocate General's Office. |
| India Board. | Recruiting Department. |
| State Paper Office. | Tilt-yard Guard-room. |
| Privy Seal Office. | St James's Guard-room. |
| Signet Office. | Military Account Office. |
| Palace Court. | Military Board Office. |
| Land Revenue Audit Department. | Medical Board Office. |
| Somerset House, Audit and Tax Department. | Exchequer; Comptroller General's Office. |
| Office of Woods, Works, Land Revenues, &c. | Poor Law Commissioner's Office. |

Estimate of the probable expense of providing and repairing fixtures, furniture, &c., at the above-mentioned buildings and offices .. £5,380 0 0

N. B.—The above estimate provides for the supply of fixtures and furniture, &c., to the offices of the Comptroller General of the Exchequer, formerly provided for out of the Fee fund of the Exchequer; also for the supply of fixtures and furniture to the offices of the Commissioners for the Poor-laws.

Total of the probable expense for ordinary repairs, watching, lighting, fixtures, furniture, &c., for public buildings and offices, &c. 25,038 0 0

Estimate of the probable expense of the removal of the records, and racks to receive the same, from the old Royal Mews buildings, at Charing Cross, to the Riding House belonging to Carlton House Stables 900 0 0

Total of Royal Palace 23,382 0 0

Total of the probable expense that will be required for ordinary works and repairs &c. to royal palaces and public building in England 49,320 0 0

Carried forward.....£ 49,320 0 0

Brought forward £ 49,320 0 0

SCOTLAND.

Royal Public and Ecclesiastical Buildings.

Arbroath Abbey, Elgin Cathedral, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Linlithgow Palace, Glasgow Cathedral, Court of Session, Court of Exchequer, Hall for General Assembly, &c.

Estimate of the probable expense of the casual repairs to the foregoing buildings, formerly defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown in Scotland

1,000 0 0

Total of the probable expense that will be required for ordinary works and repairs, &c., to royal palaces and public buildings in England and Scotland for one year, from 1. April, 1835, to 31. March, 1836

£50,320 0 0

No. 2.

An estimate of the amount required for works and repairs to Kingstown Harbour, from 1. April, 1835, to 31. March, 1836.

Nineteen Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds.

Extract of Treasury Minute, dated 3. April, 1835.

Read letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated the 28. ult., stating that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty referred all the various opinions and reports made by civil engineers and naval practical men on the best mode of finishing Kingstown Harbour, to Messrs. Cubitt and Walker, with directions to proceed to Dublin, and to confer with Colonel Burgoyne and the Commissioners of the harbour upon every point relating to it. The Secretary at the same time encloses the reports, plans, &c., of these gentlemen, observing that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are of opinion, that as the completion of the works involves a large expenditure, the reports should be referred to the Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour, to ascertain which of the proposed plans is the best; their Lordships agree with Mr. Cubitt in thinking that the undertaking will be carried on eventually with more economy by asking in the present year for a sufficient sum to keep in employment the necessary apparatus and establishment.

Read letter from Col. Burgoyne, dated 31. ult., on the same subject, who submits that the question is one entirely for naval men, and that the estimate given in by the Commissioners of the harbour for 19,750*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* will cover the expenditure for the ensuing year.

Read also, letter from Sir William Gossett, with the above estimate revised by the Commissioners.

My Lords read also the former papers on this subject.

Write to the Secretary to the Admiralty, returning the plans and reports of Mr. Walker and Mr. Cubitt, and transmit to him at the same time the letter of Colonel Burgoyne, Chairman of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland and one of the Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour, upon the subject, with the request of my Lords, that the whole of these papers may be submitted for the consideration of the best nautical authorities upon the important point now to be determined, in order that my Lords may have the opinion of the highest authority upon the point before the mode of completing this great work is decided.

In the mean time let the estimate for the present year be submitted to Parliament as prepared by the Commissioners of the Harbour.

No. 3.

An estimate of the amount required for works and repairs to Port Patrick Harbour, from 1. April, 1835, to 31. March, 1836.

Eleven Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-five Pounds.

Sir,

London, 12. March; 1835.

I BEG to acknowledge your letter of the 10. instant, informing me, by desire of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, of the various transactions and correspondence which have taken place upon the subject of the proposed additional grant of 22,700*l.* for the completion of Port Patrick Harbour; and that the sum of 1,050*l.* for the completion of the lighthouse, included in my estimate of the 6. of March last, viz. 23,750*l.* had been ordered to be paid by a minute of the late Board of Treasury, dated the 31. of October last, out of the revenues of the Post Office; and that their Lordships are now prepared to propose to Parliament to grant the remaining sum of 22,700*l.* for the completion of the harbour, in such manner as to afford the means of completing the work in the most economical manner, provided that a satisfactory assurance can be given on the part of the Commissioners of the harbour, and of myself, that the sum of 22,700*l.* above-mentioned will have the desired object of completing the harbour.

In reply to the above, I beg to observe, that I am still *decidedly* of opinion that the estimate contained in my report of the 6. of March last, viz. 23,750*l.*, including 1,050*l.* for the lighthouse, will be sufficient, provided that it be granted in such sums and in such a manner as the work may require. And I further beg to add, that the original sum, estimated by the late Mr. Rennie, would have amply sufficed to have completed the harbour, provided that the original plan had not been extended, as expressly pointed out in my report and estimates previous to the extensions taking place; and that the estimate had been granted by Parliament in sums sufficiently large to meet the exigencies of the work, by which means the harbour would have been completed several years earlier, and consequently the expense of the establishment as well as the risk of accidents from storms, which is very great at Port Patrick, would have been saved. Considering, however, the difficulty of the work, and its exposed situation, I hope it will be allowed that the original estimate has been closely adhered to.

I again, therefore, beg leave to repeat that I am most decidedly of opinion that the sum of 22,700*l.*, in addition to the 1,050*l.*, already granted for the lighthouse, will be sufficient to complete the harbour of Port Patrick in a permanent and substantial manner; and I trust that their Lordships will give credit to this assurance, when I add that the harbour of Donaghadee, on the opposite side of the Channel, will be completed within the original estimate; and that London Bridge, the Breakwater in Plymouth Sound, and the last contract in Sheerness Dock-yard, besides other works, which were carried on by Parliamentary grants, have all been completed under the original estimates, notwithstanding their magnitude, and the difficulty and uncertainty attendant upon their being carried into execution.

I cannot close this letter without venturing to express to their Lordships the advantage that would arise of being enabled to provide at present the requisite quantity of stone for the ensuing summer operations, because, on account of the peculiar and exposed nature of Port Patrick, if this be delayed for two or three months longer, it will be very difficult to resume the operations this year with proper effect, and thus the chances of accident will be increased, and another year's delay, which is of considerable importance to the public, will take place.

I shall be ready to furnish any further explanation that may be required.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

J. Stewart, Esq. &c.

JOHN RENNIE.

Sir,

Port Patrick, 14. March, 1835.

I HAVE it in command from the Commissioners for this harbour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10. instant, transmitting a copy of the minute of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury of the 6. instant, and desiring the commissioners to inform their lordships what security they are now prepared to offer that the works shall be completed in such manner as to afford every possible assurance to the public of their durability, without exposing the public to any additional charge beyond the sum now applied for.

And the commissioners have directed me to state to you, for the information of their lordships, that they have no private interest in this matter, and they have on other security to offer than the decided assurance of Sir John Rennie, their chief engineer, that the sum now wanted will be sufficient.

The commissioners have full reliance on this assurance, and do not doubt but that it will be accomplished, because they have reason to believe that contractors may be found giving undoubted security for completing the works at a sum not exceeding that now applied for, and although they have no cause to recommend a change of the system upon which the works have been hitherto conducted, yet if their lordships should deem it expedient to finish by contract, the commissioners will advertise for contractors, and will submit these contracts for the approbation of their lordships before receiving any part of the money to be voted by Parliament; but in that case it will be necessary for the commissioners to be able distinctly to state the terms of payment, and to have authority to engage themselves to the contractors accordingly.

And respecting Col. Hunter Blair, referred to in their lordships' aforesaid minute, I am directed to transmit for their lordships' consideration, a letter on that subject from the colonel to the commissioners of this date, and to inform their lordships that Col. Blair is not a commissioner.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) ALEX. M'NIEL,

Secretary.

The Honourable James Stewart, &c. &c.

Gentlemen,

Dunsey, 14. March, 1835.

In reference to Mr. Stewart's of the 10th instant to your address, covering copy of Treasury minute of the 6th instant, I beg to state, for the information of their lordships, the circumstances under which I was induced to offer a guarantee to the extent of 5,000*l.* for the completion of the harbour of Port Patrick.

Immediately after the breaking up of the meeting held at the late Chancellor of the Exchequer's in May last, I was standing in Downing-street, in conversation with the Marquis of Downshire and several other individuals of the meeting, when the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Spring Rice joined us; his Grace inquired on the part of Lord Althorp, if any person was disposed to come under a guarantee that no sum beyond 23,750*l.* would be solicited from Government. After a short discussion, I gave his Grace reason to expect that I might, on certain conditions, grant a guarantee; I accordingly on the 31. May 1834, addressed a letter to Mr. Spring Rice, of which I transcribe the concluding paragraph:

"But I consider the immediate progress of the work to be so essential, not only in regard to its security, and the ultimate public benefit to be derived from the measure, but to my own interests in the duration of my obligation, that I do not hold myself bound by this offer unless one-half of the 24,000*l.* be advanced by Government during the present year, and the other half in the course of the next session of Parliament."

Their lordships will thus perceive that my obligation is altogether cancelled by the delay that has occurred.

And I beg to impress upon them a very essential circumstance that has taken place since my guarantee was offered. Mr. Logan, the engineer, who has executed the works of the harbours of Donaghadee and Port Patrick, has offered to contract for the sum of 23,750*l.* (including the lantern for lighthouse), and you, I am aware, have not a doubt but other contractors may be found ready to undertake the work under every condition, responsibility, and security that Government may require.

Had this circumstance been previously known, it does not appear to me probable that the late Government would have seen the necessity for calling on a private individual to come under any obligation for the completion of a great public work, the merits of which rest altogether on public grounds, and had I reflected more before acceding to the Duke of Richmond's proposal, I should have felt reluctance to enter into an obligation which might originate in others the suspicion that it was prompted by motives of private interest; whereas I can conscientiously declare my belief, that though Port Patrick stands upon my property, the completion of the harbour would not add one shilling to its value.

Under these circumstances I respectfully express the hope that Government will not consider it in any degree necessary to call upon me for a guarantee.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) THOS. HUNTER BLAIR.

To the Commissioners of Port Patrick Harbour.

Copy of Treasury Minute, dated 20. March, 1835, on the foregoing

Letters.

Write to the commissioners of the harbour that my lords have received Sir John Ronnie's estimate and assurance, that in his judgment the sum of 23,750*l.* will be found sufficient to complete the harbour, but that as it will be necessary to satisfy the House of Commons, supposing any grant to be made, that the sum now proposed will really complete the harbour in all respects, and that no further demand will be made on the public on account thereof, my lords do not think that they can be placed in a condition to satisfy the House upon that point, after what has already taken place with respect to this harbour, without some such guarantee as that which was offered in this respect last year.

Upon receiving such guarantee, my lords would submit the estimate to Parliament, and would propose that the grant should be made in such proportions as the commissioners might recommend, as being most likely to conduce to the end in view, the proper and satisfactory completion of all the works within the estimated amount.

Sir,

Dunskey, 24. March, 1835.

I learn by a letter received this morning from Sir Andrew Agnew, M.P., one of the commissioners of Port Patrick harbour, that my letter of the 13. instant, addressed to said commissioners, and transmitted with their secretary's letter of the same date, to the honourable James Stewart, has not proved satisfactory, and that I am expected to renew my guarantee of the 31. May last, cancelled by the non-fulfilment of its closing condition; and which guarantee I certainly never would have given had I been aware of the possibility of contracting for the works in question.

Unwilling, however, to raise an obstacle to the completion of an object which has excited so warm an interest amongst the great portion of the influential individuals in the north of Ireland and south-west of Scotland, I agree to renew my aforesaid obligation, and hereby bind myself to guarantee the completion of the harbour of Port Patrick to the extent following; namely, I am willing, in case the 23,750*l.* (including 1,050*l.* for lantern to lighthouse) shall not be sufficient to

finish, according to the original design, that part of the works which yet remains unexecuted, to advance 5,000*l.* further towards that end, excluding, however, any expense of any operation which may eventually become necessary on that part of the works already reported by Sir John Rennie to be finished, and under the condition that I am in no event to be in any way liable beyond the said sum of 5,000*l.* to which my undertaking is expressly limited.

But I consider the immediate progress of the work to be so essential, not only in regard to its security and ultimate public benefit to be derived from the measure, but to my own interests in the duration of my obligation, that I do not hold myself bound by this offer unless one-half the sum required be advanced by Government during the present year, and the other half in the course of the next session of Parliament.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) THOS. HUNTER BLAIR.

The Right Honourable Sir Thos. F. Fremantle, &c. &c.

Extract of Treasury Minute, dated 31. March, 1835.

My lords have again before them the papers relating to the completion of the works at Port Patrick harbour, and advert to the report of Sir John Rennie of 12. March, in which he states that he is still decidedly of opinion that 23,750*l.* including 1,050*l.* for the lighthouse, will be sufficient to complete the whole of the works in a permanent and substantial manner, provided that it be granted in such sums and in such a manner as the works may require.

My lords read also the letter of Colonel Hunter Blair, of the 24. instant, in which he renews the guarantee given to the late Board of Treasury at the time the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had under consideration the propriety of submitting to Parliament a grant for completing this harbour now under consideration, and which grant appears from the papers not to have been submitted, because the committee of supply had then closed.

In this letter Colonel Blair states, that he agrees to renew the obligation and to bind himself to the extent of 5,000*l.* to be applied towards the completion of the works, should it turn out that the estimate now submitted proves insufficient for the purpose, on the condition that he is in no event to be in any way liable beyond the said sum of 5,000*l.* to which his undertaking is expressly limited; and on the understanding that he is not to be considered responsible for any expense which may eventually become necessary on that part of the works already reported by Sir John Rennie to be finished.

Col. Blair adds, that he considers the immediate progress of the work to be so essential, not only in regard to its security, and the ultimate public benefit to be derived from the measure, but to his own interests in the duration of his obligation, that he does not hold himself bound by the offer he makes, unless one-half of the sum required be advanced by Government during the present year, and the other half in the course of the next session of Parliament.

My lords, having thus the distinct assurance of Sir John Rennie, that the works of the harbour may be completely and substantially finished, the lighthouse included, for the sum now stated, and the guarantee upon which the late Treasury were disposed to act, are of opinion that they will now be justified in submitting to Parliament an estimate for the completion of all the works of the harbour to the extent of 23,750*l.*, the grant of one-half to be proposed in the present session, and the remainder in the session of 1836. Their lordships, therefore, desire that an estimate may be submitted to the House of Commons accordingly, accompanied by extracts from such of the papers upon the subject as may appear necessary to explain the grounds on which the proposed vote is submitted.

Acquaint the commissioners of the harbour and Colonel Blair with the directions given, and state that my lords will place the funds at the disposal of the commissioners, as soon as the grant shall have been made by the House of Commons.

Acquaint them further, that under this arrangement the grant for the lighthouse will be proposed to the House of Commons, and no payment will therefore be made on that account from the Post-office.

Acquaint the Postmaster-general, that as my lords propose to submit an estimate to Parliament for the works at Port Patrick Harbour, their lordships will include in such estimate the sum required for the lighthouse, and that no payment on that account will therefore be required from the Post office.

No. 4.

An estimate of the sum which will be required during the year, from 1. April, 1835, to 31. March, 1836, by the commissioners for the improvement of the Holyhead and Liverpool roads, Holyhead and Howth harbours, &c.

Five Thousand Four Hundred and Seventy-eight Pounds.

No. 5.

An estimate of the sum that may probably be required to defray the charge of the new buildings at the British Museum, between 1. April, 1835, and 31. March, 1836.

Sixteen Thousand Pounds.

The probable expense of erecting the east and west wings of this building, according to the estimates of the architect employed under the direction of the Office of Works, including the additional expense for internal fittings and furniture, and for placing the marbles in the new room, is £237,433

The probable expense of erecting the north wing, as stated in the estimates already submitted to Parliament, is 70,000 0 0

307,433 0 0

The expense of sundry cases, tables, and fittings in the west wing, and additional glazed cases in the east wing 4,520 0 0

Stone pedestals for Egyptian antiquities, Townley marbles, &c. &c. 483 0 0

312,436 0 0

Towards which there has been already granted 248,400 0 0

64,036 0 0

On account of which it is proposed to grant in 1835 16,000 0 0

£48,036 0 0

Leaving to be granted in future years

No. 6.

An estimate of the sum that will be required between 1. April, 1835, and 31. March, 1836, for the new buildings at the National Gallery, &c.

Twelve Thousand Pounds;

The probable expense of completing the building for the National Gallery and Royal Academy, with all the internal ornaments and fittings, according to the papers laid before the House in 1833, is

| | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| Towards which there has been already granted | £76,000 | 0 | 0 |
| | 38,000 | 0 | 0 |
| On account of which it is proposed to grant in 1835 | 12,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Leaving to be granted in future years | £26,000 | 0 | 0 |

No. 7.

An estimate of the sum that will be required to be granted in the year 1835, to defray the charge of finishing the interior of Whitchall Chapel.

Seven Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-five Pounds.

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|---|
| The probable sum required for repairing the interior of the building, according to the estimate of Sir Robert Smirke | £10,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance remaining upon former grants for this service, applicable to this expense | 2,335 | 0 | 0 |
| | £7,665 | 0 | 0 |

No. 8.

An estimate of the amount that will be required in the year ending 31. March, 1836, to defray the necessary expense of providing temporary accommodation for the Houses of Lords and Commons, in consequence of the late fire.

Forty-four Thousand Pounds.

DETAIL OF THE ABOVE.

| | | | |
|---|---------|---|---|
| Original estimate of the architect employed under the direction of the commissioner of woods, works, &c. for these buildings | £30,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Alterations and additions, since ordered | 540 | 0 | 0 |
| Probable amount for buildings | 30,540 | 0 | 0 |
| Original estimate for furniture | 7,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Additional estimate, being for furniture for houses taken for [committee-rooms and offices | 3,278 | 0 | 0 |
| Probable amount for furniture | 10,778 | 0 | 0 |
| Rents of houses hired for committee-rooms and offices, &c. including residences for the Speaker, clerk of the House of Commons, and housekeeper | 2,362 | 0 | 0 |
| Payments to several individuals for injuries sustained, and for services rendered at the fire | 350 | 0 | 0 |
| Pension to Mary Bow, widow of a workman killed by the falling of the wall of the House of Lords | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | £44,055 | 0 | 0 |

(To be continued.)

LOCUST TREES.

CURIOUS, that while our snorting, groping, grasping, conceited, jack-ass like, managers of Royal woods never have been able to perceive that it was their duty to pay attention to what I said about locust-trees: curious, that while I have actually caused a million or more of these trees to be planted in England; and in going through the country see beautiful plantations of them: curious, that while my book called the "WOODLANDS" would have taught these nasty snorting creatures how to furnish the English navy with pins (or trunnels as they are vulgarly called), long and long ago; and a thousand times as good as the best-oak that they can find: curious, that while these nasty snorting things have been totally disregarding this very important matter, the Americans themselves should have their attention stirred up by my exertions in England; as will appear by the following article, which I take from a NEW ENGLAND newspaper, and which I request my readers to peruse with attention.

There requires, however, an observation or two upon the subject. The reader will wonder at the necessity of encouraging people to plant this tree in a country which he will think full of them. In the first place, it is a rare tree all along the *sea-coast* of America; and when you get as far south as Maryland, it will not grow near the sea at all. You must go back pretty nearly a hundred miles before the trees grow freely and finely; and even there they do not grow so finely as in England. The reader will see mention of a worm that is injurious to this tree. There is such a worm in America. It gets into the joints of the shoots, and they canker and die. There is no such worm in England; and in every respect the tree is finer here than in America. Yet our snorting Government, who understands "*heddekashun*" so well, who has found out the art (see Duke of Richmond's scale) of making an Englishman live upon *fifteen ounces of mutton* A WEEK, weighed before cooking, and including bone; who understands how to lay out, in time of peace, thirty-eight thousand pounds a year in secret-

service money; who beats all the turnkeys upon earth in its knowledge of "*prison-discipline*"; who so well understands all the art of making farmers and labourers drink at the ditch, instead of turning their own barley and hops into beer: and yet I say, in spite of these facts from America; in spite of the proofs that this most essential timber of all might be supplied to our navy from our own public forests; in spite of all this, this snorting Government, sleepy-eyed, and ever-grasping at the same time, cannot take even the trifling precaution necessary to this great end! But in this, as in every thing else of its acts and its manners, we see proofs of a *downward march*: we see proofs that it is destined to come down. The miserable wretches who have the management of its affairs are, in the first place, destitute of all knowledge that can be of any use in the sustaining of a State. They have been *twenty years at peace*; and they now tremble at the bare thought of war. They have expended, during this peace, *three hundred millions of pounds sterling on a navy and an army*: they have four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty admirals; and yet they tremble at the thought of war; and tremble they well may; for, unless there be a total change in the system of taxing the people and carrying on the government in England, driven off the face of the ocean, to a certainty they will be, by the *United States alone*, if they dare to utter, towards that famous Republic, one of those insolent expressions with which it was so long their fashion to treat the different nations of the world.—So much in the way of preface to an article on Locust Trees; but it was a good opportunity to exhibit their snorting manner of going on. Their conduct is the same with regard to all other matters of real interest to the people; and so it will be, until THE END shall come.

EXTRACT

From the "*NEW ENGLAND Palladium and Commercial Advertiser*" of 27. March 1835.

PREMIUM ON LOCUST TREES.

The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture have awarded to Mr.

William Clarke, farmer, of this town, a premium of 20 dollars, as an expression of the estimation in which they hold his exertions in rearing a plantation of locust trees. The committee state, that the importance of this tree can hardly be over-rated, either for purposes of timber or fuel, and that it combines rapid growth with great durability. Posts of this wood will last half a century and more. The ravages of the borer for a long time have laid waste this tree, but the insect is said to be fast disappearing. It is easily cultivated, attains a sufficient growth in ten or fifteen years, and brings a great price for ship timber. Some trees in this vicinity have within a few years been sold at sums which would surprise those who have considered them good for nothing but shade.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 29.

BANKRUPTS.

BIRD, J. M., Liverpool, chemist.
BURROWS, W., Leicester-street, Leicester-square, plumber.
BUSHILL, J., jun., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, bricklayer.
DAY, W., Providence-buildings, New Kent-road, plumber.
HARVEY, J. P., Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, maltster.
STRETCH, J. C., Worcester, auctioneer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2.

INSOLVENTS.

DENNE, J., Margate, Kent, printer.
DORMAN, J., Frederick-place, Old Kent-road, dealer in china.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

EDMUNDSON, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

BISHOP, J., Langley-field, Dawley, Salop, iron-master.
BRADBURY, J., Sheffield, cutler.
EMPSON, W. C., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, money-scrivener.
EVELEIGH, T., Lamb's Conduit - street, furniture-dealer.
HALL, J., jun., Kidderminster, Worcester, victualler.
HONEYMURCH, J., jun., and T. Honeychurch, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire, potters.
JUKES, R., Gornall, Staffordshire, currier.
KINGSFORD, S., Sturry, Kent, miller.
KNOX, H., jun., Park-street, Marylebone, merchant.

MEYER, J. C. H., Brighton, Sussex, watch-maker.

PRATT, C. W., West Smithfield, sheep and beast salesman.

REINAGLE, R. R., Fitzroy-square, agent and dealer.

SMETHURST, J., and J. Wallwork, Rochdale, Lancashire, coal-merchants.

STOCKWELL, F., Uxbridge, chemist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION

LAW, J., Bridgend, Perth, baker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 1 — We have had a good supply of Wheat, and a large arrival of Irish and Scotch Oats since this day week, but short of other articles.

The weather, for several days past, has been cold and wet, and the season backward: in consequence, Wheat has come more into request, and fine qualities obtained an advance this morning of 1s. to 2s. per quarter over last Monday's prices.

In Barley, Beans, and Peas no alteration.

We experienced a slow sale for Oats to-day at rather worse prices than this day week.

In corn, under lock, nothing doing.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 50s. to 52s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 42s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 41s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire | 35s. to 39s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 36s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 30s. |
| Malting | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier | 36s. to 38s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign | 33s. to 35s. |
| Gray or Hog | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 25s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 25s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 24s. to 26s. |
| Black | 25s. to 27s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 26s. to 27s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 28s. to 29s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 22s. to 24s. |

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Feed, new light | 20s. to 22s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 22s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. . . | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed.. | 13s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 1.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather limited; its supply of Sheep and Lambs rather great: of Calves and Porks moderately good. Beef sold somewhat freely, at an advance of fully 2d. per stone; but with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, trade was rather dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 1,500 of the Beasts, about two-thirds of which were Scots, the remainder, about equal numbers of shorthorns, Devons, homebreds and Welsh runts, were chiefly (say 1,100 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly polled and Fifehire Scots, by steamers, from Scotland; about 80, mostly Devons, shorthorns, and runts, from our different northern districts; about 150, chiefly unts, Devons, and Herefords, with a very few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, chiefly runts and Devons, with a few Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 40 Town'send cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

About two-thirds of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in about the proportion of two of the former to three of the latter; about a sixth Southdowns: and the remainder in about equal numbers of horned and polled Norfolks, old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 6,000, consisted of about equal numbers of Southdowns, new Leicesters, and Dorsets, with a few pens of casual breed.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| Prime Beef | 4 | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | 6 | 0 |

THE FUNDS.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. } | Fri. | Sat. | Mon | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| Cons Ann. } | 90½ | 91 | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ |

THE SHAKSPEARE FORGERIES.

Lately published, 8vo., price 1s. 6d.

VORTIGERN, by the late W. H. Ireland; represented in 1796 as a newly-discovered Drama of Shakspeare. With an Original Preface, written expressly for this edition by Mr. Ireland, shortly before his decease, containing a very curious history of his fabrication of the celebrated Shakspeare Papers, and a facsimile of the Original MSS.

London: Joseph Thomas, 1, Finch-lane, Cornhill.

"Sir, we have many fine things in our Church service, and our litany abounds in beauties, but here, Sir, is a man who has distanced us all"—*Drs. Parr and Warton on the Shakspeare Forgeries.*;

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.—The decided superiority of this Medicine over every other hitherto offered to public notice, for the cure of those dreadfully painful diseases, Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Rheumatism, Lumbago, &c. is so fully manifested by a rapidly increasing sale, and the testimony of thousands in every rank of life that those who are aware of the existence of such a remedy, and have not availed themselves of trying its efficacy, cannot truly be objects of sympathy. No inconvenience on any sort attends its administration; but the Patient, without feeling the operation of the medicine, is universally left in a stronger and better state of health than was experienced previous to being afflicted with this disease. This valuable discovery is sold by Thomas Prout 229, Strand, London; and by his appointment by all medicine venders in the kingdom Price 2s. 9d. per Box.—Ask for Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, and see that the signature of "Thomas Prout" is on the wrapper.

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ach Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury. Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vade-mecum. Dr. Andrews also recommended it. Cures.—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena; Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract; Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house Middlesex, of ophthalmia; Miss S. Englefield Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ach. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre. **GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF** is sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor and to the patronage. Sold in every count town.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 58.—No. 11.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 13TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



POOR-LAW STRUGGLE.

Normandy, 10. June, 1835.

FOR it really appears to be another "RURAL WAR," and threatens to be much more durable and mischievous than the last rural war; and there is this circumstance in addition, in this case; that is to say, that this new scene of trouble, of turmoil, and of boiling blood, has been caused by the Parliament itself; that Parliament duly warned by me of all the consequences. In this respect it is another PEELE'S-BILL affair. The proposition is made in the year 1833; the projectors are then warned, and are besought not to adopt the measure; they persevere a great deal more eagerly on account of the warning and the prediction, as if for the express purpose of making the prophet a liar. Half-a-dozen counties are in a state of partial commotion; the jails are opening the doors to receive those who are called the rebels against the Poor-law Bill! No matter as to any other thing relative to this measure; here is the country disturbed; here are the jails filling; here are wives and children screaming after their fathers; here are these undeniable facts; and what is the cause? Not a desire to over-

turn the Government on the part of the people; not a desire to disobey the settled laws of the country; not any revolutionary desire; not any desire to touch any one of the institutions of the country. What is it then? Why a desire and a resolution, as far as they are able to adhere to it, to maintain the laws of their country, as they were settled at the time when the *present church of the country was established*; to maintain those laws which form the foundation, the very fundamental principles of the Government; and which are of two hundred and forty years' standing.

Well, but laying aside for the present the merits or demerits of this measure, no one will deny that it is now the cause of great alarm and great trouble to the Government. We shall by-and-by see the Duke of RICHMOND selling off from divers workhouses all utensils for *brewing*, for *grinding malt*, for *killing and preserving meat*; we shall by-and-by see this LEVIATHAN-PENSIONER at this amusing work; we shall by-and-by hear a poor-law commissioner advising the guardians to look upon and treat poor persons coming for relief as "*beggars*"; we shall by-and-by hear a *peer-chairman* complaining of the *destruction of cattle*, and of fires being set; we shall by-and-by have to take a sort of survey of the blood-boiling in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Kent, Sussex, and Suffolk. But, just at present, let us repeat, that every one knows, that this is at present the great immediate cause of trouble to the Government. When old GREY, who

was all thunder and all vigour, as long as he had cunning ALTHORP's majority at his back, and who became all feebleness and old age and incapacity as soon as he had lost that; when old GREY went snivelling off (having first not wholly forgotten his family), he complained of the *difficulties* in which the Government was placed; and it was curious enough that he had vigour enough left to offer, at *that very moment, to bring in the Poor-law Bill, which had been passed by t'other place*. That is to say, to make a greater difficulty than any that already existed, or than any that could by any possibility exist, short of an open and notorious rebellion and civil war.

There is no doubt in my mind that, with regard to the mere *expense*, this Poor-law Bill will cost more than the amount of the poor-rates themselves; that is to say, more than the amount of what ever has been given, during a similar time, in real and *bona fide* relief to the poor. The thing is manifestly only beginning. Even the foundation of none of the grand workhouses is yet dug out. Two-thousand-a-year LEWIS's scouts are at work; they are writing letters and making speeches; the pensioners and parsons and dead-weight are all in a stir. But, as yet, they appear to have laid hands upon nobody but the feeble and the aged, and the poor girls, by whom the lords, their relations, the parsons, the big merchants, the tradesmen and farmers in general, the footmen, the grooms, the coachmen, the huntsmen, the Bourbon-policemen, the soldiers, the retired-allo-*lance* people, the pensioners, all the swarms of tax-eaters can now have bastards with impunity.

It is with the young and single men that two-thousand-a-year LEWIS, penny-a-line CHADWICK and their crew will have to deal; or their dealings are not worth a straw. Cunning ALTHORP said that he should recommend that the bill *should not be attempted to be carried into effect until on the eve of hay-making*, when work would be plenty; and so get the bill silently poked into operation in form, when it was not to operate in fact. What would cunning ALTHORP think of a *refusal of all the men of any parish either to cut grass, or to cut corn?* What would cunning ALTHORP think, if this were to extend itself over a county? Cunning ALTHORP knows that there is no law to compel them to cut the grass or the corn; that there is no law but the law of self-interest; and cunning ALTHORP knows, too, that this is a thing always in the power of the people; that every man has a right to keep his limbs in a state of inactivity if he choose; and cunning ALTHORP knows that if this were to take place, his right of voting *by proxy* would not make the hay and bring in the harvest. This would be one way of answering the insolent poor-law runner, who wishes the labourers to be treated as "*beggars*."

But again, let the turmoil be what it may; let the consequences be what they may, let it never be forgotten that this is a "*difficulty*" created by the reformed Parliament itself, at the suggestion of old GREY and of ALTHORP. Let it be recollected that this is a *difficulty* of their own creating. Be the consequence what it may, it is their own work. The weather is fine now; at this season of the year few men want the means of obtain-

ing a meal of victuals; let *November* come, and then let STRATHFIELDSAY tell us, that all that we have to ask about the matter is, *whether it be the law or not*. Well said, STRATHFIELDSAY! It was a famous law that gave you nearly a million of the people's money, for not being beaten at NEW ORLEANS. But laws can be changed surely now. If the law of ELIZABETH can be abrogated, surely we may deal freely with other laws.

However, here is the difficulty come. That which is going on at present is a mere beginning. And I verily believe that the bare expenses occasioned by this bill will be greater than the amount of the relief given to the poor. We should never lose sight of the *reasons* for the bringing in, the pushing on, and the passing, of this bill; the reasons given by the aristocracy and the money-mongers, and their swarms of tools. We must not lose sight of these reasons by any means, and must bring the base advocates of the bill everlastingly back to them, particularly as they are extremely anxious to keep these reasons out of sight now. A hireling fellow, of the name of JOHN LESLIE, who has the governing of the poor in the parish of St. GEORGE, Hanover-square, has written a pamphlet in praise of the Poor-law Bill. Two-and-thirty rich or titled fellows of the parish have published it under their names, and have told the public, that they have caused six thousand copies of it to be printed at their own expense, for the purpose of circulation. Amongst these fellows are the Earl of EUSTON, Earl of DARLINGTON, Earl AMHERST, Viscount MELBOURNE, Earl COWPER, Earl of ESSEX, who are here in company with the fa-

mous *right honourable* STURGES BOURNE. These fellows make themselves responsible for the whole of the contents of this pamphlet. Everything that it asserts, they assert. It asserts this: "The great object of the Poor-law Amendment Act was to improve the *moral* and *social* condition of the labouring poor of England." That is an impudent lie! That is an impudent lie, you impudent fellows. Big and brazen as you are, here I tell you that you put forth a most impudent, a most barefaced lie. The bill was brought forward to you, amongst yourselves, in your own House, and amongst us, in our House, with the distinct allegation (repeated for about the thousandth time), that the measure was necessary to PREVENT THE POOR FROM SWALLOWING UP THE ESTATES OF THE LANDLORDS! It is a base and infamous lie, therefore, to say that its object was to *improve* the condition of the poor. Let this be remembered that this is a base and infamous lie, for the purpose of getting rid of the imputation of the real motive.

It is not very easy, perhaps, to come at what you mean by "*social condition*." The word "*social*," means, *relating to society*. So that this word, as used by you, means, *mending the state of the poorer sort of people*: it means *making them better off*; it means, giving them *a better share than they now have in the good things enjoyed by society at large*. Now, you certifiers of the truth of as base a bundle of lies as ever were put together, do you not well know, that this measure was intended to make the people of the midland and south of England live upon a COARSER SORT OF

FOOD? I charged the bill with being brought forward with this intention. ALTHORP said that there was no such intention described in the bill. "No," said I, "not described in the bill; but you give power to yourselves, or to your creatures, who are to be called commissioners, to *do what they please* in this respect; they will be sure to do what you please they should do; and it is your intention to reduce the working people to a *coarser sort of food*." "No," said ALTHORP. Then I said this: "I have information which causes me firmly to believe, and I do believe, that the barrister who drew the bill received written instructions for the drawing of it; and that, amongst those instructions, one was, so to frame it as that it might be favourable to the desire which was entertained by the authors of the bill, to cause the working-people, or the poor people (which ever it was) to live upon a COARSER SORT OF FOOD." ALTHORP actually denied this; or, at least, cunningly gave it the go-by, or spoke of it as if it were not true. You have seen a pig, reader, when he is at something which he knows well ought to bring him a stroke across the nose: you have seen the workings of his cunning, sharp eyes, to ascertain whether there be a stick at hand. Never did pig look more cunning than ALTHORP looked when he had wrapped up this staggering assertion of mine. "Well, then," said I, "since the fact is not fairly acknowledged, I move that a copy of the instructions to the bill-drawing barrister be laid upon the table of this House." Honest ALTHORP was a great deal too cunning to agree to that motion. It was, therefore, impossible not to believe the truth of my statement, which, indeed, I knew to be true. Well, then, EUSTON and DARLINGTON and AMHERST and MELBOURNE and COWPER and ESSEX, with the word Earl stuck before your names, and with STURGES BOURNE strung at the heels of the list: well, then, I say, is it to *improve men's condition in society*, to compel them to come down to a *coarser sort of food*? Oh! you "noble" certifiers; you fine "noble" pensioners, certifiers of the truth of a

base, lying pamphlet, say at once, with all the high-sounding brass that belongs to you, that it is to *improve a man's condition in society* to reduce him to a coarser sort of food than that which he now lives upon! Oh, no! you tinkling brass! This was not the "*great object*" of the Poor-law Amendment Act And now I will tell you what the great object was; or, rather, indeed, I will explain what the authors of the bill meant by "*swallowing up the estates of the landlords*."

This singular race of beggars, called English landlords, have, in fact, generally speaking, no estates; that is to say, they have no ownership in the *rents* of those estates. They have a great share in the taxes, generally speaking: they have it in military, naval, diplomatic, sinecure, pension, parsonship, something or another; but these, though enormous in aggregate amount, are principally grasped by a comparative few; and, upon the whole, the havings in this way do not at all equal the amount of the rents of the estates. The money-mongers take those rents almost entirely, whether in interest of mortgage, or in taxes. The money-mongers own more than half the estates as mortgagees: they are every day bundling out the old stinking aristocracy, who have basely abandoned the working-people. These old wretches, not able to sell and alienate for ever, first get away out of their mansions and sell their goods to get a ready penny: turn graziers, and, as carcass-butchers, send their venison to London to be eaten by the Jews, who have got the mortgages on their estates. They next think of the GAME! All ideas of feudal honour fly from their minds. No longer the old pretence that the game is kept for sport, and that none but gentlemen ought to possess game. After punishing men for two hundred years for selling or buying game, they pass a law to enable themselves to sell game, or to buy it, while they pass another law to transport a poor man, if he be in pursuit of it in the night-time.

This trade of carcass-butcher and poulterer brings them a little relief; and enables them to live at Boulogne, or amongst the "*enchanted beauties*" of

the Swiss Cantons, and the "*high state of morals*" there existing amongst the "*peasantry*." Still the carcass-butcher-~~ing~~ and the poultering do not yield enough to satisfy their wives, who probably have brought them a good supply. They resort to marriages with the daughters of contracting butchers, *millionaire* loan-mongers, old miser-jewellers, and the stock-jobbing crew, to say nothing of play-actresses in high feather, on whom they very frequently live until their voices get cracked; and then they abandon them to be buried by subscription; though it now and then happens that one of these women has the spirit to abandon them, and leave them to the enjoyment of their titles and their empty pockets.

The reformed Parliament having, at any rate, blasted the hopes of getting at new heaps of spoil from the public purse; and the beggars finding that they have over-drawn with the poulterer and the retail butcher of their carcasses, look back again at the estates; and we will suppose my Lord LUMPSKULL sitting down with his steward to see if nothing is to be got out of the estate, and finally coming to the necessity of a Poor-law Bill. There has been a *run* upon the shabby tawdry goods in town: my lady has almost been routed: down he comes to the village of STARVE-GUT; squats himself down in a rage in a

broken-bottomed rush-chair, in a cob-webbed room where the servants used to be, and sends away for the steward, some skeleton that he finds chopping about among the weeds in that garden where his grandfather had one gentleman employed with a dozen men under him, and two or three boys apprenticed to him, all which the "*heddekated*" son has discovered to have been excessively extravagant and foolish. Comes the steward upon a horse worth a hundred pounds; and his servant in gay and rich livery, having taken away his horse, in he walks.

LORD LUMPSKULL. Well, Mr. SCUT, I am come with a resolution to settle with you upon the means of my getting something out of this estate. Have you got the rent-roll?

SCUT. Yes, my lord, here it is.

LUMPSKULL. Let us see; here is one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve farms; and here is a rental of four thousand, seven hundred, and twenty-seven pounds a year; and yet I am living like a beggar; and at this very moment the miserable furniture in my town-house is pawned.

SCUT. Very sorry for it, my lord; but you see, if you look at this paper, that the rent is all taken up, and that I have your order for paying every farthing of it away. The account stands thus:

| Dr. | £ |
|---|-------------------|
| Interest of Mortgage to Christ-killer..... | 2,500 |
| Interest of Mortgage to Paper-kite and Co. | 1,400 |
| Law Expenses, Stamps, and opinion of Counsel | 450 |
| Own Salary, and arrears, with interest on arrears | 302 |
| Three Journeys to London for self and clerk to take your instructions, and consult Counsel..... | 82 |
| | <hr/> 4,734 <hr/> |

| Cr. | £ |
|--|-------------------|
| Rents | 4,728 |
| Balance to be carried to next account..... | 6 |
| | <hr/> 4,734 <hr/> |

LORD LUMPSKULL. But, Mr. SCUT, was it necessary to pay all this money in law?

SCUT. Why, my lord, you know with what difficulty I got the money; and if you knew what I have been obliged to resort to, to prevent that scoundrel CHRIST-KILLER from foreclosing and actually blotting your lordship out of the county, I am sure you would think nothing of the trifle that I have been obliged to charge for myself.

LUMPSKULL. Well, I see, then, that we can do nothing if we cannot raise the rents.

SCUT. Raise the rents, my lord, with wheat at *four shillings* a bushel!

LUMPSKULL. Yes; and that is the very thing that I am come about. You know my Lord CRACKSKULL, don't you?

SCUT. Oh, yes! most of us know enough about him!

LUMPSKULL. Yes, yes; but though addicted to *audanum* and brandy, and though with features none of the most human, he is a very clever man, I can assure you; and he has told me how we ought to go to work to "*prevent our estates from being swallowed up.*"

SCUT. So you told me in your letter, my lord; but I greatly doubt of it. I have got you, however, a paper, showing the outgoings of farmer STYLES, which stand as follows:

| | |
|---|------|
| Rent to my lord | £ |
| Tithes | 200 |
| Poor-rates | 40 |
| Blacksmith | 60 |
| Wheelwright | 10 |
| Wear and tear of horses, tackle, &c. | 7 |
| Labour of all sorts, except trades- | 15 |
| men | 320 |
| | £652 |

Lord LUMPSKULL. Ah! here you see the cause of my poverty. It is all no thing, you see, except what goes to the poor; the "*sturdy beggars*" called the poor; and then to them again, under the name of labourers. What a scandalous thing! Here you see these wretches are taking from this farmer three hundred

and eighty pounds a year, while I get but two hundred out of the same estate, and the estate is my own.

SCUT. Yes, my lord; but you know that the working-people *must live*!

LUMPSKULL. (*Hastily*). Why! what for?

SCUT. Why, my lord, to make your farm *worth something*.

LUMPSKULL. Worth something! why, d—n the vermin! how do they make it worth anything?

SCUT. Your lordship must know, that if STYLES had not people to cultivate the farm, he could not pay you any rent at all. Besides, my lord, do you not know that these labourers pay away half their earnings in taxes? Don't you know that the Government takes from them full half the amount of their earnings; makes them too poor ever to be able to lay by a farthing; and that, therefore, when old age, or sickness, or any numerous family come, they are compelled to come to the rates for relief.

LUMPSKULL. Very true, Mr SCUT, there must be men to work upon the ground, to be sure.

SCUT. Yes; and you cannot have men to work upon the ground without having women and children to live near it, or on it; and they must eat and drink and have clothing, too; for there must be a succession of men, or else no successors to your estate.

LUMPSKULL. But then, Mr. SCUT, though these labourers are necessary, is it necessary that they should eat and drink so much, and should have meat and bread like us? You see, if these fellows and their families lived upon a COARSER SORT OF FOOD, STYLES might pay them one hundred a year, instead of three hundred and twenty for their work; and then he would have two hundred a year more to give me; and that is the very thing that I am come about.

SCUT. But, my lord, in order to enable them to live upon the hundred a year, instead of the three hundred and twenty; in order to bring them to a *coarser sort of food*; in order to bring them down to gruel, and other kettle-rubbish, how would you go to work?

LUMPSKULL. Why, I should lop off the poor-rates; give them no relief except in a big workhouse; strip their own clothes and put on an ugly workhouse dress; separate the husbands from the wives; separate the children from both; prohibit all intercourse with them from without, as much as if they were in a jail; take away the power of the magistrate and of the overseer; put all power into our hands in the vestry, and to enable us to vote by proxy; so that when I am in Switzerland you can vote for me; and this I can tell you is what is going to be done!

SCUT. I trust in God I shall never see that day!

LUMPSKULL. What, do you want me to continue in the beggarly state in which I now am?

SCUT. By no means, my lord. And if your lordship, and those in your state of life have the spirit of your grandfather in you, you would not be in your present state, and you would not suffer anybody to mention to you a scheme like that which you have mentioned to me, the folly of which is equal to its wickedness.

LUMPSKULL. What, then, would you have us do? What would my grandfather, of whom you are always talking, have done to save himself from the state in which I now am?

SCUT. Why, my lord, your grandfather would have done this: he would have looked over the list of former STYLES's outgoing, as you have had the goodness to do; he would have seen that, of those outgoing, more than one-half consists of the cost of labour and of poor-rates. He would, perhaps, have thought that less might do for these purposes: he would have sent for a labouring man of about his own age, and who had worked on his estate from his infancy, and he would have inquired minutely into all his expenditure; he would have remembered the time when a man worked for a shilling a day, instead of the ten shillings a week which he now receives; and he would have found that he was a great deal better off then than he is now. He would have found that the malt, which formerly cost him three shillings a bushel, he has now eight-and-sixpence to pay

for. He would have found that this had driven him to the tea-kettle, and that the tea, the sugar, and the time, were become the bane of his life; he would have found that, in the great article of shoes, a pair that used to cost six shillings now cost eleven, not because there is a tax on the leather itself, but because whoever has a pair of shoes must pay a portion of all the taxes which are paid by the shoemaker; he would have found, in short, that there is now a taxation of fifty millions a year; that there was a tax of sixteen millions a year when this man received six shillings a week; he would have found that a labouring man pays a greater portion of the taxes than any body else, and that the only possible mode of enabling STYLES to pay him more rent was that of causing the taxes to be reduced.

LUMPSKULL. Oh! as to reducing the taxes that is impossible. ALTHORP could not spare the malt-tax, and PEARL could not spare it; that COBBETT may talk as long as he likes, but we must keep "*national faith*."

SCUT. Keeping faith is a very good thing to be sure, my lord; but has "*national faith*" been kept with you, whose estate has to pay interest for three times the sum that was borrowed?

LUMPSKULL. That's very true, Mr. SCUT; as far as that goes you are right enough; but there are *other things*, besides the interest of the debt.

SCUT. To be sure there are other things, but that is nothing to you. Make this deduction from the interest of the debt, at any rate.

LUMPSKULL. Ah! Mr. SCUT; you do not seem to know what we may come to if we once begin. That amiable and excellent man, Sir JAMES GRAHAM; that great statesman, so beautifully described by HARRIET WILSON; he proposed to take thirty per cent. from the interest of the debt at once; and all of us landlords were delighted at the proposal; when all at once, what does that d—m—d fellow COBBETT do! You *know* the fellow, I suppose?

SCUT. Oh yes, my lord! If we don't know him it is not the fault of his enemies, at any rate.

LUMPSKULL. Well ; what does that rascal do, think you ? He sees what relief the proposition would bring us ; he pretends to be our friend : he is always bawling for the land, and against the funds ; and what now do you think this wicked devil did ?

SCUT. 'Pon my word I cannot guess.

LUMPSKULL. Why, he said that the proposition of GRAHAM *was just*, provided (now do mark this promise) that all unmerited pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, useless places, military and naval half-pay, were *clean lopped off at the same time* ; and that, unless that were done, to reduce the interest of the debt would be an act of enormous injustice.

SCUT. Well, really my lord, I . . .

LUMPSKULL. Really ! What, do you agree with him, then ? And so then you want my brother TOM to lose his half-pay because he never saw a shot fired. You want my uncle NED to lose his pension, which PITT gave him for having lost his estate in a contested election. You want my uncle, the Rev. R. LUMPSKULL, to lose his place as chaplain and librarian ; you want my sister SALLY's husband to lose his snug retired allowance, after a service of five years, and the abolition of his office. You want my brother HENRY . . . in short, you want my whole family to be ruined.

SCUT. Indeed I do not, my lord. I want you to have an estate, which you have not now ; and out of that estate to provide in a proper manner for all your younger brothers and your sisters ; and to be what an English gentleman formerly was, the independent head of a family, living on his estate ; respected and beloved by all around ; and not the miserable dependant on whatever gabbling adventurer gets the handling of the public wealth into his power. By the present system of taxation you may be totally ruined and beggared, in spite of all your efforts to save yourself ; but without making such efforts you will richly merit your ruin : in the one case, you will sink amidst the applause of all good men ; in the other case you will sink covered with their contempt ; and, as to your project for putting the wages of labour into your

pocket by compelling Englishmen to submit to Irish treatment and Irish fare, all the reward you will receive will be the execration of the millions whom you vainly imagine you can succeed in oppressing.

Now, stupid loggerheads of Saint GEORGE'S, Hanover-square, here are the true objects of the bill. This is the light in which the people all over the kingdom view it ; and everything that they see done towards the execution of the bill, convinces them that these reasons are here truly stated and described.

There is as much of folly as of savage baseness in the supporters of this bill ; for, if they could bring the people to Irish fare, by the means of stipendiary magistrates and police, which they have always had in contemplation, where would they then find a market for their wheat at all ? And if this family of pensioned LUMPSKULLS could see the English labourers reduced from sixpence to two shillings a day, where would the taxes come from to pay their pensions ? LUMPSKULLS never think of this ; and they are carrying on a war (which is only just begun) from mere motives of greediness unparalleled, conjoined with ignorance unparalleled.

After another article or two in this *Register*, I shall insert divers extracts from country papers, and a letter or two relative to the progress of the poor-law commissioners. These latter seem to be brimful of spite lest the scheme should be defeated, and defeated it will be to a certainty. I will insert the Duke of RICHMOND'S bill of fare, and I will in all cases bring forward the actors with their names at full length. I look upon this contest as the greatest between the aristocracy and the people that has happened in my time. Every thing that is base and infamous in the whole country is now rousing itself up to take part in this terrible contest. As I insert the documents of which I have been speaking, I shall here and there have to make an observation ; but, before I come to this part of my *Register*, I must make some remarks on the motion of Mr. CAYLEY.

MR. CAYLEY'S MOTION.

At one time I wondered what in all the world this motion could be about. The motion was made on Monday the 1. of June; and appears to have been in the following words: "That a select committee, based on parliamentary declarations of agricultural distress, be appointed to inquire if there be not effective means within the reach of Parliament to afford substantial relief to the agriculture of the United Kingdom, and especially to recommend to the attention of such committee the subject of a silver, or of a conjoined standard of silver and gold." Mr. CAYLEY, I remember that, when a feeling of humanity prevailed in the House, at the idea of enacting impunity to profligate masters and sons, and tradesmen and their sons, and farmers and their sons, and lords and gentlemen's menial servants, including their blasted foreigners, and Bourbon-police men, and half-pay officers, and those great bastard-getters dressed in black; when a feeling of humanity in a great many Members of the House of Commons seemed to be likely to shake even hard and cunning ALTHORP, in his determination to let loose all these profligate wretches upon the poor servant-girls; then, I remember, Mr. CAYLEY, you rose up, and in a very solemn manner expressed your hope that the noble Lord would have the moral courage to persevere; there being in your opinion, I suppose, great moral courage required in moving, with the support of nine-tenths of the House, against a class of the most helpless and most deserving of compassion of all human beings.

Mr. CAYLEY, you now called aloud

for a merciful consideration of the *distresses of agriculture*. What, do not the labouring men belong to agriculture? Did you call out for a merciful consideration of their case? You have the word *agriculturists* eternally on your lips. You should leave off this word, which is, in fact, no word at all belonging to our language, or any other language. It was coined in the time of high prices and paper-money; and the use of it only serves to remind us of the upstart impudence, the contemptible affectation of high manners, and of the base injustice towards the labourers which marked those days. Leave it off, Mr. CAYLEY; and take the word *farmers*; or, which is more proper, perhaps, *husbandmen*.

Mr. CAYLEY, who do you mean when you are talking of the distressed agriculturists? Not the most numerous class, certainly; for you have just most vehemently supported a law to cause them to live upon a coarser sort of food. Is it the renters that you mean? That cannot be; because to relieve their distress the landlords need not come to the Parliament. If they be distressed it arises from their paying too much rent; this cause of distress the landlords can remove immediately; and I believe it will be found upon an average of England and Wales, that the rents are twice as high as they were in 1792, though the wheat is cheaper now than it was then. Why, then, do you not tell us, that rents have been paid you for years out of what the farmer possesses exclusive of the revenue of his farm. I know this to be the case, and you know it to be the case. I know also that a good tenant will almost as soon quit his life as quit his farm. How-

ever, there are numerous cases in which you can no longer get rents; and it is totally useless to break up the farmers; no others can come to supply their place: the farms must be kept up by the present tenants; or they must actually be *given up to the labourers*; because these have a clearer right to a living out of them than the landlord himself has.

Mr. CAYLEY, now did you really believe, that your motion, if adopted, would do anything towards relieving your distress? If you could believe this, then the Lord have mercy upon those who are to be relieved by you. You tell us that wheat has fallen to thirty-two shillings the quarter. It glads my eyes to see the statement. I calculated, when in Long-island, that it might come down to twenty-eight shillings a quarter; that is to say, three-and-sixpence the Winchester bushel. People thought me mad. Whether the landlords will stand it lower than that I do not know. This is glorious weather, at present: another ten days of it brings down the wheat to my standard. Let that come, or lower. I shall grow, perhaps, this year a hundred quarters of wheat: it will be prime white wheat; and nothing would delight me so much as to have to sell it at the price of the mere tax upon the bushel of malt; that is to say, two-and-sevenpence the WINCHESTER bushel; I having nothing to do with the crack-skulled, whiskey-drenched, ^a jobbing, conceited, itchy, pompous, stupid, vagabond bushel, the capacity of which is regulated by the beating of a pendulum, in sixty degrees of heat, by the thermometer of FAHRENHEIT. Oh, Lord! let there come one more good panic (and it must come before it be long), and away goes old quaggy George the Fourth's *imperial* bushel, to follow himself to regions which here shall be nameless.

Mr. CAYLEY, you would not vote for my motion for the repeal of the malt-tax: you said, that that was of *no use*: to vote for that was not worth walking out of BELLAMY's hospitable apartments. I should, however, have gone up to your motion; and that, too, for the purpose of showing and proving the total inutili-ty, which, however, was not object

sufficient to take me from the work of preparing a field wherein to sow Lucerne; having, besides, suffered so much in the case of the motion of the Marquis of CHANDOS, going home from which, at the end of a period of twenty-seven hours, without one wink of sleep; and then hastening back without sleep again for about twenty hours more. Nevertheless, though I felt no obligation on me, as in the case of the motion of the Marquis of CHANDOS, I should have gone up for the purpose of showing the perfectly *ra-ving* absurdity; the monstrous dog-days' dream, that the evils produced by PEELE's bill were to be corrected, or in the smallest degree mitigated, by the adoption of a motion like yours. What! correct the evils of that prodigious measure by a mere slight alteration in the value of money, to be effected by the adoption of a silver standard. There is something so distressingly ridiculous in this, that one can hardly believe one's senses when one reads about it. Just as if the silver would not still bear its proper value; and just as if every soul who heard you did not know that you were moving for a depreciation of the money altogether; and for which many persons might have been prepared; but the astonishment must have been, that a hundred and twenty-six were found to vote for a nondescript motion like yours.

Mr. CAYLEY, there are two ways of correcting the evils of PEELE's Bill as to its *future* effects. The first is to debase the standard; depreciate the money; Bank-restriction. That's bankruptcy; open, avowed, complete bankruptcy; and inflicts an unmitigated and everlasting pecuniary disgrace; besides ultimate convulsion and a total breaking up of property. I say this, *not in order to prevent it*; for, *since the passing of the Poor-law Bill*, I have no alarms for my part, at the approach of a state of things like this.

The other way is that of an EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT, which I proposed at a county meeting in Kent in June 1822: and for which proposition I was most infamously abused in the House of Commons by BROUGHAM, by RUSSELL, by Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, by the late apple-headed CALCRAFT, and by

JOHN SMITH. The same proposition I presented to the county of Norfolk, in the next January; and there are both the propositions in the two county petitions, recorded in the proceedings of the House. At that time, particularly in the case of the Norfolk petition, the execrably villainous London newspapers poured out upon me, with voice unanimous, representing me as a person who ought to be shot from behind a hedge, or something of that sort. I laid it on upon these villains pretty decently; and told the public that it would be led by them till it would be too late for any human being to prevent a revolution in England. It is very curious that the *Morning Herald* newspaper, who then thought it its interest to be one of the most bitter against me, has now come slap round, and laments that my proposition for an *equitable adjustment* was not adopted at the time when the proposition was made! They always end in this way: it might have been done then; but cannot be done *now*. To be sure, you cannot bring men back from the grave; you cannot restore estates that have been sold and the money spent; but you can put a stop to future wrongs; you can lop off half the taxes.

Mr. CAYLEY, there have been two or three calls upon me for my plan. Now I am resolved that I will have no goose-gabble about this matter. I will make my motion; and my motion shall be for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of making an equitable adjustment, &c. If the House agree to my motion, then the Members may tear the bill to pieces, laugh at it, light their pipes with it. If the House do not agree to my motion, I get rid of all the taunts about not producing any plan. Any other mode of proceeding would expose me to the misrepresentations, or the ignorant interpretations of the *suck-mugs* and their villainous employers. Let the House order my bill to be printed; and if it be foolish, let me then pass for a fool. This shall be my way of going on; and if I do not succeed in the leave to bring in the bill, I shall deem it, and the people will deem it, a defeat of my opponents.

Mr. CAYLEY, you are a friend of the Poor-law Bill. That was to "relieve

agriculture," was it not? What! do you now want something more? You have got a plurality of votes at vestries; you have got a voting by proxy; you have put a stop to that which you were afraid would "swallow up the land." Your friend, ALTHORP; your sly friend, ALTHORP, having got a bill passed to prevent the land from being swallowed up, you are safe, are you not? You support the Whigs, do not you? And you have got POULETT THOMSON to support; and POULETT THOMSON tells you that PEELE's Bill has done you no injury! There was Mr. CLAY, too, who uttered some very moving things. Sir ROBERT PEELE appears not to have known very well what to say. He admitted that his bill had done harm; but that to do fresh harm was not the remedy; and he was perfectly right. I wonder that neither of the ARTWOODS spoke upon this occasion. If either of them had, we should have had sense, at any rate; for though I do not agree with them as to the proper remedy, I agree with them as to all the causes of the evil, and as to the total inefficiency of everything proposed resembling the motion of Mr. CAYLEY.

See p. 696, for an article from the *Morning Herald*.

POOR-LAW STRUGGLE.

I SHALL here insert the documents of which I have before spoken. I have no time to make any comments, and must leave the documents to speak for themselves.

SUFFOLK.

The people issued a handbill at LAXFIELD, for the hundred of HOXNE. The magistrates issued their counter-declaration, forbidding the meeting. The meeting, however, took place, in spite of the magistrates' notice, and certainly their notice contained a lie; for they said that the meeting would be *illegal*. They had their meeting, nevertheless. The magistrates had their *yeomanry cavalry ready in waiting*; but the meeting having reprobated the bill, and agreed to petition

against the bill, quietly dispersed, unmolested by the jolterheads. Curious, that the moment the Whigs came back into power again, this sort of work recommenced.

NEW POOR ACT.

Notice is hereby given, that a general meeting of the hundred of Hoxne and parishes adjacent, will be held at Horham on Monday next, May 25, 1835, to take into consideration the various resolutions that will be proposed, and the most proper measures to be adopted, in regard to the act called the "Poor-law Amendment Bill." Business will commence at three o'clock.

As the question is of the utmost importance to all classes, whether rate-payers, working-men of all trades, but more especially agricultural labourers, it is earnestly requested that no man will fail to be present who has one spark of feeling for his kindred, his liberty, and his home! Now or never. Remember, no time must be lost!

HOXNE HUNDRED.

A paper having been circulated, calling together the inhabitants of the hundred of Hoxne and parishes adjacent, at Horham, on Monday the 25. instant,

We, the acting magistrates for the said hundred, do hereby give

NOTICE,

That such meeting, if held, *will be illegal*, and that all persons attending the same will be *liable to fine and imprisonment*, and we do therefore hereby warn all persons to forbear attending such meeting. Dated the 23. day of May, 1835.

EDWARD BARLEE.

HENRY DIVEN.

AUGUSTUS COOPER.

SUSSEX.

The Duke of RICHMOND's relations have denied the truth of all that I have spoken, relative to the Duke of RICHMOND's conduct in the poor-law affair in Sussex. In order to remove the effect of my statements, there was a "meeting of the Board of Guardians of the West HAMPNETT UNION," on the 18th of

May; and they put forth in the *Jew's paper of Brighton*, the following proclamation, which I insert, with all its signatures:

WEST HAMPNETT UNION.

At a Meeting of the Board of Guardians, held at the Workhouse at West Hampnett, on Monday, the 18th day of May, 1835, Charles Scrase Dickens, Esq., vice chairman, in the chair,

Mr. Ide proposed that the following resolutions be inserted in the minutes:—

"That this Board has read with feelings of disgust a speech reported in the newspapers to have been uttered by Mr. Cobbett, reflecting on the conduct of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, the Chairman of this Board, and charging him with having induced a parish in Sussex to expend 2,000*l.* upon additions to the Poor-house.

"That this Board feels it but an act of justice to the noble Duke publicly to deny the truth of Mr. Cobbett's statement, which this Board unanimously declares to have been made without the slightest foundation.

"That this Board feels that it is under the greatest obligation to the Duke of Richmond for the *liberal assistance* which his Grace has at all times afforded to the union, and for those *recommendations to economy* which it has been his Grace's expressed wish should be adopted in enlarging and furnishing the work-houses belonging to the union, and for the course he has recommended to be pursued, having for its objects *as well the comforts* of the industrious poor as the proper and careful expenditure of the monies raised for their support."

This proposal was seconded by Mr. Stubbington, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Hack moved that these resolutions be inserted in the *Globe*, and *Times*, the *Hampshire Telegraph*, and *Brighton Guardian*, which was seconded by Mr. Stubbington and carried unanimously.

Mr. John Randall moved that these resolutions be signed by the guardians present, which was seconded by Mr. Chitty, and carried unanimously.

CHARLES CRASE DICKENS,

Vice Chairman.

| Names. | Guardian of |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| William C. Dewey, | Appledram, |
| James Wyatt, | Aldingbourne, |
| William Young, | West Stoke, |
| Richard B. Robins, | East Lavant, |
| John Hobgen, jun., | Sidlesham, |
| John Rusbridger, | Boxgrove, |
| William Stubbington, | Selsey, |
| William Rusbridge, jun., | Sidlesham, |
| John Petar, | Grafham, |
| William Fogden, | Eastdean, |
| John Hipkin, | Singleton, |
| T. Rudwick, | Donnington, |
| Charles Clayton, | East Wittering, |
| Edward Woodland, | Birdham, |
| Richard Cosens, | Barnham, |
| George Osborn, | Tangmere, |
| William Collick, | Birdham, |
| George Drevitt, | Walberton, |
| William Gibbs, | West Itchenor, |
| George Souter, | Boxgrove, |
| Henry Halsted, | Merston, |
| John Randall, | Oving, |
| John Ide, | West Wittering, |
| Thomas Halsted, | West Hampnett, |
| James Hack, | Pagham, |
| James P. Hayllar, | New Fishbourne, |
| George Amore, | Felpham, |
| William Woodman, | Selsey, |
| Charles Chitty, | North Mundham, |
| William Field, | Rumboldswyke, |
| William Riley Field, | Eastergate, |
| Edmund Collins, | Walberton, |
| Edward Martin, | Upwaltham, |
| William Laker, | Yapton, |
| Henry Sadler, | Midlavant. |

Now here, as far as it says anything, this proclamation confirms what I said. I said that the Duke of RICHMOND was the chairman of one of these gangs of poor-law union fellows. I said, that he let a house to the union, and received the rent for it, which house was used as a workhouse. These fellows tell a lie. I never said that he had *induced* a parish to expend two thousand pounds in additions to the poor-house, for there had been no such additions made; but I said, that it had been *proposed* by some parties to make additions to the poor-house to the amount of two thousand pounds expense; and this fact this gang of fellows

do not pretend to deny. However, they, under their hands, declare the Duke to be the chairman of this WEST HAMPNETT Union; and the great manager of the diet, and of everything else. And observe, there have been recommendations from the Duke *relative to enlarging and furnishing the workhouses*! Oh! There have, have there, been recommendations from him about enlarging the workhouse! Now, these insincere jolter-skulls; these great chubby-faced, sleepy-eyed, silly-looking fellows, ten thousand times more cupping than any London pickpocket; these fellows might have told us, while they had the impudence to contradict me by a lie, what sort of enlarging the Duke had recommended, and whether it were or were not *his own house* that was to be enlarged. I have only to add, with regard to this proclamation, that I am informed and believe, that JOHN RUSBRIDGER is the Duke's steward; that almost all the best are the tenants of the Duke and of Lord GEORGE LENNOX; except one or two, who are tenants of an old mother DORIEN, I think it is, who is a sort of relation of some kind, to this family of LENNOX; this endless swarm of everlasting pensioners.

Now then, the Duke being the chairman, and the great manager of this WEST HAMPNETT Union, let us take a little look at his proceedings; and, first of all, of what he calls his "*DIETARY*," which I take from a printed paper, emanating from MASON, printer, of CHICHESTER. The first table is for a man or woman in health; the second for the sick; the third for boys or girls, from three to ten years of age; the fourth for children between one and three years of age. Pray, reader, look well at it; look well at the man's dinner on Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday. Look well at his meat for the week. Look at the gruel, meaning oatmeal and water. Recollect that the meat is weighed before cooking, and the bone included. Recollect that this Duke, and his predecessor, and his predecessor for two hundred years, have been receiving, out of the labour of the people of England, as much money annually as would maintain *five thousand four hundred poor labourers, according to this table*!

But, let us have the table first.

WEST HAMPNETT UNION.

THE GENERAL DIETARY.

| DIETARY. | BREAKFAST. | | DINNER. | | | | SUPPER. | |
|--------------|------------|--------|---------|-----------|--------|------------------|---------|--------|
| | BREAD. | GRUEL. | BEEF. | POTATGES. | SOUP. | PUDDING SUET. | CHEESE. | BROTH. |
| | Ounces. | Pints. | Ounces. | Pound. | Pints. | Ounces. | Ounces. | Pints. |
| Sunday | 12 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Monday ... | 12 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Tuesday | 12 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |
| Wednesday.. | 12 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Thursday .. | 12 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |
| Friday | 8 | 1½ | .. | .. | .. | 14 | 2 | .. |
| Saturday.... | 12 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |

INFIRM DIETARY.

| DIETARY. | BREAKFAST. | | DINNER. | | | | SUPPER. | |
|--------------|------------|--------|---------|-----------|--------|------------------|---------|--------|
| | BREAD. | GRUEL. | MUTTON. | POTATOES. | SOUP. | RICE PUDDING. | CHEESE. | BROTH. |
| | Ounces. | Pints. | Ounces. | Pound. | Pints. | Ounces | Ounces. | Pints. |
| Sunday | 10 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Monday | 10 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Tuesday | 10 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |
| Wednesday.. | 10 | 1½ | .. | .. | 1½ | .. | 2 | .. |
| Thursday.... | 10 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |
| Friday | 10 | 1½ | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 2 | .. |
| Saturday.... | 10 | 1½ | 5 | half | .. | .. | .. | 1½ |

DIETARY FOR CHILDREN,
From 3 to 10 Years of Age.

| DIETARY. | BREAKFAST. | | DINNER. | | | SUPPER. |
|---------------|------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| | BREAD. | MILK GRUEL. | MUTTON. | POTATOES. | PUDDING RICE. | MILK GRUEL. |
| | Ounces. | Pints. | Ounces. | Pounds. | Ounces. | Pints. |
| Sunday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | .. | Rice 7 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Monday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | .. | Suet 7 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Tuesday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Wednesday .. | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | .. | Rice 7 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Thursday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Friday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | .. | Suet 7 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Saturday | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | $\frac{1}{4}$ |

DIETARY FOR CHILDREN,
Between 1 and 3 Years of Age.

| DIETARY. | BREAKFAST. | | DINNER. | | SUPPER. |
|---------------|------------|----------------|----------|----------------------------|----------------|
| | BREAD. | MILK GRUEL. | PUDDING. | MUTTON BROTH WITH RICE. | MILK GRUEL. |
| | Ounces. | Pints. | Ounces. | Ounces. | Pints. |
| Sunday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Monday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Suet 5 | .. | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Tuesday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Wednesday .. | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Rice 7 | .. | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Thursday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Friday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | Suet 5 | .. | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Saturday | 10 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. | 12 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |

The weather is hot, and my blood boils too much to suffer me to proceed with any thing like calmness. Men of Sussex : hear this ! Understand it ; and tell it to your children. The poor-rates of your whole county, including the county-rates, payments to hired overseers, law expenses, and all sorts of things, amount to 281,000*l* a year. That which is actually given to the poor may amount to two hundred thousand pounds a year. Now, mark, less than one-half of the interest of the money which this family of LENNOX have drawn out of the industry and sweat of the people of England, by the means of one pension, would *pay the whole of the poor-rates of the county of Sussex for ever !* I repeat, that this family of LENNOX, by the means of one pension, have sucked more out of the labour of the people of England ; have sucked a sum, *one-half of the interest only* of which sum would pay all the poor-rates of the county of Sussex for ever ! Read that, and then hear these beggars of jolter-heads, cunning as pigs looking for the wind, praise "*his Grace*": his *Grace*, for the "*liberal assistance which he has given to the union.*"

You should know the true history of these LENNOXES. In a book called *The Peerage*, they brag that they are descended from a bastard of King CHARLES the Second, begotten upon the body of a

French woman, while this profligate king had a wife at the same time. The bastard was his, or he believed so ; and he made him a duke, and settled upon him and his descendants the *amount of the duty on coals imported into London*. And I can remember these duties being paid to the old duke, who died about thirty years ago. The cunning race began to perceive that it might be safer to have a pension fixed by act of Parliament in preference to these duties. The amount of the duties became enormous ; the reformers fixed their eye upon them ; they began to talk about them ; and to inquire how the devil they came to be due to these LENNOXES. The LENNOXES, if it were all the same to us, would as lieve that we did inquire much whence they sprang, and how they came to have the coal-duties. Therefore, instead of thirty or forty thousand a year (perhaps it was) that they had been receiving in virtue of a mere grant from the profligate CHARLES the Second, they got the base Minister and the boroughmonger Parliament to pass an act of Parliament to settle upon them 12,660*l. a year for ever !*

Now I have known them have this sum every year, for more than thirty years. Here, then, principal and interest make up a sum, which I have helped to pay out of my earnings, of more than half a million of money ; and this is the

fellow that sets out the above bill of fare for the people of Sussex. The sum of money which this family have received in this *one grant and pension*, exceeds the sum which would be required to keep the whole of the people of Sussex, man, woman, and child: mind; you jolter-headed beasts of WEST HAMPNETT Union, I say, that this family has received from the fruit of the labour of the people of England, a sum of money, the bare interest of which would maintain the whole of the people of Sussex, man, woman, and child, for ever, with triple the allowance that this very duke gives to a Sussex poor man! And, are we such base slaves become! Am I destined to behold in my countrymen a race of wretches so degenerate, cowardly, and base as not to pay due attention to facts like these!

I will visit and revisit this duke. One of the LENNOXES told me, or rather, told the House, that he supposed I was actuated by feelings of disappointment at my son JOHN not having been elected for CHICHESTER; and he complimented the son as being so different in point of manners from the father. So help me God, a remembrance of the affair of the election had never come into my mind; and as to the better manners of the son; that son had better not let me know it, if he should ever take it into his head to flatter or speak well of a LENNOX after this affair

of the WEST HAMPNETT Union, and after the above bill of fare. On the contrary, I do not believe that it is in the nature of that son; or of any one proceeding from me, not to hold the advocates of this poor-law in abhorrence greater than they ever held snakes and toads; and I have seen, with not a little pleasure, that this same son, in the discharge of his professional duties, has been engaged in defending some of those men who have been tried at LEWES for opposition to the Poor-law Bill.

Now comes another paper, illustrative of the character of these poor-law-work-house proceedings. It is a posting bill, for the sale of *bréwing* utensils, and *meat*-killing and meat-keeping utensils, belonging to parishes in the Duke of RICHMOND'S WEST HAMPNETT UNION! Here is sentence of *eternal water* upon the unfortunate poor. Reader, your blood will boil as you proceed. Here you see every thing to make provision of beer and meat is to be sold away. I insert the bill just as it stands, and as I have received it from CHICHESTER. Thus it goes all over the world, let the LENNOXES recollect. Let the readers every where remember, that it is the pensioner Duke of RICHMOND that orders this to be done; for he is the *chairman* of this band who call themselves the Guardians of the Union: let the Americans read this; and let them not believe that I am the only man in England, that has any feeling upon the subject.

CHICHESTER.

**TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
BY Messrs. WHITE AND SON,**

Opposite the Council Chamber, North-street,

On WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10th, 1835, at Eleven o'clock,

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Brewing Utensils,

In Vats, Coolers, Tun Tubs, and excellent seasoned Casks of various sizes, among which are some capital Hogsheads, Beer Stands, Pickling Tubs, and Excellent Steel Malt Mill.

ALSO,

Five Loads of New Sacks, new Sacking, Thread for Sack Making, 3 cwt. of Riga Hemp, quantity of Tools, Half Bag of Prime Hops of 1834, and Miscellaneous Effects,

BELONGING to the WORKHOUSE at HAMPNETT.

YAPTON, SUSSEX.

**TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
By Messrs. WHITE and Son,**

At the Workhouse, Yapton, on Thursday, June 11th, 1835,

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

BREWING UTENSILS,

In Vats, Coolers, Tun Tubs, capital seasoned Casks of various sizes, Beer Stands, Pickling Tubs, excellent Steel Malt Mill, and Miscellaneous Effects,

Belonging to Tapton and Aldingbourne Workhouse.

SALE TO COMMENCE AT ELEVEN O'CLOCK.

SIDLESHAM, SUSSEX.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

By Messrs. White and Son,

At the Workhouse, Sidlesham, on Friday, June 12th, 1835,

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Brewing Utensils,

In Vats, Coolers, Tun Tubs, excellent seasoned Casks of various sizes, Beer Stands, Pickling Tubs, Machine for Dressing Flour, Steel Malt Mill, Hog Pullies and Ropes, and various other effects,

Of Pagham and Sidlesham Workhouse.

THE SALE TO COMMENCE PRECISELY AT ELEVEN O'CLOCK.

Williams and Pullinger, Printers, North-street, Chichester.

Now, reader, I pray you look at this. Here were three parish poor-houses, each of them set up and long-established, with the means of providing the destitute poor with beer and meat; with the means of making these wholesome; of preserving them in a good state; and of rendering the poor people tolerably comfortable. And here comes the pensioned LENNOX; here comes this great whale-like swallower of taxes, flings out all the means of providing wholesome drink, and whole some meat, and well-dressed flour. He is the *chairman*, observe, of the whole of the union; and he thus passes sentence of water and oatmeal and potatoes, upon all that shall become destitute within the precinct of his command, though they have as clear a right to a maintenance out of the land, as he has to the rents of his land. This pensioned LENNOX proclaims *no more beer: no more hogs to be killed* for the poor. This LENNOX; this pensioned LENNOX; this tax-eating LENNOX, thus condemns the unfortunate people of Sussex that come within his reach.

Here, in this horrible bill of sale by auction, here we have a specimen of the intentions of sly ALTHORP and his band. Sly ALTHORP said, that the labourers were well off in the north; and that he wished to make those in the south equally well off; and here is his worthy colleague at work, to take beer and bacon from the labourers in the south, in order to make them *equally well off* with those in the north! Well said, old sly ALTHORP; but you have not *done* the thing yet; you have only begun to attempt the thing.

We are to look at the diet-table of this LENNOX as the standard, which the Poor-law Bill is to cause to be adopted, for the purpose of "*preventing the estates from being swallowed up by the poor*"; while this LENNOX himself swallows annually as great a sum as he allows for the maintenance of upwards of six thousand of these poor working-people. The county of Sussex, at the making of the last return on the subject, contained altogether, old and young, 26,328 poor persons, whom the agents of the Parliament had the insolence to call paupers, but who never were so called, until after the present family came to the throne. Now

mark this LENNOX: this pensioned LENNOX himself swallows up, out of the taxes, one fifth part as much money as would maintain the whole of these Sussex "paupers," at the rate at which this LENNOX feeds them! Need any thing further be said, even to logs of wood? I ask whether any thing equal to this was ever before heard of in the world? And I should like to know what the venerable old gentleman at PETWORTH is about! I know something about the *havings* of these EGREMONT WYNDHAMS. I know that they can do a little, too, in the way of *swallowing up taxes*. I know something about their legitimacy and illegitimacy; and, if I be not basely abandoned by the country, out it all comes now. They tell us that we are idle; that we are lazy; that we have no right to the means of eating and drinking: we will inquire into their rights; and by NAME, too; we will inquire how they came by those things which they call their estates, since they have chosen to abrogate the fundamental law, upon which our most valuable right rested. I have not forgotten the "*RECKONING COMMISSION*"; I have many able hands to assist me. I remember Sir ROBERT PEEL's "eleventh plague," and the bellowing he called forth against me: I remember the motion without notice of cunning ALTHORP, which motion, being too foolish, was (oh God!) amended by the Speaker, by a volunteer motion of his own from the chair. Oh! I remember all this well; I remember the hideous bellowings at the back of sly ALTHORP; and the half-female Ya, ya, ya, ya, of the sucking cubs at the back of PEEL! "Come the eleventh plague," said he; "Come Dane, Norman, Roman; come anything but this! We have wept; we have mourned; we never *blushed* before."

By heavens, I will make you blush now, before I have done with you! But, why all this outcry, in consequence of a proposition made by me to ascertain the real pedigree of the several landholders in the several counties; and to ascertain HOW THEY CAME BY THEIR ESTATES. And, what harm was there in this? What wrong was there in it? There was no proposition to do anything

either to them, or their estates; and yet the proposition to come at this fact called forth, "Come the *eleventh plague*," and all the rest of it.

If, however, this be so terrific a proposition, Sir ROBERT PEEL shall have it made before him, in the House, at the risk of the second chapter of the "*Ya, ya, ya, ya, ya*." The truth is, I have a *great deal of information already*, as the grounds of my proposition for a parliamentary "*RECKONING COMMISSION*"; and, upon the grounds of this information I assert my belief, that those who are called the "noble families," and who are resident in the county of Sussex, actually receive more every year out of the taxes, raised on the people, than THE POOR PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE COUNTY ANNUALLY RECEIVE IN RELIEF! And, are we going to submit to this in silence, while LENNOX is selling the brewing and hog-killing materials, and proclaiming "*water, potatoes, and oatmeal*," in Sussex! I must quit Sussex for the present, and go to other counties; first, however, taking a look at the proceedings at the quarter sessions at Lewes, in this same county; which proceedings, charge at the chairman and all, I shall insert as I find them reported in the *BRIGHTON Patriot*, a paper which I strongly recommend to all my readers.

ADJOURNED QUARTER SESSIONS.

These sessions commenced on Wednesday, at the County Hall, Lewes, before the *Earl of Chichester* and W. Seymour, Esq.

The Earl of Chichester charged the Grand Jury, and after some unimportant observations, in speaking of the Willingdon rioters, he said it might be necessary, in relation to this charge, to explain what the law was. A riot in law was an assemblage of three or more persons for one common purpose. If they manifested their intention by some act of violence, all who were assembled were implicated in the guilt; and if force were used to effect an object, which, if force were not used, would not be illegal, then all who assisted in any way would still come under

the denomination of rioters. It would be their duty to investigate the evidence in every particular case, and satisfy themselves that the charge was brought home. They should bear in mind, too, that the more serious the charge, the more necessary was it that they should be quite satisfied with the evidence, before sending the case to that tribunal whose office it was finally to decide on the case. In reference to this charge, his Lordship said that he felt it his duty to address a few remarks to the Grand Jury as members of a class of society who had considerable influence over the lower classes. He wished to direct their attention to the importance of protecting parish officers from violence, and not only from violence, but also from any interruption in the discharge of their duty. It was most important that such a protection should be afforded, no less for the benefit of the peace of the officer, than for the ultimate advantage of the party interfering. A check should be applied to this kind of disorderly proceeding. This was one case among many others in which ignorant men had their passions *excited and roused* by ill-disposed and better educated men. He was persuaded that if a little sound information of the provisions and general tendency of the Poor-law Amendment Bill had been afforded them, these persons would not have been guilty of the disorderly conduct which had made them amenable to the laws; they would have been convinced that it would be to their own interests to support the law. The unfortunate men had been misled by persons who ought to have known better. It was by kind and conciliatory expostulation and advice that the erroneous impressions of these men could be removed; and it was their duty, by a firm administration of the law in this case, to give a check to the incipient act before the unhappy consequences could be carried into effect. The melancholy fact of there having recently occurred in this neighbourhood some instances of the *vicious destruction of cattle*, and the still more abominable crime of *arson*, was much to be regretted. It appeared that these crimes had been contemplated by but few persons; still they ought not to shut

their eyes to the fact that it betokened a state of mind which should be to them an object of serious attention.

CROWN COURT, WEDNESDAY.

Obadiah Climpson, labourer, 44, Richard Manser, labourer, 25, Thomas Hollebhone, labourer, 20, and William Putland, labourer, 21, charged with unlawfully and riotously assembling with divers other persons at the parish of Willingdon, to disturb the peace, and assaulting Henry Hurst.

Mr. Darby stated the case for the prosecution, in doing which he observed that he might perhaps be travelling out of his duty as a counsel to *attribute this rising to certain enactments in the Poor-law Bill*; but whatever were the opinions of counsel or jury in that respect, such assemblages must be put down. If the prisoners were not really the guilty parties, they would be glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to bring the real offenders to justice; for what farmer, who had been kind to his workmen, would be inclined to *take such men into his service*? Whatever might be the law, such measures could not be justified, and must be put a stop to; for it was impossible that men receiving relief should be suffered to *dictate what relief they ought to have*. This was not merely a question of punishment as to these men; but he trusted it would lead to the *repression of the disturbances*. The learned counsel then called

Mr. Henry Hurst, who deposed: I am relieving officer for one of the districts at Willingdon. At three o'clock on Saturday, 9. May, I was at the National School, with Mr. Rippington, late assistant-overseer, for the purpose of relieving the poor, to pay them weekly relief. About twenty-six men came in—from that to thirty. I stated that it was the custom to have one only in the room at a time. Climpson said he should have 18s. a week before he left the room; I told them if they withdrew and came in one at a time I would tell them what I was ordered to give them. They withdrew. I sent for Climpson to come in, and told him his relief was 12s. He said he dared not take it. Mr. Ade advised him to take it.

Climpson requested me to put down on paper what each was to have. Mr. Rippington put it down *separately, six gallons of flour, 4lbs. of meat, and 6s. 5d. in money*. Mr. Ade went out, and I heard a very great noise out of doors. Mr. Seymour went out to see after Mr. Ade. Three or four, including Manser, came in. Manser complained of the meat, and said it would be some old stinking stuff not worth having. I asked Manser if he was head spokesman; he said, not in particular—they were all alike. All the labourers followed him in. Ade came back, followed by the whole body of paupers. Mr. Ade brought Hollebhone, and wished me to lay his case before the guardians at the next meeting day. Told Ade, in presence of Hollebhone, there was no occasion for that; if he set him to work he should be able to give him the same as another single man on the *next Saturday*. Hollebhone is a single man: the other three are married. Hollebhone replied that he could not go to work, as *he had nothing to eat*. I told him there was the house to go to. The parties refused to take relief, unless I gave them the sum they had been paid. They acted together; they were very riotous. After that, I went through a passage leading out of the school-room into the road. When I got among the paupers, they began to hustle me; the prisoners were of the party. When I got to the top of the passage I saw a parish cart (a hand-cart) moving towards me, as if it was being pushed towards me. There was an iron fence there. I laid hold of it, and tried to evade the mob. This was in front of Page's house. I suspected that they meant to put me in the cart; I afterwards got inside the fence. Putland came up, took hold of my arm, and pushed me from the fence. I asked him what I had done, and what they were going at with me. He said—"We mean to put you in the cart." The other labourers had opportunities of hearing what was said. Putland and some of the others pushed me towards the cart. I resisted for a moment, but at last was compelled to yield, and was lifted into the cart. When opposite Page's house he begged I would not come there, as it would cause his fence

to be pulled down. I was then drawn away in the cart; the three prisoners, Manser, Hollebone, and Putland, followed me. They were altogether there; Putland and Hollebone both had hold of the cart. There was a tremendous hallooing, and Putland gave directions how fast they were to go. I was taken above half a mile, and allowed to get out of the cart. They said I ought to think myself well off that I had got off as I did. They ordered me, the next time I came to Willingdon, to *bring more money*, or I should not go home with a whole skin, or alive. This sort of proceeding continued from between five and six o'clock till eight in the evening. Their conduct was tumultuous and noisy; the cart was heard to rattle for a mile and a half; the cart went over the rough flints. Have heard as a fact what I have just stated. Their conduct excited fear within me, and was such as to create apprehensions to persons on the road.

Cross-examined by Mr. Cobbett, for the prisoners: That was the first Sunday I was overseer; am not aware that an opinion prevailed that I came to reduce their parish relief; no one could have known anything of the kind. The 9. of May was the pay-day that I had fixed. It was the usual pay-day. I was there at half-past three. None of the surplus labourers had arrived; they arrived about an hour and a half afterwards. I had paid others before Climpson came in—the old and infirm: Climpson came in of his own accord. When I relieved him he said nothing at all about what he had been receiving before. I cannot say whether the pay of these men was about to be reduced. I did not know how much Climpson had been receiving weekly. I received instructions from the Board what to pay.

Mr. Darby objected to this line of examination. The learned counsel had no right to go back into the train from whence their orders came. To show what orders had been given to them at different times did not, he conceived, bear upon the case.

Mr. Cobbett: If I can show that this supposed affray arose upon the spur of the moment, on the sudden reduction of

their pay, I am perfectly at liberty to do so.

Mr. Hurst's examination continued: There were a great many women and children there. The principal part were men. There might be of men, women, and children, nearly 100. The women did not crowd round me in the passage, but many of them did in the road: some of them in the school said I was come down there to starve them. I am quite sure that I was pushed into the cart. I should not have gone in without; never said a word nor remonstrated with them; I thought I had got into the lion's mouth, and had better stroke him a bit. (Laughter). Never talked jocosely with them; never uttered a word. Hollebone and Putland had hold of the cart; Manser was near. After they started with me I did not see Climpson. They made no objection at the end of the half mile to my getting out of the cart; I was four miles from home, and they took me half a mile towards my home. When I got over the stile I said, I believe, "Good night, lads," feeling fearful that they might follow me. They continued to make a noise for a considerable time after I had left them. I have heard that they had somebody else in the cart after I left them. I did not take it as a jocosé matter; I did not smile much; I knew it was best to keep in good humour with them till I was released.

By the Court: Climpson was the first in the school, but I don't recollect whether he was by the cart when I started.

Richard Page, a shoemaker, at Willingdon: On the 9. of May I saw Hurst at my door, and begged him not to come in, for fear of having my things broken by the mob. I know the prisoners. I saw the men in the mob at the time the cart left.

Cross-examined: There is a flower-garden and court-yard in front of the house; it is very small, and twenty or thirty people walking in there might do my garden injury, which was the reason for my objecting to Hurst coming in. There were a great number of women and children, a great many more, I should suppose, than men. Did not see Hurst put into the cart.

Mr. Edward Rippington: I am a farmer at Willingdon; was assistant overseer formerly. Went on the 9. of May to assist Hurst in giving relief. After I got home on that day I saw the mob go down with Hurst in the cart, heard a hallooing and cart-wheels rattle. In consequence of what I saw, I went across the fields to see whether Mr. Hurst was hurt or not.

Cross examined: Was assistant-overseer before Mr. Hurst came to Willingdon. The pay of the paupers was reduced on the 9. of May from what it had been shortly before that time. I should not suppose there were more women and children than men.

By Mr. Darby: The pay, compared with other parishes, has been considered high.

Mr. Cobbett, in the course of his address to the jury, said that he would not seek to justify, as his learned friend might imagine, outrages against the laws; for whatever laws were passed by the Legislature, they ought to be obeyed. He contended that there was not a tittle of evidence against Climpson, and that the evidence adduced against the other prisoners was slight and contradictory.

Mr. Bartholomew: I am a carpenter at Willingdon; am a rate-payer. I saw Mr. Hurst at the hind part of the cart, put his knee upon the cart, turn himself round and sat down. I saw no violence offered; heard the words repeated "Don't hurt him, by no means"; Hurst did not seem alarmed, but looked with a smiling countenance. I did not see the prisoners at the bar; saw the people standing all round the cart; women and children chiefly drew the cart away, some of the men helped.

Cross-examined: I was standing in my own house, five rods from the cart.

Richard Terry: I am a millwright at Willingdon, and a rate-payer. I saw a particular instance on the 9. of May, a man riding in a hand-cart. I saw the prisoners Climpson, Hollebhone, and Manser, at the time Hurst got into the cart. Hollebhone was in front of the cart, about a rod from it, Manser two feet before me and Climpson behind me. I was close to the cart. Did not observe Putland; didn't

see the cart come. When it got about fifteen rods away I began to follow it. I overtook it about two rods before the cart stopped. When Hurst got out he thanked them for the ride they had given him. Mr. Hurst said, when he came to relieve the men again, he would bring more money with him, or words to that effect. He did not seem to be terrified at all; observed no disposition in the people to commit a riot or do mischief.

Cross-examined by Mr. Darby: Dragging a man along he considered to be mischief. There was a good deal of noise at the time with the women and children. After he had been to the butcher's he went to get some shop goods. Climpson was a customer. The others had never been inside his house. No person touched the overseer before he got into the cart. Witness overtook the cart about two rods distance from the stile.

Mr. Darby replied, and said it was not necessary that there should be premeditation to constitute a riot, and recapitulated some of the evidence to show that premeditation might be inferred from the conduct of the rioters.

Mr. Seymour summed up, and recapitulated the evidence at length, making remarks on the various points as he proceeded. If they believed the evidence of Mr. Hurst, they must return a general verdict for riot and assault; if, on the contrary, they believed the evidence of Terry, the prisoners must be acquitted, but then they must think the overseer took the ride for his own pleasure, and at its conclusion thanked them for it. The law was very explicit as to what constituted a riot; any person who, by words, signs, or wearing a badge, took part in a riot, was a rioter, and a principal. In riots all were principals. His opinion was, that a riot had been committed, and *that the prisoners were guilty.*

The Jury came to a decision in about a minute, and returned a verdict of *Guilty against all four prisoners.*

The Chairman, in addressing them, said that they had been guilty of a very great offence; for if, in the course of the riot, Mr. Hurst had been killed, they would all have been guilty of murder; or even if he had been wounded, they would

have been liable to suffer death. The prosecutor was a good-natured man, or resistance might have led to something very serious. The offence was a misdemeanor, but amounted very nearly to high treason in opposing a great public law. The Court had looked for mitigating circumstances, and were happy to find *no injury had been done to the person of the prosecutor; they (the prisoners) had been the victims of designing persons who shrunk behind and left them to suffer.* The present was the *first case of this nature* the Court had known for many years, and they would, therefore, avail themselves of that circumstance in mitigation of punishment. The sentence he should pronounce would be, *that each be imprisoned for six months with hard labour, pay a fine of 1s. each to the King, and to be severally bound in the sum of 20l. to keep the peace for two years.*

KENT.

(From the True Sun, 5. June)

Wednesday, at the first sitting of the Kent Special Sessions, which was holden at St. Augustine's, near Canterbury, the Grand Jury found a true bill against *eighteen persons*, most of whom were labourers, for having been concerned in the riots at Sittingbourne and Doddington, which took place on the introduction of the new Poor-law Bill in that district a few weeks ago. In the course of the day, several other true bills were found by the Grand Jury against persons implicated in the same riots. The indictment contained five different counts, and charged the prisoners with riotously assembling to obstruct the execution of an act of Parliament. Mr. Bodkin appeared for the prosecution and Mr. Wells for the defence. Several witnesses were called for the prosecution, who stated, that on the 4. of May last the poor of the parish of Doddington had expressed great dissatisfaction at receiving relief, half in kind and half in money, according to the provisions of the new Poor-law Bill, and that a mob of *several hundred persons* had assembled round the workhouse, making use of the most violent language against the magistrates. Some of them

were armed with bludgeons, and laid violent hands on Dr. Poore and General Gosselin, and had also ill-treated such of the paupers as were willing to accept relief in the manner offered by the magistrates and enacted by the Legislature, Mr. Wells was briefly heard in the defence. He thought, he said, that great allowance would be made for excitement amongst persons not having had the benefit of education, in a case where a great change in the political economy, and that change affecting such persons, had taken place. Mr. Wells then adverted to the difference between Lord Brougham and one of the Poor-law Commissioners as to the poor-bill authorizing the separation of man and wife, and the feeling of many of the working men in court was about to display itself in condemnation of such a separation, but it was immediately repressed. Several of the prisoners received good characters from some of the parochial officers of Doddington, and from other persons. The chairman briefly summed up, recapitulating the evidence, and the jury, after a few minutes' consultation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners, but recommended them to mercy.

(From the same, 6. June.)

During the course of yesterday eight of the rioters, named Staines, Wellar, Hurl, Henry Head, Coveney, Rayfield, Chapel, and Carey, who were tried on the previous day for being concerned in the late riots in Kent, severally entered into their own recognizances, and were discharged out of custody. In the afternoon the remainder of the prisoners who were tried and convicted on Wednesday and Thursday for rioting, were removed to Maidstone and St. Augustine's Houses of Correction, in order to undergo the various terms of imprisonment imposed upon them by the court on Thursday. The number of prisoners tried amounted altogether to *thirty-seven*, out of which twenty-one can neither read nor write, ten can read, and six can read and write. The principal point urged in their behalf was, that most of them did not understand the Poor-law Commissioners' ticket system. The javelin men from Maidstone

attended St. Augustine's during the holding of the session, and arrangements were made to prevent a riot or rescue of the prisoners, if anything of the kind had been attempted. The court was excessively crowded during the trials of the prisoners, and a very painful scene presented itself after the sentences had been passed upon them; *their wives and families*, most of whom bore a very clean appearance, were assembled outside the court, and gave way to the most bitter anguish. Considerable excitement continues to prevail in Canterbury among the inhabitants, and a large meeting will be held at the Lion Hotel, this day, respecting the Poor-law Act.

Thus it is begun. I told sly ALTHORP that it would be so. I told creeping and peeping PETERS that it would be so. Peeping PETERS ventured to prophesy that I should be wrong. Peeping PETERS has been turned out by the pretty town of BODMIN; and, therefore, I shall scarcely have an opportunity of laughing at peeping PETERS to his face. Would to God that peeping PETERS had to live for the remainder of his life upon the "*gruel*" of pensioned LENNOX, whom, by-the-by, I will go down to see in his chair at WEST HAMPSHIRE, as soon as I can find time. The following article relates to what they call riots in Bedfordshire. *The Whigs are again in power*, I say; old haughty and insolent GREY's vigour has begun to work again. He is behind the bush all the time. Oh, God! A panic along with this; or along with what this will be in the month of November next! That settles the affair for ever; that will show Sir ROBERT PEEL, that what he regarded as the *eleventh* plague would be a very useful thing.

In the meanwhile the cost goes on! Two-thousand-a-year LEWIS, penny-a-line CHADWICK, Lord RADNOR's relation, A'COURT, and the rest of this crew and their predecessors, with the two bishops at their head, have already cost more than the poor-rates of *five considerable counties for one year*; so the sly ALTHORP seemed to know not much more about the matter than one of his oxen. This cost will go on increasing; and as to building the new and great poor-houses,

the beggars of carcass-butchers and poulterers, called landlords, have no more the means of doing it, than they have of paying off a tenth part of their mortgages.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

(From the Times.)

The relieving officer of the western division of the Ampthill Union entered on his duties for the first time on Monday, when he rode to Ledlington, to arrange respecting the paupers, and on his arrival received the treatment as detailed in the evidence below. On Tuesday he proceeded to Milbrook, where he met with a similar reception, and was assaulted by the mob, and compelled to seek shelter. Mr. Cardale and his son accompanied the relieving officer, Mr. Osborn, down the village, when the mob continued their threats and vociferations so violently that the three gentlemen were again obliged to take shelter. The paupers had collected in numbers, and their threats were so outrageous that Mr. Osborn would not venture to make his appearance again that day, but remained concealed until night, when he went home by stealth. On Wednesday half-a-dozen constables proceeded to Ledlington, to take two women and some men into custody. They succeeded in apprehending the former, when they were met by about two hundred paupers, who threatened instant revenge unless the women were rescued. The constables, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, allowed their prisoners to escape. A number of special constables were sworn during the week, and, to their shame be it spoken, thirty respectable men preferred paying the fine of 5*l.* to risking their persons. Thursday was the day for the meeting of the guardians, and accordingly they assembled at the Ampthill House of Industry, at twelve. They had not been long in deliberation, when the paupers, men, women, and children, came flocking in from all quarters in great numbers, many of them armed with bludgeons, sticks, &c. Several of the men told the guardians that they wanted work, and to be paid for it in money, but that they would not take relief in bread. They were told that their demand for money could

not be complied with, when they commenced a most desperate attack upon the windows with stones, brickbats, cabbage-stalks, and every missile that could be found. Many of the guardians attempted to address the mob, who amounted to between 300 and 500, but could not obtain a hearing. Stones continued to shower against the windows, and in the room where the guardians assembled several gentlemen were hurt; and one in particular, whose eyes were much hurt with broken glass. At twenty-five minutes past one o'clock, H. M. Musgrave, Esq., a magistrate, president of the board, and whose firmness and resolution at this critical juncture have been highly applauded, boldly advanced into the mob, and in two places read the Riot Act. This had only a partial effect, for on the guardians proceeding from the House of Industry to the King's Arms, they were followed by a large concourse of people, shouting and threatening all the way. Opposite the inn, in the middle of the market-place, a regular fight took place between the special constables and the mob; as often as the former took prisoners, they were rescued by the latter. The magistrates and guardians now deeming the local authorities insufficient to overpower such numbers as had then collected, D. G. Adey, Esq., went off express for London, to request assistance from Government; and Mr. Græme, the auditor to the Union, was also dispatched at five a. m. on Thursday, for a body of the metropolitan police, who arrived, twenty-two in number, on Friday morning. They were shortly afterwards dispatched, accompanied by H. M. Musgrave, Esq., and a number of special constables on horseback, in search of the ringleaders, and between four and five in the afternoon returned, with several of both sexes in custody. The charges were immediately proceeded with before the following magistrates: Rev. G. Cardale, Rev. T. Barber, Rev. J. Beard, G. Musgrave, and H. M. Musgrave, Esq.

Mary Walker, Amelia Gulliver, Hannah Reed, and Elizabeth Henman, were first put to the bar, charged with rioting and tumultuously assembling, &c., at Ledlington, on Monday last, the 11th inst.—

Mr. Osborn deposed that he went to Ledlington, to make inquiry if he could find work for the surplus labourers; made an appointment with the overseer, and on arriving at his house, found the prisoners at the bar at the gate. They said, "We don't want you, we'll have money or blood, and before you leave this we'll have either the money out of your pocket, or the blood out of your veins." Witness remonstrated, and told them he had no orders to relieve them. They still cried out, "Money or blood." He then went into another room. One of the women said she knew witness had got money, and while he was surrounded she put her hand into his pocket and took out 4*l.* odd. A lad called out, "If he don't give us a shilling each, we'll have his blood before we go." Witness gave all the money he had, from fear only.—John Ruffhead saw Osborn surrounded by the women. Believes Osborn relieved them from bodily fear only. Heard them say "Blood or money" several times. There were about forty-men backing the women, and all calling out "Blood or money."—W. Kingston was present at Bosworth's on Monday; heard cries of "Money or blood," and some, alluding to the relieving officer, called out "Neck him." Saw John Reed, J. R. Perkins, W. Turner, Michael Reed, and John Beale.—The Bench remarked that this witness seemed afraid to give his evidence.—Witness denied that he was.—In defence, the women said they cried out, "We'll have money, or lose our blood." One or two remonstrated on the hardship of being obliged to leave their families.—The Bench consulted, and the four prisoners were committed for the riot.

Two men have been committed for the capital offence in continuing the riot after the Riot Act was read.

BERKSHIRE.

I have an account of the proceedings of a poor-law commissioner, and of one MOUNT, a magistrate, whose progenitor was a Government stationer in the times of PITT and paper money. I am very much obliged to my correspondent at NEWBURY; especially for the copy of the

letter of the poor-law runner, whose name appears to be HALL.

It is information like this that I want; and to this object we ought all to direct our undivided attention. This is the real struggle. A farce, a despicable farce, compared with this, is the "corporation reform"; and all the nonsense about political rights. Here we are contending the great point of all: have we a right to LIVE in England, or have we not? I do beseech my correspondents to be zealous and active, and to give me plain and clear information of the movements of the poor-law runners and their abettors. *Names, names, names!* wherever you possibly can do it; and tell me how the named persons got their estates, if you can. If they put forth any publications, be sure to send them to me. The diet-scale of pensioned LENNOX, and his auction-bill for selling off the brewing and meat-preparing utensils, these are invaluable; and sorry I am that I shall not now have an opportunity of thrusting them up under the nose of sly ALTHORP, or that of his equally sly friend, RADNOR. Apropos of friend RADNOR, who has surprised me more than all the rest of mankind have ever surprised me; but I cannot blink my duty; let who will suffer, I must do my duty. Apropos, then, of sly RADNOR, who has a large estate close adjoining the parish of FARRINGTON, in Berkshire; and I hear that there is a *Poor-law union established at FARRINGTON*. Now, I want all the particulars about this union regularly stated. Not in a loose rambling letter, but in due order, according to the manner in which I state such things; and particularly I want the *names* of all the moving actors, and the *diet-scale*, in print, if possible. In conclusion, for the present, let it always be borne in mind, that I am contending against proceedings which abrogate an ancient and the most sacred institution of England: let that be remembered; and let it not be supposed that I shall not be cordially joined by all the true friends of English law and English liberty; and let no one expect that we shall not finally succeed in all our lawful and laudable undertakings.

MR. CAYLEY'S MOTION.

(From the Morning Herald, 4. instant.)

"Of the Bill which made it imperative on the public to pay in an enhanced gold currency the interest of an enormous debt, contracted for the most part in a depreciated paper currency—of the Bill which gave the country a restricted peace currency with an overwhelming war taxation—of the Bill which defrauded every man who had borrowed money in paper, by compelling him to pay nearly one-third more in gold—of the unjust and mischievous Bill, commonly called Peel's Bill, but was the Bill of HUSKISSON, RICARDO, BROUGHAM, and other Whig political economists, as well as of Peel, we have never expressed but one opinion, and that opinion we have found no reason to alter. On the contrary, our first impressions are corroborated by every day's experience, that no single measure of the Legislature, adopted in an evil hour, and under some strange infatuation, ever worked more injustice, or, was productive of more extensive suffering.

"All debtors were defrauded by that bill, because every man who borrowed money in depreciated paper, was compelled to pay the same nominal amount in the enhanced metallic currency; and though much obloquy and ridicule have been cast upon Mr. COBBETT for insisting at that time upon an 'equitable adjustment' of contracts; yet we must say, whether such adjustment was practicable or not, its principle was founded in justice. Mr. RICARDO, who, next to Mr. HORNER, the idol of the *Edinburgh Review*, was the oracle of the Whig economists at that time, predicted that the difference in the currency caused by the bill would be only three or four per cent. It is now proved to be between THIRTY AND FORTY per cent. Let us take it at thirty-three or one third per cent.; and what is to be said of the honesty of those who passed the bill, if they understood its operation; what is to be said of their wisdom if they did not, when it is now, and has long been manifest, that every

"debtor, for each 100*l.*, borrowed in depreciated bank notes, has been obliged by this bill to pay 133*l.* in the gold currency which it substituted. In the same proportion too were the taxes of the country raised, while the prices of commodities fell; so that when Ministers, whether Whig or Tory, tell us of the quantity of taxation taken off since the war, we must tell them, in return, that they do not state the account fairly unless they add to the present amount of taxation the difference of value caused by the change in the currency, and which has in reality increased that taxation by a sum between fifteen and twenty millions."

The writer then goes on to object to any alteration of that bill *now*, seeing that, although the introduction of that bill caused the debtors of 1819 to be defrauded, other contracts have been formed since, and new relations have arisen, &c. He says, distress and discontent existed during 1817, 1818 and 1819, and "as long as the enormous debt presses on this country, there must always be a great struggle imposed upon the national industry to bear up under the weight of national taxation. That struggle would indubitably be less severe with a less restricted currency than the present one, and one not dependent upon the arbitrary issues of an autocratic monied monopoly like the Bank of England; but, at the same time, a currency established on a sounder principle, as to the issues of private banks, than that which existed previously to the bill of 1819."

"* * * * * But low as the prices are, what would they be if the doctrines of the Whig economists were carried into practice, and the markets of England inundated with foreign corn? In that case the workhouses should be considerably enlarged, that English farmers, along with their labourers, might enjoy the tender mercies of the Poor-law Bill, while foreigners were exchanging their corn for English gold, and the plough of our native country rotted in the uncultivated land."

"* * * * * But though the sub-

ject of an alteration of the currency is one surrounded with difficulties, it is one which is too important not to be deserving of the most serious attention of our statesmen, who ought not to form their opinions upon it rashly, or adhere to them with bigoted or sullen obstinacy in spite of experience. * * * *

"It is not, indeed, a party question. It ought to be investigated without party prejudice. A better regulation of the currency than what exists at present, while the Bank of England can contract or enlarge the issues at its arbitrary will and pleasure, seems to be generally admitted to be a necessary reform; but what that precise regulation ought to be is a question about which there exists certainly much difference of opinion, and we fear that its public discussion will be productive of little good, until a better spirit and clearer powers of reason are brought to its consideration, than any connected with political animosities and sectarian prejudices. One thing is quite certain, that not only our currency, but our whole financial system wants reform; and it is the want of such reform that gives more impetus and force to the mischievous rage for experimental changes in our institutions at the present day than any other cause whatever. But where is the statesman who has the wisdom to grapple with those subjects well, and the boldness to undertake the task?"

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

BANKRUPTS.

BEGBIE, J., Cartwright-street, Rosemary-lane, victualler.

BLENKIN, G., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.

BRADBEER, F. H., Salisbury, draper.

BRAITHWAITE, W., Grafton-street, Fitzroy-square, stationer.

COBB, J., St. Anne's-place, Commercial-road, Limehouse, stage-coach-master.

CLARK, G., Stonecutter-street, Farringdon-street, shoe-maker.

KAY, J., Liverpool, coal-merchant.

LOVETT, W., Chesterfield, Derbyshire, inn-keeper.

MUELLER, C. H., Norwich, music-seller.
 NOBLE, J., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.
 TILLEY, R., King-street, Holborn, coach-maker.
 WARD, J., jun., Little Sheffield, victualler.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

POLLARD, W., Manchester, commission-agent.

BANKRUPTS.

BUSBY, T., Green-street, next Sittingborne, Kent, grocer.
 DORMAN, J., Frederick's-place, Old Kent-road, china and glass-dealer.
 HALL, G., Trowse Newton, Norfolk, builder.
 HANKINSON, T., Macclesfield, grocer and flour-dealer.
 LACEY, E., Loughborough, baker.
 LEVETT, W., sen., and W. Levett, jun., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchants and grocers.
 NORTH, W., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
 PEARSON, R., Blackburn, muslin-manufacturer.
 PERKINS, E., Northampton, gardener and victualler.
 SUTTON, W., Birmingham, brass-founder.
 TURNER, T. S., Weymouth-terrace, Hackney, builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 8.—We have had a very large arrival of Scotch and Irish Oats since this day week, but only moderate of Wheat and other articles. The weather since Friday has changed from cold and wet to very fine and hot.

Wheat met a heavy sale this morning at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter from last Monday's prices.

In Barley, Beans, and Peas, no alteration. Malt dull, and 1s. per quarter lower.

We experienced a dull, limited demand for Oats to-day, at a decline of 1s. per quarter from the terms of this day week; we expect to see our supplies fall off, particularly from Scotland.

In Corn under lock nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new 39s. to 46s.
 Old 48s. to 50s.
 Red, new 36s. to 38s.
 Old 40s. to 41s.
 Lincolnshire, red 36s. to 41s.
 White 42s. to 44s.
 Yorkshire 35s. to 38s.
 Northumberl. & Berwick 36s. to 38s.
 Fine white 38s. to 40s.
 Dundee & choice Scotch 38s. to 40s.
 Irish red, good 32s. to 36s.
 White 36s. to 38s.

Rye 30s. to 32s.
 Barley, English, grinding 24s. to 28s.
 Distilling 28s. to 30s.
 Malting 32s. to 35s.
 Chevalier 36s. to 38s.
 Malt 44s. to 54s.
 Fine new 56s. to 64s.
 Beans, Tick, new 36s. to 38s.
 Harrow 38s. to 40s.
 Peas, White, English 34s. to 36s.
 Foreign 33s. to 35s.
 Gray or Hog 34s. to 36s.
 Maples 36s. to 38s.
 Oats, Polands 23s. to 26s.
 Lincolnshire, short small 24s. to 25s.
 Lincolnshire, feed 23s. to 24s.
 Yorkshire, feed 24s. to 25s.
 Black 25s. to 26s.
 Northumberland and Berwick Potato 26s. to 27s.
 Ditto, Angus 25s. to 26s.
 Banff and Aberdeen, com. 26s. to 27s.
 Potato 27s. to 28s.
 Irish Potato, new 22s. to 23s.
 Feed, new light 19s. to 21s.
 Black, new 22s. to 23s.
 Foreign feed 22s. to 24s.
 Danish & Pomeranian, old 20s. to 22s.
 Petersburgh, Riga, &c. .. 22s. to 24s.
 Foreign, in bond, feed.. 13s. to 14s.
 Brew 16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, June 1.

In this day's market, which exhibited on each kind of fat stock a great holiday supply trade was, throughout, very dull; with Bee at a depression, of from 2d. to fully 6d. Veal 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

About 2,200 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Shorthorns, homebreds, Devons and Welsh runts, were chiefly (say about 1,500 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire about 100, chiefly polled Scots, by steamer from Scotland; about 120, chiefly Shorthorns Devons, and runts, with a few Irish beasts from our northern districts; about 140, chiefly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 120, in about equal number of Devons, runts, Sussex, and Irish, beast from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 40 lust Townsend Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, about fourth Southdowns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kent and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolk horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 5,500, consisted of about equal numbers of South Downs, new Leicesters and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and sundry other casual breeds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|------|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | to | 2 6 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 2 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 6 | to | 3 0 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 6 | to | 3 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | to | 4 0 |
| Veal | 3 | 0 | to | 4 4 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 0 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | to | 6 0 |

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 28.—No. 12.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Normandy, 17. June, 1835.

THE painful intelligence of the *extreme illness* of my father ; my beloved father ; my most kind and equally beloved father : is really all that can be conveyed in the way of information this day, either directly or indirectly from him.

Possibly they may never again hear of action or thought from him !

This state of things sufficiently subdues all spirit ; sufficiently removes power of even the least mental exertion, from all related or connected with him, to attempt to draw the attention of the readers of this work to any other subject, much less to attempt to do justice to this !

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

*Clifford's Inn,
Friday morning, 19. June, 1835.*

It is my mournful duty to state, that the forebodings above are realized, and that the hand which has guided this work for thirty-three years has ceased to move ! The readers of the *Register* will, of course, look to this number for some particulars of the close of my poor father's life ; but they will, I am sure, be forgiving if they find them shortly stated. A great inclination to inflammation of the throat had caused him annoyance from time to time, for several years, and, as he got older, it enfeebled him more. He was suffering from one of these attacks during the late spring, and it will be recollected, that when the Marquis of Chandos brought on his motion for the re-

peal of the malt-tax, my father attempted to speak, but could not make his voice audible beyond the few members who sat round him. He remained to vote on that motion, and increased his ailment ; but on the voting of supplies on the nights of Friday the 15. and Monday the 18. of May, he exerted himself so much, and sat so late, that he laid himself up. He determined, nevertheless, to attend the House again on the evening of the Marquis of Chandos's motion on Agricultural Distress on the 25. of May, and the exertion of speaking and remaining late to vote on that occasion were too much for one already severely unwell. He went down to his farm early on the morning after this last debate, and had resolved to rest himself thoroughly and get rid of his hoarseness and inflammation. On Thursday night last he felt unusually well, and imprudently drank tea in the open air ; but he went to bed apparently in better health. In the early part of the night he was taken violently ill, and on Friday and Saturday was considered in a dangerous state by the medical attendant. On Sunday he revived again, and on Monday gave us hope that he would yet be well. He talked feebly, but in the most collected and sprightly manner, upon politics and farming ; wished for "four days rain" for the Cobbett-corn and the root crops ; and, on Wednesday, he could remain no longer shut up from the fields, but desired to be carried round the farm ; which being done, he criticised the work that had been going on in his absence, and detected some little deviation from his orders, with all the quickness that was so remarkable in him. On Wednesday night he grew

more and more feeble, and was evidently sinking; but he continued to answer with perfect clearness every question that was put to him. In the last half hour his eyes became dim; and at ten minutes after one p.m., he leaned back, closed them as if to sleep, and died without a gasp. He was 73 years old; but, as he never appeared to us to be certain of his own age, we had some time ago procured an extract from the Register of Farnham parish, in which it appears that the four sons of my grandfather, *George, Thomas, William, and Anthony*, were christened on the first of April, 1763, and, as *Anthony* was the younger son and *William* was the third, we infer that he was born one year before he was christened, that is, on the 9th of March, 1762. He might, therefore, have been older, but not much.

JOHN M. COBBETT.

THE POOR-LAW BILL.

THIS bill, in its operation through the country, being now the most interesting and important amongst all the questions of a revolutionary and ruinous character which are agitating this country, we think the present a fit opportunity to make an extract from a work on this subject, now in the press, and which will be ready for publication by the 1st of July. This extract is of matter consisting of commentary upon that part of the bill which relates to *emigration*; and it is intended as a refutation of the principle, upon which all those who recommend emigration for the *alleviation of distress*, proceed. The reader will at once acknowledge that the ill-fated measure of the bill has its chief foundation in that most unfortunate idea, *the existence of the excess of population*.

"As to your notion of *danger* from an increase of the population of the kingdom, it is too absurd to merit serious remark; seeing that, at the end of a thousand years of the kingly government, there remain six or seven acres of land to every man, every woman, and every child! However, in order to expose the follies and false-

"hoods of the boroughmongers as to this matter, I will here make a remark or two on it. These tyrants caused what they called an enumeration to be taken in 1801, and another in 1811. The tyrants wanted to cause it to be believed, that the people had increased in number under their sway. This would have been no proof of an absence of tyranny to be sure; but, at any rate, it would have been a proof that the number of their slaves had augmented. They were extremely eager to establish this proof; and to work they went, and at last put forth the population return in 1801, which made the total population of England alone amount to 8,331,434. Now mind, Malthus. In 1811 they caused another enumeration to be taken, when they made the population of England alone amount to 9,538,827. Bravo! Impudent mountebanks! Here is more than a seventh of increase in ten years! So that, at this rate of going on, the population of England alone will, in 1851 (only thirty-two years from this time) amount to 16,292,527; and at the close of this present century, if their *paternal* sway should continue to that time, the population of England alone will amount to 27,891,000. Oh, monstrous liars! And this is not all; the increase must be much greater than this; for from 1801 to 1811 were ten years of most bloody war, when not only many men were killed, but when *two hundred thousand* of the men, and those of the most efficient of papas, were always out of the country, either on ship-board or in foreign lands. Impudent liars! The boroughmongers' sway began in 1688; and if the population have gone on increasing only since that time, the population at that time could not have exceeded 2,000,000! Talk of 'our Creator' indeed! The boroughmongers* are the most active creators that

* We have now lost these creators of population; but, we have others as efficient in the political economists, who have as much influence over the metropolis and the great towns, as the old boroughmongers had over the little towns and the villages.—EDITOR.

"this world ever heard of."—*Letter by Mr. COBBETT to MALTHUS, on the cruelty recommended by him to be exercised towards the poor, written from Long Island, 6. February, 1819; see Register 9. and 16. Aug. 1834.*

1. The proposition that the expatriating of our countrymen is necessary, from the superabundance of people above the ability of the country to yield profitable employment, is so repugnant to the long established notions of the benefit of population, and to the feelings of justice towards our fellow-men, and is associated with considerations so melancholy as to the causes existing generally, as well as to the consequences resulting in particular, that we cannot but endeavour to invoke the most serious attention to this proposition, with the view of ascertaining the truth of the premises upon which it is founded. The chief argument which forms the basis of all the reasoning in favour of this proposition, is the alleged *progressive increase in population and in national wealth*, from the earliest times. This argument it is beyond the scope of our object to attempt fully to refute here. It has been completely refuted by Mr. COBBETT, both negatively and positively, in his numerous writings on this important subject, by his exposures of fallacies, by his proofs from records, and by his proofs derived from actual observation; and though it is impossible to point out all the parts of his writings which contain these proofs, it is sufficient to refer to his "*Rural Rides*," which contain the observations made in his journeys on horseback, over about fifteen hundred miles of the south and west of England, which journeys he undertook for the express purpose of judging accurately on this most important matter. Our intention at present is merely to enumerate, and to take a brief review of some of the principal sources of the divers arguments which have been resorted to, in the propagation of the deplorable delusion which has led to this emigration project.

2. In the first place, with regard to the authority of the population-returns. These returns profess to contain accounts

of the actual number of people, things the obtaining of which correctly it is obvious must be full of difficulty; and it seems very surprising that, when the object is to show the progress of population, whether in increase or decrease, that resort has never been had to the *books containing the registers of births*. The casting up of the numbers in each parish for each ten years is a very simple affair, attended with no expense, but a day's work or two for the clerk. The other mode must always be a matter of computation or guess-work. In Ireland, in the remote parts especially (which are also said to be the most populous), the people are proverbially "wild"; they are afraid to answer any questions to strangers who appear for any purpose whatever; a remarkable instance of which occurred at Skibbereen at the taking of the census of 1820: two children, who were left at home alone, on seeing a couple of strangers approach the house, hid themselves in a bin, and were found by their mother almost suffocated, so afraid were they of being caught or injured in some way or other. As to the total numbers which appear, it is evident that the different numbers are in the first instance in a great measure arbitrary by the agents who are employed, and finally at the discretion of those under whose authority the announcement is made. Thus it must be in all returns of numbers published by Governments. It is so with returns of killed and wounded made by commanders, who may suppress, nay, prudence may require them to suppress, the truth; no returns were ever even pretended to be made of the killed at either Waterloo or New Orleans, perhaps through prudence; for, this very principle of prudence was lately avowed by the Tory Government against granting returns of the losses in numbers sustained by the army in India, a prudence which had been inviolably observed by the Whig Ministry. In short, all returns given without power of check on their correctness, especially when put forth accompanied by an argument in proof of which they are adduced, must be things to be edited to their full extent very rarely indeed. But with regard to Ireland, it is truly curious to ob-

serve the different ends which the asserted fact of great population is made to answer. The Catholics, when they were petitioning for emancipation, urged their increase in numbers; Mr. O'CONNELL corroborated the returns from his observation of increase within his own memory, in his evidence before the House of Commons: now, the same populousness is an argument for repeal of the Union, and the ungrateful proceeding in bringing the benefit of increase of numbers thus apparently produced by the Union as an argument against that Union, is obviated by the repealers again joining with the "redundant population" people in denouncing the increase as an evil; and all this while the same Catholics and repealers are bitterly opposed to introducing the Act of Elizabeth in Ireland, and thus the increased populousness of their own countrymen serves them as an argument against *that* which their friends in England are now engaged in abolishing; and which they charge as the great cause of this "redundant population." It is truly amusing to see, we repeat, how the Government returns are thus made conducive to the Irish treble purpose! When indeed the Catholics or repealers are arguing against the Protestants, they prove triumphantly that *that* population *diminishes*: they do not take facts upon the representations of others there; all the little population-tricks, when they are not for the furtherance of certain purposes, are carefully sifted into; for instance, such little innocent tricks as the *lending of Protestant children between one school and another*, in order to show off before the education-commissioners, with our Poor-law commissioner Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS at their head; and we believe great mirth was excited by the simplicity with which these grave personages remarked the *strong national cast of countenance amongst the little tyros of the different schools*! Thus the cause of the Protestants may well lose ground, when their opponents can bring proof of the diminution of the numbers of them; while, for proof of their own increased numbers, they have only to appeal to the Government returns.

3. The population-returns of the gene-

ralizing Government of our neighbours the French, are not behind our own. In 1791 the population was stated by the National Assembly to be 26,363,074. In 1807, for the same territory, Bonaparté made it 28,626,430; though this was after the bloody revolution, after all the emigration, and after the people of La Vendée had been extirpated to the number of at least half a million. In 1819, the Bourbons made it 29,321,877. And now, the fund-holding, political economist, salt-taxing, and "liberal" Government make it upwards of 31,000,000. Bravo! This is within about 1,000,000 of what Bonaparté made it for the whole of the then territory of France, including the Netherlands and part of the present Prussian dominions; all that part of the continent of Europe, in fact, east of the Pyrenees and west of the Rhine, and the population of which additional territory is stated to be now upwards of 4,000,000. *Monsieur* is very fond of accounts, that is to say, of *figures*; he is very accurate, that is to say, *minute*: the Government takes down the name of every individual who comes into the country, if it be only for a day, and in every town where he may chance to reside, his name is taken down in a book. But, his name is never taken down when he leaves his residence or quits the country; so that the book contains *only one side of the account*; it is *all on the credit side*. Therefore, if these accounts be in any way consulted by *Monsieur* in reckoning up his numbers, a computation may be made of the *allowance* which should be made. This account-keeping, and the custom of passports altogether, is one of the tyrannical novelties of "regenerated France"; and, if it be made available in the manner we suspect, it certainly is a strong instance of the truth of the French saying: "*Ou il y a beaucoup de papiers il y a beaucoup de gaspillage: where there are many papers there is much falsehood.*" As to the absolute control which this generalizing Government has over all public returns, it is notorious that, during the cholera in Paris, the number of deaths announced every day was less than the burials in one of four cemeteries alone, and that not the greatest; in short, two-

thirds of the number were suppressed; the fact was commented on in some of the newspapers; and, these returns were all issued through the offices under the Minister of the Interior. This suppression might have been justifiable, if any account at all were given; nay, it may be said that a false return was indispensably necessary to mitigate the effects of panic. Then, with regard to the returns of the living, who will pretend that *policy* must not regulate them too, when it becomes the fashion for nations to publish such returns, and when they are engaged by emulation in this sort of race, and especially in the case of rival nations?

4. In the second place, as to the authority of writers, and especially of literary hirelings. A book which is published "under the superintendence of" the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, intitled "The Working-Man's Companion," and at the head of which Society are the Whig Lords Brotham, John Russell, Althorp (now Spencer) and Ebrington, and which book certainly contains more of base misrepresentation, more of perversion of facts, and more of direct falsehood than any book that ever was published; this book contains one statement which we shall notice, and it refers to the books of a Mr. Turner and of Dr. CHALMERS, to prove the paucity in numbers and the poverty of our ancestors. This Mr. Turner states, from Domesday Book, that the population was "something more than *two millions*." Now, how does Mr. Turner form any such estimate upon that book? He does not pretend that the book contained an account of the inhabitants any farther than as they were interested in the tenure of the land and estates which are there registered. All the owners or tenants of land are numbered, and almost named; and herdsman and woodmen and ploughmen and millers are sometimes enumerated; but it is only the chief men, who had other men under them in these employments. No servants are mentioned. In short, the account is nothing at all, as to population, but an enumeration of the various ranks and occupations of the people. So that it is by guess that Mr. Turner has made out his account of "some-

thing more than two millions." However, if Domesday Book does not give a full and true account of men, women, and children, there is one sort of animal of which it gives a very particular account, namely, *hogs*; and, it occurs to us, that it is possible that this account of hogs may help in forming something of an idea of what the account of men would have been. The book states the number of hogs which every estate would keep: for instance, Hertfordshire 31,250, or 1 hog to 14 acres; Buckinghamshire 37,765, or 1 hog to 11 acres; Middlesex 22,175, or 1 hog to about 5 acres. Buckinghamshire being thus between the extremes in the production of hogs, we will take that as the specimen of the country; and we must here confess that our library does not possess Domesday Book complete, having it only for these three counties. Now, the area of this county in acres is 441,000, and of the whole country 46,888,777 acres; so that it forms a hundred and sixth part with a fraction of the whole. Supposing the hogs to be killed at two years old, here are 18,882 bacon hogs, and, at the same rate, to the whole country, 2,006,212; that is to say, "*something more than two millions*"; so that we think we have, by as fair a process as Mr. Turner can possibly have adopted to find his Anglo-Saxon men, women, and children, found him a fat hog two years old for every one of them! With regard to the weight of a fat hog two years old, we cannot wait to dispute about that; hogs are killed in farm-houses for labourers always above twenty score; but, supposing it to be hogs of eighteen score five pounds each, here is a pound of solid fat bacon for every one of his Anglo-Saxons, though he be only just born, for every day of his life. As to all other kinds of live stock, no account is taken of them, except here and there a complete inventory for some particular reason; there is only one inventory in these three counties, which is as follows (see Hertfordshire, Hertford Hundred):—"150 hogs, 68 head of cattle, 350 sheep, 50 goats, 1 mare." So that, there were other things besides hogs to eat, in the meat way. As to *bread*, if the men ate "*horse-corne*," the horses fed on *man-*

corn; for, there are the old statutes regulating the "*assize of horse-bread*"; and, this Doomsday Book speaks repeatedly of tenures by paying stated quantities of "*loaves for the dogs*." Oh! but then there were no "*edible roots*"! No: the accursed potato was certainly not in vogue. This Mr Turner calls himself the historian of the Anglo-Saxons; but CARTE, the historian of the ancient Britons, says, that they lived principally on "*bacon, bread, milk, and apples*," and that they drank beer and hydromel. So, then; our unenviable ancestors were obliged to eat *apples* were they? But, we, their enlightened descendants, have found out that potatoes are better than golden-pippins! As to the population-estimate of CHALMERS, which relates to a period (1377) three centuries and a half after this of the Norman conquest; in the first place, this author was one of those learned doctors who pronounced the celebrated opinion of genuineness on the Shakspearean manuscripts, as they were called, and which were supposed to have been just brought to light, but which were confessed, shortly after, by the real author, Mr. Ireland, to have been the pure invention of himself, a young attorney's clerk, done by way of amusement in imitating the writing of Shakspeare. The conjectures of this authority, therefore, are not to be taken as conclusive in matters of antiquity. By his estimate, the population had gone on *gently increasing*, at the rate of 350,000 souls during the three centuries and a half; 100,000 to a century precisely! But, what was there in those times to cause any increase? What was there in the civil wars, in the crusades, in the Norman tyrannies, in the laying waste fields and towns for the New Forest? What was there in the arbitrary exactions and confiscations which gave rise to the contest for Magna Charta, that is, the re-establishment of the Saxon laws: what was there in these things to cause increase of population? At the time when thirty-six towns and villages were depopulated to let deer run where men had lived; at that time this Doomsday Book gives an account of six acres of *vineyard* in Hertfordshire, twelve in Middlesex, and

eight in Buckinghamshire: these are things, at all events, which do not exist now; and, is it to be supposed that the ruthless reign of the first Normans could much *improve* a country cultivated as these counties must have been?

5. We now come, not to error or misconception, but, if not to downright lying, at least to what the lawyers call *hard swearing*; for which we refer to the aforesaid book, "*Capital and Labour*," under the "*superintendence*" aforesaid, of that committee, at the head of which appear to be the *four Whig lords* aforesaid, chapter 8, p. 101.—"In the reign of Edward III., Colchester, in Essex, (what other is there?) was considered the tenth city (it was a *city then*, was it?) in England in point of population. It then paid a poll-tax for 2,955 lay persons. In 1311, about half a century before, the number of inhabitant householders was 390; and the whole household furniture, *ten*'s, clothes, money, cattle, corn, and every other property found in the town, was valued at 518*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* This valuation took place on occasion of a subsidy or tax to the crown, to carry on a war against France; and the particulars, which are preserved in the Rolls of Parliament, exhibit with great minuteness the classes of persons then inhabiting that town, and the sort of property which each "*possessed*." Now, reader, there were, at the very time which this relates to, monasteries in this very town of Colchester, possessing altogether yearly revenue (speaking from memory) of upwards of six hundred pounds of the same money! So that this must be the strangest thing in the world, if it be not a sheer falsehood, pretended to be copied from the Rolls of Parliament. But, is there not a little internal evidence of falsehood in this statement: does such very *hard swearing* ever escape detection, even by means of itself? The writer goes on to say, that the examination was so minute, that a "*baker's old coat*" was put down, and that "*the whole stock of a carpenter's tools* was valued at one shilling. They altogether consisted of "*two broad axes, an adze, a square, and an auger; or spoke-shave*." This was

at the time when Chalmers says the population was on the increase; and the whole argument of this "Working-man's Companion" book is to the same effect. So, then, here is society in a rising state; and amongst four hundred housekeepers there is only this lot of tools; and though tools are so scarce, they are only worth a shilling! This shilling was equal to twenty shillings now, which would still be about the price (or was before Peel's Bill) for such a lot of tools; but tools are *not scarce* now; no, nor could they have been at Colchester; for, if they had been *so very scarce* as is here represented, they would have been worth the whole of the 518*l.* 16*s.*, together with the three farthings: money commands luxuries, but we must always recollect that necessities command money, and these things are the first of necessities. So that the whole statement is false; but it is false from misrepresentation, and suppressing part of the facts. It admits of explanation, and the good of it is, that the writer furnishes the explanation himself; but it is in another part of the book, so distant both in place and subject; that he thinks it cannot be applied to the discovery of the falsehood which he has here intended to impose upon us. He gets as far off as *Persia*, where he is drawing a favourable contrast between that Government and ours of the present day; and he says, "Where such a system prevails, all accumulated labour is CONCEALED, for it would otherwise be plundered." Oh, oh! now we begin to see of what practical utility the *monasteries* were in those days! We observe that he speaks of the *poll-tax on lay parsons*, and we know, in short, that the property, persons, and houses of ecclesiastics were exempt from *lay inquisitions*; and now we see, plainly enough, where the good neighbours were to be found in Colchester, with power sufficient to preserve the goods of the town's-people from taxation! The good rich monks, we see, gave a most effectual sanctuary against the taxing-men of Edward the Third, to leave the "baker's old coat" and only four carpenter's tools, and altogether not so much of worldly goods to tax as amounted to the worth of their yearly revenue! This

is, therefore, a complete explanation; the rolls of Parliament are perfectly faithful; only, it is somewhat curious *why* the learned gentleman *who had access to the rolls of Parliament* should have suppressed it, and by that suppression have made up so monstrous a lie. However, he was not content even with this, and could not resist the temptation of committing the lie direct; for, he says, "Nor let it be supposed that this smallness of capital can be accounted for by the difference in the standard of money; for 518*l.* of the time of Edward III. would amount only to 1,450*l.* of our present money;" and here he refers, in a note, to "Eden's table of the convertible value of British money, in his History of the Poor." It must, indeed, be a *history of the poor*, if it can make out that the small amount of coin in former times was *not of proportionately greater value!* The "*Preciosum*" of Bishop FLEETWOOD, however, followed by BLACKSTONE and by everybody, shows that the value of money had depreciated twenty to one in his time: but, the scribe of the Society for "Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" could not be content to allow the housekeepers of Colchester to be worth even forty pounds each of our money; he is hired to make us believe that all they were possessed of in the world was 3*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* each. And this is the diffusion of "useful knowledge" for which these *four Whig lords* were in committee, and for which *twenty thousand pounds* of public money were granted; and it is to such hungry and virulent liars as this that the money has been given! And it is by such means as these that the people of this country are to be impressed with opinionous derogatory to the honour and dignity of their ancestors, and by which they are to be prepared for starvation, potatoes, and transportation themselves!

6. Having seen a specimen on one side, let us see a little on the other side; and for the honour of literature and of England in particular, it is not for want of books, and written by Englishmen, that people are ignorant of the truth. We cannot enumerate all; but we cannot refrain from referring to the History of England by CARTE. This learned and

impartial work, in folio, was, as the imprint states, "By Thomas Carte, an Englishman; printed for the author, at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, and sold by J. Hodges, at the Looking-glass, facing St. Magnus Church, London-bridge, 1747," with this inscription: "To his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, president, and to the society of noblemen and gentlemen, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, with the societies of New, Magdalen, Brazen-nose, Lincoln, and Trinity colleges; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, and the worshipful companies of grocers, goldsmiths and vintners; by whose generous encouragement this work hath been undertaken, this first volume of a general History of England is humbly inscribed by their most obliged and devoted servant, Thomas Carte." The author states that he does not find written authorities for estimating the population of the ancient Britons; but that he does for that of Gaul (France); and he says, speaking of the Gauls: "PLUTARCH and APPIAN say, there were in Gaul four hundred different *gentes* or nations, the smallest containing 50,000, the largest 200,000 men." This historian, Plutarch, died about the year 119, and the other wrote his histories immediately after, and died about thirty years later. Now, here are *twenty millions*, then, eighteen centuries ago in France; and Gaul under the Romans was precisely the same territory as France under Bonaparte, when he stated it to contain (in round numbers) 32,000,000. The reader can form his own judgment as to the average number of those nations. They were nations each of sufficient strength to contend single-handed with the Roman armies. Cæsar's descriptions of some of them in actual fight shows them to have been fully equal to the maximum number above. According to the doctrine of the causes which are assigned now for the increase in France, namely, division of lands, that cause existed there, for CÆSAR says, *the brothers were equal in property*. That cause which the book of the "useful knowledge"

society says checked population in England even so late as two centuries ago, namely, the *scourge*, could not have existed eighteen centuries ago, if we believe PLUTARCH; who says (*De placitis Philosopharum*), that the Britons "*only began to grow old at a hundred and twenty*." There is another cause. Our enemies, in their charges against our ancestors, accuse them of lewdness, of promiscuous intercourse, which some people affect to believe, with regard to Ireland at this day; and this is one of the very causes to which the same men ascribe the "redundancy;" according to their present doctrine; therefore, and according to their aspersions on ancient times, those times had a cause for "redundant population" as well as this. CARTE, however, controverts this aspersion. He says, "There is the greater reason to think that this was really not the case; because STRABO (lib. iv., p. 202), one of the exactest and most valuable authors among the ancients (at the commencement of the Christian era), says no such thing of them; though he mentions the very charge as imputed to the inhabitants of Ireland, who, he adds, are more savage than the Britons: nor doth he credit it, even as to the Irish, for this very good reason, because he could not depend upon his information." And yet there are people who say they believe this same thing now. Mr. O'Connell was even asked the question in his examination by the Committee of the House of Commons; he gave a very emphatic and proper denial of it, as the writer of this can testify, because he satisfied himself most completely upon this error when in Ireland, where, nevertheless, the common people do live in a manner, which may appear to strangers, accustomed to different manners, like promiscuous intercourse. But a stranger who may go now into a remote village in Ireland, would have as little means of correct observation of domestic habits, as could Cæsar, a conqueror, have had opportunities of ascertaining these habits amongst the Britons; and his statement is the only authority upon which it was made; and which Dr. MILNER, in his history of Winchester, controverts,

saying that the fashion of living in tens of families together had given rise to the belief amongst the Romans that there was a community of wives amongst such families; and, he appeals to the authority of Carte, who, he says, "vindicates them (the Britons) from the infamy of this promiscuous intercourse." The Britons must have been very whimsical, or at least very methodical, in their libertinism, to have reduced it to such very great regularity. But, they were not devoid of all sense in their domestic customs, not destitute of wisdom in their municipal laws, if this living together by tens of families be to be associated with the same principle upon which Alfred founded his minimum political division of *tithings*: in which case, Alfred must be considered here, not as an inventor or founder, but as a restorer of institutions: a thing of the greater merit, as it was three centuries after, not the fall of those institutions, but after the history of that fall had been written: for which see "*De Excidio Britannie*," written by GILDAS (le sage), a Welshman, a work translated into English, 12mo, in 1625. This history is in two parts, one relating to the laity and the other to the clergy, the latter being intitled, "*Castigatio Cleri*"; and, towards both it is in the style of reproof for their profusions, their luxuries, their disorders, and their degeneracy. Thus have we mentioned three of the most correct Latin historians whose facts disprove the theory of the population-mongers; and, besides Carte, Dr. Milner, the old Welsh author just mentioned, there is another Gildas, who wrote two treatises to the same effect; and there are besides, venerable Bede, and a host of ancient authors, all Englishmen. These are the books for people to refute, before they engage in circulating statements of history, completely disproved by these books; and they are books for men, who have the means, to read, before they blindly swallow these statements.

THE RACE THAT WRITE.

No. II.

"The learned are blind."—POPE.

TO WM. COBBETT, M. P.

Dunfermline, 31. May, 1835.

SIR,—Will you have the goodness to convey through your *Register*, the following note to Mr. Chadwick. The matter which I succeed, will, at first sight, appear unsuitable for the *Political Register*; but, on reading it through, you may probably think otherwise.

The working classes present their respectful compliments to Mr. CHADWICK. They have received, through Mr. Blue- lion, or through Lord Write-the-king (the one or the other), Mr. Chadwick's most kind, condescending, and obliging offer, "to write for the instruction of the working classes."

The working classes most respectfully beg leave to decline acceptance of the learned gentleman's services; for,

In the first place, the working classes are, just now, too busy in their several manual endeavours, and in their united political efforts to obtain "*finer food*," and more of it, for themselves and their families, to attend to Mr. Chadwick's instructions; and

Secondly. The working classes, having a high veneration for St. Paul, are determined to take his warning, to follow his advice, and to strictly obey his injunction: "*Beware of wolves, who come to you in sheep's clothing*;" take heed, lest any man should spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit: teach and exhort ONE ANOTHER.

The working classes, however, having great compassion for the ignorance of the idle classes, and especially deploring the blindness of that category called "the learned," to which Mr. Chadwick belongs, offer, in return for the kindness and condescension of this great philosopher, "to write for the instruction of the IDLE CLASSES"; and, particularly, for the enlightenment of the learned portion.

For the instruction, reproof, and correction of the "learned" the subjoined is therefore written, by one of "the vulgar."

THE GRAND SYSTEM OF THE GREAT NEWTON!

The learned are blind. How shall I best show it? I will enter the very *arcana* of science; the "*holy holies*" of philosophers, and dare to be familiar with the high priest; yea, I will reason with the very god, the great jehovah of "the learned world"!

It may truly be said of the "great Newton," as was said of Dante by Voltaire, "his reputation will now be continually growing greater and greater, "because there is now nobody who reads "him"; and, as for the "grand system," the more incomprehensible, mysterious, and non-sensical it be, the better it suits the philosophical cuckoos; whose eternal *duotony* sounds incessantly from "famous Universities" and "ancient seats of learning." "Grand system! Great Newton!"

Newton's friend and amanuensis, one Clover, tells us, that "that great man" was, in the latter period of his life, much annoyed by ignorant objectors; and therefore, "the great man" getting "very angry," as well he might, put forth the following (called) *definition*; which may be found in any of the scientific dictionaries:

"*Attraction* is an indefinite principle, "not implying a particular manner, nor "physical cause of action; but only "a tendency of approaching; whether it "proceed from any external cause, or be "inherent in bodies themselves, exclud- "ing the idea of impulse from its con- "sideration."

On this I observe,

1st. *GENERALLY.* It is an "*indefinite*" *definition*. What, my learned masters, would you say of any one who would so define Aristotle's "grand principle of *sympathy*"; (which is really a better word for expressing the idea which follows) or of any one who could thus define the "nature's abhorrence" of Galileo? "Nature's abhorrence of a vacuum is an

"indefinite principle, not implying a "particular manner, nor physical course "of action; but only a tendency of *filling* "up; whether it proceed from any ex- "ternal cause, or be inherent in *fluids* "themselves, excluding the idea of im- "pulse from its consideration." If any one should give such a definition of this "grand principle" of the "great" Galileo, you would now, I dare say, call him "great" *blockhead*; or, "immortal" *fool*: and so I call your idol; and I do it with the greater good-will, after reading the knowledge-diffusers' memoir of him. Dr. Birkbeck made the "working classes" laugh, by a trite witticism on the "nature's abhorrence." I could make them hold their sides at the "attractile and projectile"; and oh! the "*composite*" forces! They would fall down in convulsions at my expositions.

2nd. *NEGATIVELY.* "*Attraction* is a "*principle, not implying a particular manner, nor physical cause of action*"! So, so. Why, I had thought that it did imply "a particular manner"; or, at all events, "a physical cause" of preventing the centrifugal or projectile forces (*magnetical* forces you might have called them) of the planets from throwing them off, or projecting them into more distant space from the sun; and of retaining them in their orbits, by its "action." But, no. What then, in the name of common sense, *does* it imply? You bring me, great Newton, in mind of Sandy Aitken's grace before a corporation dinner: "O Lord," said the deacon, "we are *sinners*: we're "a' sinners: we're *GREAT* sinners: we're "sinners i' the *ABSTRACT*!" "Sinners "i' the abstract"! exclaimed the clerk, "Where got ye that, Sandy; or what the "devil do you mean by it"? "Damn ye, Shirra," rejoined the learned theologian, "g'ie us nae o' yer *profanity*. Sinners "i' the abstract! Is na that orthodox? "I've *authority* for that, sir; I've the "authority o' the *Rev. Ralph Erskine* "for it!" So the grand principle, "in- "definite," and "not implying a particu- "lar manner nor physical cause of action," is "*attraction i' the abstract*!" is *no*- "thing; nothing but a word: we have the "authority of the great Newton for it! No, stop;

3dly. POSITIVELY. "*Attraction is only a tendency of approaching*"; then, great Newton, and learned doctors all, why do ye not call it the grand principle of tension? But, immortal Newton! have you not told us that the sun "*draws*," by his "attraction" (power to *draw*) the planets towards himself; and that, but for their (chimerical) projectile forces, they would, in times which the learned have calculated, be "*drawn*" into his body, in consequence of his superior *attraction*? Have you not told us that, "the moon *draws up* the waters of the ocean," so as to produce the lunar tides? A *lunatic* notion it is, to be sure, and first conceived by a moon-stricken madman; but still it is your *notion* that the moon *draws* the waters upwards. But let attraction be, as you now (being "very angry," as all philosophers should be when heretics object) say it is, "a tendency of approaching"; and let the (mare's nest) *law* which you have "discovered" of the "tendency of approaching," be, "directly as the matters, and inversely as the distances of bodies;" then, shade of the immortal! the sun, containing a million degrees more matter than the earth, "tends to approach" the earth a million degrees more than the earth "tends to approach the sun." And as you have not discovered a "projectile force" tending to cause the sun to fly away from the earth; god of the "learned world"! how is it that you have been able to keep the great Sol from the little Terra; or, rather from the lesser Mercury, which he, with prodigious intensity has for six thousand years at least, been "tending to approach"? Oh! grand principle! Oh! great Newton! But hear out the great man.

4thly. HYPOTHETICALLY. *A tendency of approaching may proceed from any external cause; or be inherent in bodies themselves, excluding the idea of impulse from its consideration.* Well, in the case of the planets, how can their tendency of approaching the sun proceed from any external cause, seeing, as you have determined, they move in *vacuo*; in space immaterial; in a perfect void, where there is *nothing* external? Oh! I guess it will be a *spiritual* cause. Then,

great man, do set yourself to "discover" it; or confess you know nothing; and that all you have said and written about this matter's jargon and nonsense. You yourself did, indeed, at times acknowledge your imbecility, and the vanity of your speculations; properly disclaiming any pretensions to profundity of thought or depth of research: these were almost the only times in which you spoke sensibly; but the race that write, overlook your sense, and extol your nonsense. The other alternative is, "attraction," or "a tendency of approaching may be inherent in bodies themselves, excluding the idea of impulse from its consideration." *Tension, without impulse, in bodies unorganized and inanimate!* Power occult, magical, monstrous!!! Compared with this, the vagaries of Kepler were sanity: or, at least, there was method in his madness. He made the planets "all alive." I heard, when a boy, with wonder and incredulity, of a power in Major Weir's staff, by which it (to use your slang) "tended to approach" a tobaccoist's with the major's empty mull, and then "gravitated" back to its master's fireside with the snuff; and all this without "impulse," save the *fiat* of the warlock, or the will of the devil; so you see that the "grand principle" has been "discovered" by old women, as well as by yourself, or your predecessors, Hooke and Kepler. Shall I waste more words on the *grand humbug*? No.

The learned are blind: the physical (magical) astronomers are mad.

And now, Mr. Cobbett, reflections crowd on my mind which I must suppress. One observation, only, permit me to make: it is no wonder that we should have stupid legislators and bad laws, when we consider the school *heddekashun*, and college *feelosofication* processes, to which our "statesmen" are in youth subjected. The *natural feelosofy* taught in our "famous universities," is quite of a piece with the *poly-tickle hekkonomy* of the two Houses of Parliament: the one is a fit preparative for the other. Let the blind lead the blind: but, what I most fear is, the adding of the brains and sophistication of the minds of "the working

classes," in Mechanics' Institutions, by this sort of humbug. To prevent this, is the object of my writing.

I am, Sir,
Your un-learned friend,"
THOS. MORRISON, SEN.

NEW POOR-LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

To the Editor of the Kent Herald.

SIR,—Whether the Poor Law Act be in part a fresh invention to send down the wages of labour so as to keep up rents, and in part an experiment of those innovators, those *doctrinaires*, those real revolutionists, who seek to regulate society as they would the complicated machinery of a steam-engine, or whether the effect is to be that over mortgaged estates, and over-rented farmers are to be "saved" by the reducing of seven millions of poor-rates to six or five millions, while fifty millions of general taxation are to remain undiminished, is the question that now agitates the lordly mansion, the farming homestead, and the labourer's cot; from Dover to the Land's end, from the Isle of Wight to Berwick-upon-Tweed. We behold the singular spectacle of an all-powerful press—whether belonging to the Tory faction, the Whig faction, or to a part of the Liberal faction—untiring not to raise the working man above the pauper, but in punishing poverty with strange penalties, without enabling frugal industry to reward itself by its saving from adequately paid labour. Seeing the helpless in danger of being run down, and seeing the tide of opinion set strongly in one direction, perhaps you, Sir, will spare a column of your really independent paper to admit a good word from a friend to the poor, and not an enemy to the rich.

Perhaps no class is less understood, as a body, than the rural population, and nothing perhaps leads to more frequent mistakes than the accustomed habit of forming an opinion from the sample of half a dozen or a dozen of incurable idlers, who in every parish skulk from regular work, and only relish scampish pursuits. From this set, always in sight, always an

object of unpleasant attention—from these black sheep, the whole flock is misjudged. Speak to any man of substance about the poor, or poor cess, and it will generally happen that the conversation begins and ends upon the parochial disorderlies, but a favourable word is rarely bestowed upon the good principled, the sober, the pains-taking, the trustworthy and the well-behaved. These are unvalued and unthought of as a set-off; common sense tells them, however, that they are wronged—that they are not duly appreciated; but having no power to stop the tongue of undistinguishing slander, no apologist, no advocate, they become sullen, or exasperated, and return deepfelt hatred for wholesale contumely; while the high-stomached aristocracy are no more conscious of the sterling worth that abounds in the humblest walks of life than the born-blind is of the beauties that deck vegetation at this season of the year. But there are good reasons to contend that there is to be found proportionably more honesty, proportionably more of independent spirit, proportionably more natural sagacity, and proportionably more of the domestic virtues among the poor than among the rich, the former ceding to the latter in manners, and in a knowledge of conventional forms only. The misdeeds of the parochial disorderlies are descanted upon until echo grows tired; but who dwells upon the noiseless tenor of those who have tilled the same acres for above thirty, forty, and fifty years? Who stoops to record those who have reared large well-disposed families fit to be entrusted with untold gold? Who condescends to notice the poor woman who toils early and late, from week's end to week's end, at the washing-tub to keep an aged parent from passing through the portals of a work-house to a nameless grave? The quieter virtues remain unsung and unhonoured; but they are not upon that account the less valuable in a national point of view.

The aristocracy are certainly not evil-intentioned, but, with exceptions, slowly growing more numerous, they are incredibly ignorant. No class furnishes more curious proofs of how much learning and how much ignorance are often found combined in one and the same personage;

but this ignorance is rather the misfortune than the fault of an aristocracy cradled in egotistical hauteur, reared in exclusivism, and all life long unhabituated to the sound of unwelcome truth from the lips of the dependent classes. An inferior in station bold enough to utter one, is speedily frowned into silence; and upon a repetition of this species of high treason against good breeding, he becomes a marked man, and is hunted down accordingly, unless indeed his spirit of resistance be a match for the powers of multiplied and multiform assailments or underminings. On the other hand, the countenance and affability of the wealthy is reserved for those who tickle the aristocratical ear more or less skilfully, the well being of the poor being less a matter of agreeable consideration to these children of fortune than the mere manner in which indigence pays its court to rank. Here is one of the ever-acting causes of many aristocratical mistakes among those who perhaps mean well. Hence the poor often feel themselves aggrieved—and hence the re-action of a cherished enmity towards the richer sorts of people.

The magistrate, once the constitutional check to flinty-heartedness in the bestowal of parochial relief, now finds himself divested of the powers of interposing grace, and will henceforth be only seen on the bench to punish petty offenders. As a judge, he will never be seen without the black cap on his head. The clergyman, the natural protector of the poor, is often an absentee pluralist, or a rich resident lifted aloof from the commonalty, or an underpaid deputy, unable, however willing, to befriend those on whom pinching want has inflicted hardships in every shape, or equally unable to control the undisciplined minds of the most violent. The fashion of evangelism (for even religion has its fashions) occasionally brings forth a more busy spiritual guardian; but when the parson happens to be an active visitant of the cottage, he is too often swayed by sectarian prejudices, too much biassed by a patronising favouritism, and too often a ready listener to the colouring with which one neighbour sketches another neighbour, who in turn is rarely behindhand in naving off the backbiting

debt in kind, so that spitefulness spreads far and wide; and a parson, afflicted with a prurient appetite for petty details of slurs, perpetuates things which otherwise would be only a nine days' wonder; he lives ill acquainted with the habits of his parishioners, and consequently becomes a most incompetent witness whenever communicating his own unfavourable impressions to the circles he familiarly moves in. His private charities, his distribution of the sacrament money, and other donations which pass officially through his hands, are too apt to be given away with an eye to the augmenting of his congregation at the expense of impartiality. The overlooked are not slow in perceiving that an air of passive obedience is the shortest channel to a civil word or look from the parson, and a share of the good things at his disposal; and, either from his necessities, he becomes a hypocrite, or else a tale-bearer, or he is a stranger to the parson. Thus the spiritual guardian of the poor gradually becomes suspected of unfair preferences, next disliked, and finally contemned.

The farmer, soured on finding his skill, privations and industry, unable to keep him up to his rightful level; seeing his property waste away year after year, without any fault of his own; seeing so many of his brethren around him sinking daily into irretrievable poverty; seeing so many with a shattered remnant of their fortune take wing to distant climes; worried by never-ending difficulties to meet the current expenses of the week; teased by duns; panic-struck by a pile of unpaid tradesmen's bills, and haunted by his various liabilities; grows impatient, touchy, and involuntarily rough, or snappish in the presence of his workpeople, whom he addresses in tones that do not awaken the kindlier feeling of other times.

Thus, on whichever side the rural population is looked at, the labourers are seen under artificial as well as natural disadvantages, tending to embitter the feelings and lessen the deference hitherto willingly paid to presumed superiority. It behoves then the more fortunate classes to speak of the stigmatized poor with a tenderness that is not common; with allowances for human infirmity under aggravating wants;

with discriminating qualification that confounds not the bad with the good. It behoves literary talent to seek a more fitting subject for the playful exercise of its sarcastic pen, more worthy of its courage than the unfortunate and oppressed. Society is all a-jar from adventitious causes, and from the results of fiscal enactments; and it remains to be seen whether the Poor-Law Act will harmonize or further disjoint the community. Hitherto the question has been argued as if there was only one party to the contract. The rate-payers alone consult and are consulted. The pauper is to be put below the labourer, not the labourer below the pauper; but it would not be unbecoming the Commissioners to hear what the pauper himself has to say on the abrogation of his legal right, older by hundreds and hundreds of years than the title to lands or tithes, and to set the pauper right if he labour under any misconceptions as to the probable effect of the New Law on the prescriptive claims of the many.

That the benevolent law of 43rd of Elizabeth had its abuses, engendered by time, no one denies; but if great national changes are to be wrought, why not begin improvements at the right end? Why terrify the unemployed or half employed millions by the prospect of real or imaginary inflictions? Why not first apply the battering-ram of reform against the "time honoured" abuses of Church and State? Why only *debate* about bringing the rich and powerful to book? Why, in short, strike at the feeble in away that promises to make the remedy worse than the disease?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RUSTICUS.

East Kent, May 11, 1835.

NEW POOR LAW.—A communication having been made a few days since to the overseers of the poor of Portsmouth, from the overseers of Portsea, that they had received an invitation from Colonel A'Court, one of the assistant Poor-law commissioners, that it would be desirable to unite the two parishes, and requesting a day to be fixed on which a consultation

might be had on the subject; the Portsmouth overseers, very properly, before giving a reply, called a meeting of the rate payers, which was held this afternoon, at the Old Town-hall, when Mr. Henry Deacon, being called to the chair, the meeting determined that such a junction would not be desirable, in the following resolution—"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the union of the parishes of Portsmouth and Portsea is imprudent and uncalled for, and that the best interests of the parishioners, and the health, comfort, and happiness of the poor, would be materially injured by carrying such a measure into effect; and that the parish officers be instructed to communicate the substance of this resolution to the parish officers of Portsea."—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

Friday, June 12.

On the motion of Lord Howick, the sum of 7,648*l.* was granted for the pay of certain general officers.

On the motion of Mr. Baring, and after a short conversation, in which Lord Granville Somerset, Mr. Baring, Mr. Robinson, Major Beauchamp, and Mr. Potter participated, the sum of 41,200*l.* was granted for the repairs of public buildings.

Mr. BARING moved that the sum of 19,750*l.* be granted for the improvement of the harbour of Kingstown, in Ireland.

Mr. PRYME objected to a grant on such grounds. Why should a local purpose be paid for out of the general funds? In England, where an undertaking of that nature was beneficial, capitalists were always ready to undertake it. If not beneficial, it ought not to be undertaken at all.

Mr. RUTHVEN supported the grant. He would not grudge 300,000*l.*, if it were required, to keep up the communication between Ireland and this country.

Mr. FINN adverted to sums of 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.*, extracted from the royal domains in Ireland, and applied to local purposes in England. When it was

known that 5,000,000*l.* out of 12,000,000*l.* of Irish revenue were spent in this country, he thought that such a sum as that now proposed ought not to be grudged.

Mr. PRYME repeated his objections to the grant.

Lord SANDON could not have agreed to the grant if it had been strictly local; but considering that it was for the improvement of one of the great means of communication between Great Britain and Ireland, it should meet with his support.

Mr. CHAPMAN supported the motion, which, after a few words from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was agreed to.

Grants of 11,875*l.* for Portpatrick harbour; of 5,478*l.* for Holyhead and Howth roads; of 16,000*l.* for the new buildings at the British Museum; and of 12,000*l.* for the National Gallery was then agreed to.

Mr. BARING moved a grant of 7,665*l.* to defray the charge of finishing the interior of Whitehall Chapel.

Mr. WARBURTON said that it would be an exceeding ill taste to persevere in using as a chapel a building which Inigo Jones had designed for a banqueting-hall, and which Verrio's paintings could not fail to remind the visitors was not intended for a place of worship. If the building was to be restored to the condition in which it was in the time of Charles I., he should not object to the grant; but he should oppose it, if it were intended again to fit up the place as a chapel.

Mr. EWART agreed, that the associations connected with the place, and converting it into a chapel, were incongruous, and suggested that it should be turned into a public library, a concert-room, or picture-gallery, or any other useful public purpose.

Mr. BARING said that the estimate was framed for the purpose of fitting up the interior as a chapel; what would be the expense or utility of fitting it up as a banqueting-hall he did not know. (Hear).

Lord GRANVILLE SOMERSET said that it had been used as a chapel from the time of the burning down of the original Whitehall chapel in the reign of William III., and its having lately been shut up,

had been a great inconvenience to the respectable inhabitants of the vicinity.

Major BEAUCLEERK said he would object to the grant, if the chapel was not made accessible to the poor of the vicinity. (Hear). He would suggest that half of this chapel, which was to be fitted up from the public funds, should be devoted to free seats for the use of the poor. (Cheers).

Mr. BARING agreed in the principle of the honourable and gallant member's suggestion, but could not, without more consideration, agree to the amount of space he had named; but if he would leave the matter in his hands, he pledged himself that a proper proportion of free seats should be reserved.

Major BEAUCLEERK had no objection to leave the matter in the right honourable gentleman's hands.

Mr. WARBURTON said he should divide the committee against the grant, since it was to be applied to making the building a chapel.

After some observations from Mr. G. F. Young, Mr. Ewart, Mr. A. Trevor, Lord Sandon, Mr. Serjeant Jackson, Mr. Ruthven, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Wakley, the committee divided, when the numbers were,

For the resolution 116

Against it 24

Majority —92

It was then proposed that the sum of 44,000*l.* should be granted to his Majesty, to defray the charge for providing temporary accommodation for the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. H. B. CURTIS considered 44,000*l.* for building this and the other miserable House of Parliament most enormous, and he strongly protested against it.

Mr. F. BARING said that the actual estimate for the buildings was only 30,000*l.*; the remainder being for furniture and other necessary articles. The very short time allowed for restoring the buildings unavoidably increased the expense; and under all the circumstances he thought the country had no reason to quarrel with the charge.

Mr. H. B. CURTIS considered the charge for furniture to be most scanda-

lously extravagant. The country was called upon to pay upwards of 10,000*l.* for nothing but a parcel of deal tables and a few rusty old chairs. (Laughter.) He would undertake to prove that the whole of the furniture never cost so much as 2 000*l.*

Mr. FRENCH thought if the charges were extravagant the present Government at least could not be blamed for it.

Mr. F. BARING assured the hon. member (Mr. Curteis) that if he would call for the accounts he would see that he was in error as to the supposed extravagant nature of the charges.

Mr. TULK regarded the charges as much too high. A splendid and magnificent building had been recently erected in Birmingham, capable of affording every possible accommodation at an expense not exceeding 22,000*l.*

Dr. BOWRING complained of the want of accommodation to the committees that were now sitting.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER admitted the inconvenience spoken of by the hon. member; but, under all the circumstances, he thought no fault could attach to the Government, whether the present or any other, either on that account or on account of the expenses.

Mr. G. F. YOUNG wished to be informed whether the Government had taken any steps with respect to the erection of a new House of Commons. The report of the committee had been made upwards of a fortnight; and he thought that no time should be lost in acting upon it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER begged to remind the hon. Gentleman, that notice had already been given of a motion for an address to the Crown on that subject.

The resolution was then agreed to.

The following sums were then voted:

6,129*l.* for additional works at the new Post office station at Hobbs's Point.

50,700*l.* for salaries, &c. of the officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons.

22,400*l.* to defray the expenses of the two Houses.

36,500*l.* to make good the deficiency of the Fee Fund in the department of his Majesty's Treasury.

10,122*l.* for ditto, in the Home Department.

13,487*l.* 16*s.* for ditto, in the Foreign Department.

12,432*l.* for ditto, in the Colonial Department.

18,642*l.* for ditto, in the Privy Council Department and Committee of Privy Council for Trade.

6,000*l.* for contingencies, and messengers in the Treasury Department.

5,414*l.* for ditto, in the Home Department.

31,500*l.* for ditto, in the Foreign Department.

5,200*l.* for ditto, in the Colonial Department.

4,150*l.* for ditto, in the Privy Council Department.

22,092*l.* for salaries and contingent expenses in the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer's and the Paymaster of the Civil Services' Departments.

3,700*l.* for messengers attending the First Lord of the Treasury.

On the question that 2,006*l.* be granted to the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, towards defraying the salaries of certain Professors in these Universities.

Mr. TOOKER objected to the motion, in consequence of the Dissenters being excluded from the Universities, and also the withholding a charter from the London University.

After a long conversation, in which Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Parrott, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other Members took part.

The House divided, when there appeared for the motion—

Ayes 86

Noes 3

Majority —83

The House then resumed. The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past one.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill to provide for the Regulation

of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales.

Mr. PRAED gave notice that he should move in the committee to insert a clause for the protection of the rights of resident freemen.

Sir R. INGLIS, feeling this to be a measure of great importance to the corporations of England, could not abstain from making a few observations. He should contend that the provisions of the bill were at variance with the law which had long applied to corporations. It was not in the power of the House without an extraordinary exercise of its functions to destroy the chartered rights of corporations. In case of delinquency they might punish the delinquents; but they had no right to destroy a corporation. This was an objection which he intended to take *in limine*.

An HON. MEMBER wished to ask whether the recorders appointed under the provisions of the bill were all to be barristers who had never acted in that capacity before?

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, in answer to the question, that barristers of five years' standing would be appointed; but those recorders who were found useful under the present system would be re-appointed.

Lord SANDON did not concur in the objection made by the hon. Baronet, the Member for the University of Oxford. He concurred in the general object of the bill, but, at the same time, he thought the House should act with the greatest caution in dealing with trustees appointed to protect corporation property. He had some doubt whether the clauses of the bill were sufficient for that purpose. In one corporation (Liverpool) funds to the amount of 100,000*l.* a year were vested in the corporators, for the improvement of the town, and opening communications advantageous to the public. He doubted whether funds of that amount could be properly applied by a council rapidly formed. The corporation of Liverpool had the control of property at least worth 200,000*l.* a year, and if the council of the corporation were to be elected every three years, that important trust would be conveyed to hands which could

not execute it. He should support the motion of which an honourable member had given notice, for preserving the rights of existing freemen.

Lord STANLEY was willing that the second reading of this bill should take place without discussion, but he could not let it pass that stage without offering a few remarks. He did not join in the objection the House had heard from the honourable baronet; but, on the contrary, he should say, it was the duty of Parliament to make such modifications in the laws as would meet the spirit of the times. His opinion was that important reforms in the corporations was necessary (hear), and he was glad to support the great principle of reform in corporations. (Hear.) He meant the principle which took from some great corporations the control of corporation funds, and fixed the administration of the same in the inhabitants of the boroughs. He could not avoid conceding the prominent part of this bill, namely, the franchises. (Hear.) His own impression was that 10*l.* householders of three years' standing were entitled to vote. He thought the ratepayers at large ought to have the right of interference in the affairs of corporations. One of the great objections to the present state of corporations was that the spirit of party was injurious to the public interest. This being the effect of the measures of a self-constituted body, he was anxious that it should be abolished, and that the election of corporation officers should no longer be a proof of the strength of party. (Hear, hear). At the same time, he thought the right of voting at elections should be founded on a residence of three years. That term he held to be necessary to establish a proper interest in a borough. There was one thing they must all admit, namely, that ten-pound householders were the least respectable in boroughs, because they belonged to a class of persons who were always moving about. By a residence of three years they would establish their respectability and fitness for the privilege they had to exercise. He could not avoid saying that he thought the provisions of the bill would hardly secure open voting. He did hope that the proceedings in the

committee would improve the efficiency of the bill, and make it as perfect as possible. It was necessary that control should be given to the inhabitants of the towns over trustees, but care should be taken not to restrain the council of a corporation in the fair control over their affairs. It appeared to the noble Lord that the election of council should be every six years instead of three, and in case of half the council going out, the election should be biennial. There was another part of the bill which he wished his noble Friend to consider, namely, the division of boroughs into wards. There were not more than twenty towns subject according to the bill to be thus divided. All the towns with a population of 25,000 inhabitants were to be left out. He thought the division into wards should be general. The elections, by that arrangement, would be facilitated. If a member of the council died belonging to any particular ward, an election might take place in that ward without a general election in the borough. In the objection he had stated, he assured the House he had no other object than to accomplish that which he considered necessary in the formation of a measure which he rejoiced to see introduced. The noble Lord expressed a hope that it would be made beneficial to corporations generally.

Mr. EWART supported the bill. At a recent meeting in Liverpool the provisions of the measure had met with the confidence of all the persons present.

Mr. GROVE said he should be sorry to let the second reading pass, without expressing the high sense that he entertained of the excellent principle of the bill. It was also satisfactory to see the sense entertained of it by the House; that all concurred that the principle of self-election should exist no longer. He could not look at the blue books of evidence on this subject without feeling a sense of shame that such things had existed so long. The noble Lord near him (Stanley) had offered various recommendations, but he trusted that they would not be adopted. (Hear). If the qualification by paying rates were reduced, as to time, it would be an improvement.

(Hear). He regretted that secret voting had not formed an ingredient of the bill, and that there was no provision for the removal of a recorder, should such removal be desired by a certain majority of the council or of the inhabitants. (Hear). The bill would work a great improvement in towns; but it would be a fatal blow indeed to the bill if the recommendation of the hon. Member for Yarmouth (Mr. Praed) were adopted, that of preserving the present race of freemen. (Hear, hear). He hoped that such would not be the case.

Mr. WALLACE (Greenock) trusted that none of the suggestions of the noble lord (Stanley) would be adopted. From what he had seen of corporations in Scotland, he knew that those suggestions ought not to be adopted. If adopted, they would seriously injure—they would most decidedly damage the bill.

Mr. BLACKBURNE was glad to see this bill introduced, as he had for years seen the necessity of removing the system of self-election.

Sir R. PERL said, he rose for the purpose of giving his assent, his willing assent, to the motion now before them: he should vote for the second reading. The great party with which he was connected were as much interested in good municipal government as any body could be; and when the good of the country was concerned, he trusted that all would rise superior to party, and promote the object of good municipal government. He admitted the necessity of corporation reform. What existed at present was any thing but what ought to exist. Some great towns were absolutely free in their local governments from all restraints. The fact was seen in the local governments; the police being nothing; and then there was the necessity of calling in the military, which, whenever it was done, he considered to be a great disgrace. (Hear). He thought that anything that would promote good local government, and maintain public peace, would have his approbation.

Mr. BROTHERTON expressed his approbation of the principle of the bill. He concurred so cordially in all the provisions of the bill, that he did not see how

it could not be improved in committee. (Hear).

Mr. Jervis said, the bill was in perfect accordance with the principle on which corporations were founded; by which all the inhabitants of corporate towns were to have a voice in its government. He thought one year's residence should be sufficient to entitle persons to vote. According to all the old charters, the mayors, aldermen, and all other officers were elected annually; and in none of those early charters was a property qualification required from the governing body, nor could it be necessary, as they would be elected annually. He thought the division of the larger corporations into wards would be very agreeable to the inhabitants, and would also tend to good government.

Lord J. Russell was extremely happy to find that there was such a general approval of the principle of the bill; and hoped there would be an equal agreement in its details. (Hear, hear). His noble friend, and the right hon. baronet, he was happy to find, both agreed in the principle of the bill. What they had said on the franchise confirmed him in the opinion that the best franchise had been chosen, not from a principle of abstract right, but from a principle of general utility. He thought he could not agree to diminish the time of residence necessary for the exercise of the franchise, as there were so many more changes of residence now than in former times; that he thought three years' residence was not too long to require. He did not think it would be in his power to consent to having the elections less frequent, or to raise the household qualification for office; but if the right hon. gentleman should propose any qualification he should give it his best attention; and he thought it might be right to have some additional guard over the conduct of the mayor; which he was not then prepared to state, but might in the committee. (Hear, hear). With respect to the division of towns into wards, he thought that in large towns it would be beneficial, but in small towns the persons elected by wards might not be approved of by the general body of ratepayers. He should propose that the bill

should be committed on Monday next, and taken into consideration from day to day, till the whole of its provisions were disposed of. (Hear, hear).

The Bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

[The following is an official abstract of the Municipal Corporation Bill.]

HEADS OF A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE REGULATION OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE bill is entitled, "*A Bill to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales.*" It recites that divers bodies corporate at sundry times have been constituted within the cities, towns, and boroughs of England and Wales, to the intent that the same might for ever be and remain well and quietly governed; but that, partly by defects in the charters by which the said bodies corporate have been constituted, partly by neglect and abuse of the privileges by such charters granted and confirmed to the inhabitants of the said cities, towns, and boroughs, and partly by change of circumstances since the said charters were granted, the bodies corporate, for the most part, *have not of long time been and are not now useful and efficient instruments of local government*; and first it enacts the repeal of all acts, charters, and customs inconsistent with the bill.

The bill commences with the usual interpretation clause, defining the construction of certain terms. It then provides as follows:—

1. That after the first election of councillors the body corporate shall take and bear the name of "*the mayor and burgesses of*" (*city and borough*), and be constituted a corporation.

2. That the boundaries of certain cities and boroughs, in certain sections of schedules (A.) and (B.) of the bill shall be the boundaries settled by the Parliamentary Boundary Act, 2 and 3 William IV. c. 64, and that the boundaries of certain other sections in the said

schedules shall be settled by the king in council, determined by a commission.

3. That the municipal constituency shall be occupiers of houses, warehouses, counting-houses, or shops, rated for three years to the relief of the poor of the borough, and who have paid, at rates due for six months before the revision, and who shall be entitled to be burgesses excluding all who, within twelve months of registration, shall have received parochial relief or other alms, or any personal or charitable allowance from any fund entrusted to the charitable trustees of such borough thereafter mentioned; and that all occupiers whose landlords are rated or rateable to the poor may claim to be rated, as in the English Reform Bill; and any person coming to inhabit after the rate for the current year is made, may claim to be put upon it.

4. The burgesses who cease to be occupiers within the borough, or neglect to pay their rates, shall be omitted from the burgess-roll; but within two years may be restored at the next revision of the burgess-roll; and that after the passing of the Act no person shall be elected, admitted, or enrolled a citizen, freeman, liveryman, or burgess, or by any name, a member of any body corporate, in respect of any right or title other than that of being a settled rate-payer within such borough, according to the meaning and provisions of the bill.

5. That burgesses shall not have individual benefit from common land and public stock, &c., who were not entitled thereto before the passing of the Act.

6. That all exclusive rights of trading shall be abolished.

7. That overseers make out alphabetical lists of persons entitled to vote by certain forms; that persons omitted in the lists may give notice of claim; and lists of claimants and persons objected to, to be published; power to the mayor to revise the lists, and, upon due proof, to insert and expunge names, with certain powers to rectify mistakes in the lists; publication of the lists provided for as in the Reform Bill, and all expenses of registration and lists to be defrayed out of the borough fund.

8. That a MAYOR and TOWN

COUNCIL be chosen in every borough; the mayor to be elected by the council; the councillors to be chosen by the burgesses on the twenty fifth day of October next; one-third of the council to go out of office annually; any ex-councillor to be capable of re-election.

9. The larger class of towns (those with a population of 25,000) to be divided into wards; the mode of voting to be by ticket or voting paper, containing the Christian names and surnames of the persons for whom each burgess votes, with their respective places of abode and description, signed by the burgess; all elections to be concluded in one day, and polling-booths in the discretion of the mayor; no inquiry of the voter, except as to his identity, and whether he has voted before at the same election; the register to be final.

10. All existing mayors, and aldermen, and councils, to go out of office, on election of new councils under the Act.

11. Mayor to be annually elected by the council.

12. No qualification for mayor, council, or other municipal officers, other than that of burgess; fines for refusal of office; any public officer becoming bankrupt, or declared insolvent, to vacate office.

13. The mayor to be a justice of the peace for the borough and for the county, and act as a returning-officer at elections of members to serve in Parliament during the term of his said mayoralty.

14. Power to the town council to appoint town-clerk, treasurer, and other officers; to take security for due discharge of their official duties, and to determine salaries.

15. Treasurers to pay no money but by order in writing of a quorum of the town council, countersigned by town-clerk, with summary powers against officers for not accounting.

16. Town councils of cities and towns which are counties to name a sheriff; and in certain boroughs to appoint a coroner.

17. Town clerks and officers removed under the provisions of the Act, to receive compensation, if they can agree to the same with the town councils; in case of

non-agreement, the Lords of the Treasury to determine amount.

18. Town councils to nominate sub-committees.

19. All licenses of publicans and victuallers to be granted by town councils.

20. Town councils to appoint charitable trustees to administer all charitable funds vested in municipal corporations; such trustees to appoint a secretary and treasurer.

21. Town councils to be trustees of all acts of which corporators are *ex-officio* trustees.

22. A police committee to consist of mayor and councilmen; such committee to appoint constables for the borough; constables to be for the county as well as borough; powers of constables defined.

23. Borough magistrates to appoint annually a certain number of persons to act as special constables in case of need, to be called out on warrant of magistrates when they shall deem ordinary police insufficient.

24. Limited powers of rate for municipal purposes; all corporate property and all fines to be received on account of borough fund.

25. Power of by-laws vested in the town council.

26. Burgesses annually to choose two auditors (not to be members of council, nor to be town-clerk, treasurer, or charitable trustee), and mayor to choose a third; the three, half-yearly, to examine and audit borough accounts; all accounts to be annually published.

27. Town council of certain boroughs to nominate persons for a commission of justices of the peace, such commission to be confirmed by the crown; and any town council petitioning for *stipendiary* magistrates, the crown to appoint such.

28. Recorders (barristers-at-law of five years' standing) to be appointed by the crown in certain boroughs. If town town councils petition for quarter sessions; with powers to such recorders to act for more than one borough. Recorder not to be councillor or police magistrate; recorder to be sole judge; in his absence, the mayor, &c.

29. All capital jurisdiction abolished,

and criminal jurisdiction limited to that of quarter sessions.

30. County justices of the peace to have jurisdiction in all boroughs which have not a separate court of sessions of the peace under the Act, with provisions as to county rates, and apportionment of the expenses of prosecutions at the assizes and county quarter sessions.

31. Civil jurisdiction extended in some boroughs, and generally regulated.

32. Burgesses to be jurors.

33. Fees regulated, and tables to be published

POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, OF THE PRESENT DAY, AS COMPARED WITH THAT WHICH EXISTED FORMERLY.

(From *Cobbett's Protestant Reformation.*)

456. POVERTY, however, is, after all, the great badge, the never-failing badge of slavery. Bare bones and rags are the true marks of the real slave. What is the object of Government? To cause men to live *happily*. They cannot be happy without a sufficiency of food and of raiment. Good government means a state of things in which the main body are well fed and well clothed. It is the chief business of a government to take care, that one part of the people do not cause the other part to lead miserable lives. There can be no morality, no virtue, no sincerity, no honesty, amongst a people continually suffering from want; and, it is cruel, in the last degree, to punish such people for almost any sort of crime, which is, in fact, not crime of the heart, not crime of the perpetrator, but the crime of his all-controlling necessities.

457. To what degree the main body of the people, in England, are now poor and miserable; how deplorably wretched they now are; this we know but too well; and now, we will see what what was their state before this vaunted "REFORMATION." I shall be very particular to cite my *authorities* here. I will *infer* nothing; I will give no "*estimate*"; but, refer to authorities, such

as no man can call in question, such as no man can deny to be proofs *more* complete than if founded on oaths of credible witnesses, taken before a judge and jury. I shall begin with the account which *FORTESCUE* gives of the state and manner of living of the English, in the reign of *HENRY VI.*; that is, in the 15th century, when the Catholic Church was in the height of its glory. *FORTESCUE* was Lord Chief Justice of England for nearly twenty years; he was appointed Lord High Chancellor by *HENRY VI.* Being in exile, in France, in consequence of the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and the King's son, Prince Edward, being also in exile with him, the Chancellor wrote a series of Letters, addressed to the Prince, to explain to him the nature and effects of the Laws of England, and to induce him to study them and uphold them. This work, which was written in Latin, is called *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; or, PRAISE OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND. This book was, many years ago, translated into English, and it is a book of Law-Authority, quoted frequently in our courts at this day. No man can doubt the truth of facts, related in such a work. It was a work written by a famous lawyer for a Prince; it was intended to be read by other cotemporary lawyers, and also by all lawyers in future. The passage that I am about to quote, relating to the state of the English, was *purely incidental*; it was not intended to answer any temporary purpose. It must have been a true account.

458. The Chancellor, after speaking generally of the nature of the laws of England, and of the difference between them and the laws of France, proceeds to show the difference in their effects, by a description of the state of the French people, and then by a description of the state of the English. His words, words that, as I transcribe them, make my cheeks burn with shame, are as follows: "Besides all this, the inhabitants of France give every year to their King the fourth part of all their wines, the growth of that year, every vintner gives the fourth penny

of what he makes of his wine by sale. And all the towns and boroughs pay to the King yearly great sums of money, which are assessed upon them, for the expenses of his men at arms. So that the King's troops, which are always considerable, are subsisted and paid yearly by those common people, who live in the villages, boroughs and cities. Another grievance is, every village constantly finds and maintains two cross-bow-men, at the least; some find more, well arrayed in all their accoutrements, to serve the King in his wars, as often as he pleaseth to call them out, which is frequently done. Without any consideration had of these things, other very heavy taxes are assessed yearly upon every village within the kingdom, for the King's service; *neither is there ever any intermission or abatement of taxes.* Exposed to these and other calamities, the peasants live in great hardship and misery. Their constant drink is water, neither do they taste, throughout the year, any other liquor, unless upon some extraordinary times, or festival days. Their clothing consists of frocks, or little short jerkins, made of canvass, no better than common sackcloth; they do not wear any woolsens, except of the coarsest sort; and that only in the garment under their frocks; nor do they wear any trowse, but from the knees upwards; their legs being exposed and naked. The women go barefoot, except on holidays. They do not eat flesh, except it be the fat of bacon, and that in very small quantities, with which they make a soup. Of other sorts, either boiled or roasted, they do not so much as taste, unless it be of the inwards and offals of sheep and bullocks, and the like, which are killed for the use of the better sort of people, and the merchants; for whom also quails, partridges, hares, and the like, are reserved, upon pain of the gallies; as for their poultry, the soldiers consume them, so that scarce the eggs, slight as they are, are indulged them, by way of a dainty. And if it happen that a man is observed to thrive in the world, and become rich, he is presently assessed to the King's tax,

"proportionably more than his poorer neighbours, *whereby he is soon reduced to a level with the rest.*" Then comes his description of the ENGLISH, at that same time; those "priest-ridden" English, whom CHALMERS and HUME, and the rest of that tribe, would fain have us believe, were a mere band of wretched beggars.—"The King of England cannot alter the laws, or make new ones, without the express consent of the *whole kingdom in Parliament assembled.* Every inhabitant is at his liberty fully to use and enjoy whatever his farm produceth, the fruits of the earth, the increase of his flock, and the like; all the improvements he makes, whether by his own proper industry or of those he retains in his service, are his own, to use and to enjoy, without the let, interruption or denial of any. If he be in any wise injured, or oppressed, he shall have his amends and satisfactions against the party offending. Hence it is that the inhabitants are *rich in gold, silver,* and in all the necessities and conveniences of life. *They drink no water,* unless at certain times, upon a religious score, and by way of doing penance. *They are fed, in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish, of which they have plenty every where; they are clothed throughout in good woollens;* their bedding and other furniture in their houses are of wool, and that *in great store.* They are also well provided with all other sorts of household goods and necessary implements for husbandry. Every one, according to his rank, hath all things which conduce to *make life easy and happy.*"

459. Go, and read this to the poor souls, who are now eating sea weed in Ireland; who are detected in robbing the pig-troughs in Yorkshire; who are eating horse-flesh and grains (draff) in Lancashire and Cheshire; who are harnessed like horses and drawing gravel in Hampshire and Sussex; who have 3d. a day allowed them by the Magistrates in Norfolk; who are, all over England, worse fed than the *felons* in the jails. Go and tell them, when they raise their hands from the pig-trough, or from the grains-

tub, and, with their dirty tongues, cry "*No Popery*"; go, read to the degraded and deluded wretches, this account of the state of their *Catholic* forefathers, who lived under what is impudently called "*popish superstition and tyranny,*" and in those times, which we have the audacity to call "*the dark ages.*"

460. Look at the *then* picture of the French; and Protestant Englishmen, if you have the capacity of blushing *left*, blush at the thought of how precisely that picture fits the English *now*! Look at *all the parts* of the picture; the *food*, the *raiment*, the *game*! Good God! If any one had told the old Chancellor, that the day would come when this picture, and even a picture more degrading to human nature, would fit his own boasted country, what would he have said? What would he have said, if he had been told, that the time was to come, when the soldier, in England, would have more than twice, nay, more than thrice, the sum allowed to the day-labouring man; when potatoes would be carried to the field as the only food of the ploughman; when soup-shops would be open to feed the English; and when the judges, sitting on that very bench on which he himself had sitten for twenty years, would (as in the case last year of the complaint against magistrates at NORTHALLEETON) declare that *BREAD AND WATER* were the general food of working people in England? What would he have said? Why, if he had been told that there was to be a "*REFORMATION,*" accompanied by a total devastation of Church and poor property, upheld by wars, creating an enormous debt and enormous taxes, and requiring a constantly standing army; if he had been told this, he would have foreseen our present state, and would have wept for his country; but, if he had, in addition, been told, that, even in the midst of all this suffering, we should have the ingratitude and the baseness to cry "*No Popery,*" and the injustice and the cruelty to persecute those Englishmen and Irishmen who adhered to the faith of their pious, moral, brave, free and happy fathers, he would have said, "*God's will be done: let them suffer.*"

461. But, it may be said, that it was

not then the *Catholic Church*, but the *laws*, that made the English so happy; for the French had that Church as well as the English. Aye! But in England the Church was the *very basis of the laws*. The very first clause of *MAGNA CHARTA* provided for the stability of its property and rights. *A provision for the indigent*, an effectual provision, was made *by the laws* that related to the Church and its property; and this was not the case in France: and never was the case in any country but this, so that the English people lost more by a "Reformation" than any other people could have lost.

462. Fortescue's authority would, of itself, be enough; but I am not to stop with it. *WHITE*, the late rector of *SALBOURNE*, in Hampshire, gives, in his history of that once-famous village, an extract from a record, stating, that, for disorderly conduct, men were *punished*, by being "compelled to *fast* a fortnight on *bread and beer*!" This was about the year 1380, in the reign of *RICHARD II.* Oh! miserable "*dark ages*"! This fact *must be true*. *WHITE* had no purpose to answer. His mention of the fact, or, rather, his transcript from the record, is purely *incidental*; and trifling as the fact is, it is conclusive as to the general mode of living in those happy days. Go, tell the harnessed gravel drawers in Hampshire, to cry "*No Popery*"; for, that, if the Pope be not put down, he may, in time, compel them to *fast* on *bread and beer*, instead of suffering them to continue to regale themselves on nice potatoes and pure water.

463. But, let us come to *Acts of Parliament*, and, first, to the Act above quoted, in paragraph 453, which see. That Act fixes the *price of meat*. After naming the four sorts of meat, *beef, pork, mutton, and veal*, the preamble has these words: "These being *THE FOOD OF THE POORER SORT*." This is conclusive. It is an *incidental* mention of a fact. It is in an Act of Parliament. *It must have been true*; and, it is a fact that we know well, that even the judges have declared from the bench, that *bread alone* is *now the food of the poorer sort*. What do we want!

more than this to convince us, that the main body of the people have been *impoverished* by the "Reformation"?

464. But, I will *prove*, by other Acts of Parliament, this Act of Parliament to have spoken the truth. These acts declare what the *wages* of workmen shall be. There are several such acts, but one or two may suffice. The Act of 23rd of *EDWARD III.* fixes the wages, without food, as follows. There are many other things mentioned, but the following will be enough for our purpose:

| | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|
| A woman hay-making, or weeding corn, for the day..... | 0 | 1 |
| A man filling dung-cart..... | 0 | 3½ |
| A reaper..... | 0 | 4 |
| Mowing an acre of grass..... | 0 | 6 |
| Threshing a quarter of wheat..... | 0 | 4 |

The price of *shoes, cloth*, and of *provisions*, throughout the time that this law continued in force, was as follows:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|---|----|----|
| A pair of shoes..... | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Russet broad cloth, the yard.... | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| A stall-fed ox..... | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| A grass-fed ox..... | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| A fat sheep unshorn..... | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| A fat sheep shorn..... | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| A fat hog, two years old..... | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| A fat goose..... | 0 | 0 | 2½ |
| Ale, the gallon, by Proclamation.. | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Wheat, the quarter..... | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| White wine, the gallon..... | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Red wine..... | 0 | 0 | 4 |

These prices are taken from the *PRECIOUSUM* of *BISHOP FLEETWOOD*, who took them from the accounts kept by the bursars of convents. All the world knows, that *FLEETWOOD*'s book is of undoubted authority.

465. We may, then, easily believe, that "beef, pork, mutton and veal," were "the food of the *poorer sort*," when a *dung-cart filler* had more than the price of a *fat goose* and a *half* for a *day's work*, and when a woman was allowed, for a *day's weeding*, the price of a *quart of red wine*! Two yards of the cloth made a coat for the *shepherd*; and, as it costs 2s. 2d., the reaper would earn it in *6½ days*; and, the *dung-cart man* would earn very nearly a *pair of shoes every day*! This *dung cart filler* would earn a *fat shorn sheep* in four days; he would earn a *fat hog*, two

years old, in twelve days; he would earn a *grass-fed* ox in twenty days; so that we may easily believe, that "beef, pork, and mutton," were "the food of the poorer sort." And, mind, this was "a priest-ridden people"; a people buried in *Popish superstition*! In our days of "Protestant light" and of "mental enjoyment," the "poorer sort" are allowed by the Magistrates of Norfolk, 3d, a day for a single man able to work. That is to say, a halfpenny less than the Catholic dung-cart man had; and that 3d. will get the "No Popery" gentlemen about six ounces of old ewe-mutton, while the Popish dung-cart man got, for his day, rather more than the quarter of a fat sheep.

466. But, the popish people might work harder than "enlightened Protestants." They might do more work in a day. This is contrary to all the assertions of the *feelosofers*; for they insist, that the Catholic religion made people idle. But, to set this matter at rest, let us look at the price of the *job-labour*; at the *mowing* by the acre and at the *thrashing* of wheat by the *quarter*; and let us see how these *wages* are now, compared with the price of food. I have no *parliamentary* authority since the year 1821, when a report was printed by order of the House of Commons, containing the evidence of Mr. ELLMAN, of Sussex, as to wages, and of Mr. GEORGE, of Norfolk, as to the price of wheat. The report was dated 18. June, 1821. The accounts are for 20 years, on an average, from 1800 inclusive. We will now proceed to see how the "popish, priest-ridden" Englishman stands in comparison with the "No Popery" Englishman.

| | POPISH MAN. | | NO-POPERY MAN. | |
|------------------------------|-------------|----|----------------|----|
| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
| Mowing an acre of grass | 0 | 6 | 3 | 7½ |
| Thrashing a quarter of wheat | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 |

Here are "waust improvements, Mau'm!" But, now let us look at the relative price of the *wheat*, which the labourer had to purchase with his wages. We have seen, that the "popish superstition slave" had to give *fivepence* a bushel for his wheat, and the evidence of Mr. GEORGE states, that the "enlightened

Protestant" had to give 10 *shillings* a bushel for his wheat; that is 24 times as much as the "popish fool," who suffered himself to be "priest-ridden." So that the "enlightened" man, in order to make him as well off as the "dark ages" man was, ought to receive *twelve shillings* instead of 3s. 7½d for mowing an acre of grass; and he, in like manner, ought to receive, for thrashing a quarter of wheat, *eight shillings*, instead of the *four shillings*, which he does receive. If we had the records, we should, doubtless, find, that IRELAND was in the same state.

467. There! That settles the matter; and, if the Bible Society and the "Education" and the "Christian-knowledge" gentry would, as they might, cause this little book to be put into the hands of all their millions of pupils, it would, as far as relates to this kingdom, settle the question of *religion* for ever and ever! I have now proved, that FORTESCUE's description of the happy life of our Catholic ancestors was correct. There wanted no proof; but I have given it. I could refer to divers other Acts of Parliament, passed during several centuries, all confirming the truth of FORTESCUE's account. And there are, in Bishop FLEETWOOD's book, many things that prove that the labouring people were most kindly treated by their superiors, and particularly by the clergy; for instance, he has an item in the expenditure of a convent, "30 pair of autumnal gloves for the servants." This was said "superstition." In our "enlightened" and Bible-reading age, who thinks of gloves for ploughmen? We have priests as well as the "dark ages" people had; ours ride as well as theirs; but, theirs fed at the same time: both mount, but theirs seem to have used the rein more, and spur less. It is curious to observe, that the pay of persons in high situations was, as compared with that of the present day, very low when compared with the pay of the *working classes*. If you calculate the year's pay of the dung-cart man, you will find it, if multiplied by 20 (which brings it to our money), to amount to 91 pounds a year; while the average pay of the JUDGES did not exceed 60l. a year of the then money, and, of course, did not ex-

ceed 1,200*l.* a year of our money. So that a judge had not so much pay as fourteen dung-cart fillers. To be sure, judges had, in those "*dark ages*," when LITTLETON and FORTESCUE lived and wrote, pretty easy lives; for FORTESCUE says, that they led lives of great "*leisure and contemplation*," and that they never sat in court but *three hours in a day*, from 8 to 11! Alas! if they had lived in this "*enlightened age*," they would have found little time for their "*contemplation*"! They would have found plenty of work; they would have found that theirs was no sinecure at any rate, and that ten times their pay was not adequate to their enormous labour. Here is another indubitable proof of the great and general happiness and harmony and honesty and innocence that reigned in the country. *The judges had lives of leisure!* In that one fact, incidentally stated by a man who had been twenty years Chief Justice of the King's Bench, we have the true character of the so-long-calumniated religion of our fathers.

468. As to the bare fact, this most interesting fact, that the main body of the people have been *impoverished and degraded* since the time of the Catholic sway; as to this fact, there can be no doubt in the mind of any man who has thus far read this little work. Neither can there, I think, exist in the mind of such a man any doubt, that this impoverishment and this degradation have been *caused by the event called the "Reformation,"* seeing that I have, in former Numbers, and especially in Number XIV., clearly traced the *debt* and the *enormous taxes* to that event. But, I cannot bring myself to conclude, without *tracing the impoverishment in its horrible progress.* The well-known fact, that no compulsory collections for the poor, that the disgraceful name of *pauper*; that these were never heard of in England in Catholic times, and that they were heard of the moment the "*Reformation*" had begun; this single fact might be enough, and it is enough; but we will see the progress of this Protestant impoverishment.

469. The Act, 27 Henry VIII., chap. 25, began the *poor-laws*. The monasteries were not actually seized on till the next

year; but the fabric of the Catholic church was, in fact, tumbling down; and instantly, the country swarmed with necessitous people, and *open begging*, which the Government of England had always held in great horror, began to disgrace this so-lately happy land. To put a stop to this, the above act authorized sheriffs, magistrates, and churchwardens, to cause voluntary *alms* to be collected; and, at the same time, it punished the persevering beggar by *slicing off part of his ears*, and, for a second offence, put him to *death*, as a *felon*! This was the *dawn* of that "*REFORMATION*," which we are still called upon to *admire and to praise!*

470. The "*pious young SAINT EDWARD*," as Fox, the martyrman, most impiously calls him, began his Protestant reign, 1st year of Edward VI., chap. 3, by an act, punishing beggars by *burning with a red-hot iron*, and by *making them slaves for two years*, with power in their masters to make them wear an *iron collar*, and to feed them upon bread and water and *refuse meat*! For, even in this case, still there was *meat* for those who had to labour: the days of cold potatoes and of bread and water alone were yet to come: they were reserved for our "*enlightened*" and Bible-reading days; our days of "*mental enjoyment*." And, as to horse-flesh and *druff* (grains), they appear never to have been thought of. If the slave ran away, or were disobedient, he was, by this Protestant act, to be a *slave for life*. This act came forth as a sort of precursor of the acts to establish the Church of England! Horrid tyranny! The people had been plundered of the resource which *Magna Charta*, which justice, which reason, which the law of nature, gave them. *No other resource had been provided*; and they were made actual slaves, branded, and chained, because they sought by their prayers to allay the cravings of hunger!

471. Next came "*good Queen Bess*," who, after trying her hand *eight times*, without success, to cause the poor to be relieved by alms, passed that compulsory act which is in force to the present day. All manner of shifts had been resorted to, in order to avoid this provision for the poor. During this and the two former

reigns, LICENSES TO BEG had been granted. But, at last, the *compulsory assessment* came, that *true mark*, that indelible mark, of the Protestant Church, as by law established. This assessment was put off to the last possible moment, and it was never relished by those who had got the spoils of the church and the poor. But, it was a measure of absolute necessity. All the *racks*, all the *law-martial* of this cruel reign could not have kept down the people without this act, the authors of which seem to have been ashamed to state the *grounds* of it; for it has no *preamble* whatever. The people, so happy in former times; the people described by FORTESCUE, were now become a nation of ragged wretches. DEFOE, in one of his tracts, says that "*good Bess*," in her progress through the kingdom, upon seeing the miserable looks of the crowds that came to see her, frequently exclaimed, "*pauper ubique jacet*"; that is, *the poor cover the land*. And this was that same country, in which FORTESCUE left a race of people, "having all things which conduce to make life easy and happy"!

472. Things did not mend much during the reigns of the Stuarts, except in as far as the poor-law had effect. This rendered unnecessary the barbarities that had been exercised before the passing of it; and, as long as *taxation was light*, the paupers were comparatively little numerous. But, when the *taxes began to grow heavy*, the projectors were soon at work to find out the means of *putting down pauperism*. Amongst these was one CHILD, a *merchant and banker*, whose name was JOSIAH, and who had been made a *knight or baronet*, for he is called SIR JOSIAH. His project, which was quite worthy of his calling, contained a provision, in his proposed act, to appoint men to be called, "*Fathers of the Poor*"; and, one of the provisions relating to these "*FATHERS*" was to be, "that they may have power to send such *poor, as they may think fit, into any of his Majesty's plantations*"! That is to say, to *transport* and make *slaves* of them! And, gracious God! this was in FORTESCUE's country! This was in the country of *Magna Charta*! And

this monster dared to *publish this project*! And we cannot learn, that any man had the soul to reprobate the conduct of so hard-hearted a wretch.

473. When the "*deliverer*" had come, when a "*glorious revolution*" had taken place, when a war had been carried on and a *debt* and a *bank* created, and all for the purpose of *putting down Popery for ever*, the poor began to increase at such a frightful rate, that the Parliament referred the subject to the Board of Trade, to inquire, and to *report a remedy*. LOCKE was one of the commissioners, and a passage in the Report of the Board is truly curious. "The multiplicity of the *poor*, and the increase of the tax for their maintenance, is so general an observation and complaint, that it cannot be doubted of; nor has it been only since the last war that this evil has come upon us, it has been a growing burden on the kingdom this many years, and the last two reigns felt the increase of it as well as the present. If the causes of this evil be looked into, we humbly conceive it will be found to have proceeded, *not from the scarcity of provisions, nor want of employment for the poor*; since the goodness of God has blessed those times with plenty no less than the former; and a long peace, during three reigns, gave us as plentiful a trade as ever. The growth of the poor must therefore have some other cause; and it can be nothing else but *the relaxation of discipline and corruption; virtue and industry being as constant companions on the one side, as vice and idleness are on the other.*"

474. So, the *fault was in the poor themselves*! It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. LOCKE that there must have been a *cause for this cause*. He knew very well, that there was a *time*, when there were no paupers at all in England; but, being a fat place-man under the "*deliverer*," he could hardly think of alluding to that interesting fact. "*Relaxation of discipline*"! What discipline? What did he mean by discipline? The taking away of the Church and Poor's property, the imposing of heavy taxes, the giving of low wages compared with the

price of food and raiment, the drawing away of the earnings of the poor to be given to paper harpies and other tax-eaters; these were the *causes* of the hideous and disgraceful evil; this he knew very well, and therefore it is no wonder that his report contained no *remedy*.

475. After LOCKE, came, in the reign of QUEEN ANNE, DEFOE, who seems to have been the father of the present race of projectors, MALTHUS and LAWYER SCARLETT being merely his humble followers. He was for giving no *more relief to the poor*; he imputed their poverty to their *crimes*, and not their crimes to their *poverty*; and their crimes he imputed to "their *luxury*, pride and sloth." He said the English labouring people ate and drank *three times as much as any foreigners*! How different were the notions of this insolent French Protestant from those of the Chancellor FORTESCUE, who looked upon the good living of the people as the best possible proof of good laws, and seems to have delighted in relating that the English were "*fed, in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fish*!"

476. If DEFOE had lived to our "*enlightened age*," he would, at any rate, have seen no "*luxury*" amongst the poor, unless he would have grudged them horse-flesh, draff (grains), sea-weed, or the contents of the pig-trough. From his day to the present, there have been a hundred projects, and more than fifty laws, to regulate the affairs of the poor. But still the *pauperism* remains for the Catholic Church to hold up in the face of the Church of England. "*Here*," the former may say to the latter, "*here, look at this*: here is the result of your efforts to extinguish me; here, in this one evil, in this never-ceasing, this degrading curse, I am more than avenged, if vengeance I were allowed to enjoy: urge on the deluded potato-crammed creatures to cry '*No Popery*' still, and, when they retire to their straw, take care not to remind them of the cause of their poverty and degradation."

477. HUMPHREY, in speaking of the sufferings of the people, in the first Protestant reign, says, that, *at last*, those sufferings

"*produced good*," for that they "*led to our present situation*." What, then, he deemed our present situation a *better* one than that of the days of FORTESCUE! To be sure, HUMPHREY wrote 50 years ago; but he wrote long after CHILD, LOCKE, and DEFOE. Surely enough the "*Reformation*," has led to "*our then present and our now present situation*." It has, "*at last*," produced the bitter fruit, of which we are now tasting. Evidence, given, by a clergyman, too, and published by the House of Commons, in 1824, states the labouring people of Suffolk to be a nest of robbers, too deeply corrupted ever to be reclaimed; evidence of a sheriff of Wiltshire (in 1821) states the common food of the labourers in the field, to be cold potatoes; a scale, published by the magistrates of Norfolk, in 1825, allows 3d. a day to a single labouring man; the judges of the Court of King's Bench (1825) have declared the general food of the labouring people to be bread and water; intelligence from the northern counties (1826), published upon the spot, informs us, that great numbers of people are nearly starving, and that some are eating horse-flesh and grains, while it is well known that the country abounds in food, and while the clergy have recently put up, from the pulpit, the rubrical *thanksgiving for times of plenty*; a law recently passed, making it *felony* to take an apple from a tree, tells the world that our characters and lives are thought nothing worth, or that this nation, once the greatest and most moral in the world, is now a nation of incorrigible thieves; and, in either case, the most impoverished, the most fallen, the most degraded that ever saw the light of the sun.

478. I have now performed my task. I have made good the positions with which I began. Born and bred a Protestant of the Church of England, having a wife and numerous family professing the same faith, having the remains of most dearly beloved parents lying in a Protestant church-yard, and trusting to conjugal or filial piety to place mine by their side, I have, in this undertaking, had no motive, I can have no motive, but a sincere and disinterested love of truth and justice. It is not for the rich and the powerful of my

countrymen that I have spoken; but for the poor, the persecuted, the proscribed I have not been unmindful of the unpopularity and the prejudice that would attend the enterprise; but, when I considered the long, long triumph of calumny over the religion of those, to whom we owe all that we possess that is great and renowned; when I was convinced that I could do much towards the counteracting of that calumny; when duty so sacred bade me speak, it would have been baseness to hold my tongue, and baseness superlative would it have been, if, having the will as well as the power, I had been restrained by fear of the shafts of falsehood and of folly. To be clear of self-reproach is amongst the greatest of human consolations; and now, amidst all the dreadful perils, which the event that I have treated of has, at last, surrounded my country, I can, while I pray God to save her from still further devastation and misery, safely say, that, neither expressly nor tacitly, am I guilty of any part of the cause of her ruin.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

No apology will be necessary, *especially at this time*, to the readers of the *Register*, for the insertion of the following beautifully-descriptive and affecting extract from "*Cobbett's Year's Residence in America*," which extract is from his Journal dated 15. January 1818, and was written when at Philadelphia, in which city he had, many years before, resided.

The question eagerly put to me by every one in Philadelphia is, "Don't you think the city *greatly improved*?" They seem to me to confound *augmentation* with *improvement*. It always was a fine city, since I first knew it; and it very greatly augmented. It has, I believe, nearly doubled its extent and number of houses since the year 1789. But, after being, for so long a time, familiar with London every other place appears little. After *living* within a few hundreds of yards of Westminster-Hall and the Abbey Church and the bridge, and looking from my own window into

St. James's Park, all other buildings and spots appear mean and insignificant. I went to day to see the house I formerly occupied. How small! It is always thus: the words *large* and *small* are carried about with us in our minds, and we forget real *dimensions*. The *idea*, such as it was received, remains during our absence from the object. When I returned to England, in 1800, after an absence from the country parts of it, of sixteen years, the trees, the hedges, even the parks and woods, seemed so *small*! It made me laugh to hear little gutters, that I could jump over, called *Rivers*! The Thames was but a "*Creek*"! But, when, in about a month after my arrival in London, I went to *Farnham*, the place of my birth, what was my surprise! Everything was become so pitifully *small*! I had to cross, in my post chaise, the long and dreary heath of Bagshot. Then, at the end of it, to mount a hill called Hungry Hill; and from that hill I knew that I should look down into the beautiful and fertile vale of Farnham. My heart fluttered with impatience, mixed with a sort of fear, to see all the scenes of my childhood; for I had learned before, the death of my father and mother. There is a hill, not far from the town, called *Crooksbury Hill*, which rises up out of a flat, in the form of a *cone*, and is planted with Scotch fir-trees. Here I used to take the eggs and young ones of crows and magpies. This hill was a famous object in the neighbourhood. It served as the superlative degree of height. "*As high as Crooksbury Hill*" meant, with us, the utmost degree of height. Therefore, the first object that my eyes sought was this hill. *I could not believe my eyes*! Literally speaking, I, for a moment, thought the famous hill removed, and a little heap put in its stead; for I had seen in New Brunswick, a single rock, or hill of solid rock, ten times as big, and four or five times as high! The post-boy, going down hill, and not a bad road, whisked me, in a few minutes to the Bush Inn, from the garden of which I could see the prodigious *sand-hill*, where I had begun my gardening works. What a *nothing*!

But now came rushing into my mind, all at once, my pretty little garden, my little blue smock-frock, my little nailed shoes, my pretty pigeons, that I used to feed out of my hands, the last kind words and tears of my gentle and tender-hearted and affectionate mother! I hastened back into the room. If I had looked a moment longer, I should have dropped. When I came to reflect, *what a change!* I looked down at my dress. What a change! What scenes I had gone through! How altered my state! I had dined the day before at the Secretary of State's in company with Mr. Pitt, and had been waited upon by men in gaudy liveries! I had had nobody to assist me in the world. No teachers of any sort. Nobody to shelter me from the consequence of bad, and no one to counsel me to good, behaviour. I felt proud. The distinctions of rank, birth, and wealth, all became nothing in my eyes; and from that moment (less than a month after my arrival in England) I resolved never to bend before them.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

INSOLVENTS.

BEEDEN, J., Campsey-Ash, Suffolk, inn-keeper.
LIVESEY, T., sen., G. Livesey, J. Livesey, and T. Livesey, jun., Bury, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturers.
PICKFORD, T., Whitechapel, rectifier.
POWELL, J., Newington-butts, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

DAVIES, H., Carmarthen, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BOARDMAN, R., Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, money-scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

BRANDON, J., Fenchurch-street, broker.
BURTON, W., Great Glenn, Leicestershire, carrier.
GOODE, H., Birmingham, wholesale-grocer.
HAWKINS, W., Warwick, builder.
PARTINGTON, T., Oxford-street and Hampstead, confectioner.
PAYNE, J. and E., Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, coach-lace-manufacturers.
SLATER, S. S., Kingston-upon-Hull, corn-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BELL, J. S., Glasgow, merchant.
M'LENNAN, G., Glasgow, merchant.
NEILSON, R. and Son, Leith, coopers.
PULLAR, D., Paisley, manufacturer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16.

INSOLVENT.

SHEPLEY, F., Farnham, Surrey, hop-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BOARDMAN, B., Norwich, tailor and draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNES, W., Andover, Hants, ironmonger.
COOPER, S., Bath, grocer.
CORTHOM, J. M., March, Isle of Ely, sheep-salesman.
DONKIN, W., North Shields, wine and spirit-merchant.
GRIBBLE, S., Derby, hatter and hosier.
LEE, R., R. J. Brassey, F. Farr, and G. Lee, Lombard-street, bankers.
LILLIE, G., and J. Patterson, Liverpool, merchants.
SCOTT, J., Berwick-upon-Tweed, carrier and leather-seller.
SHRAPNEL, H. S., of Birmingham and Oxford, and Mitchell and Jousiff, Birmingham, grocers and dealers in toys.
SQUIRE, P. and W., Southmolton, Devonshire, linen-draper.
SYMS, J., Trowbridge, Wiltshire, clothier.
TAYLOR, F., and J. Taylor, jun., Hedon, Holderness, Yorkshire, merchants.
TAYLOR, W., Liverpool, apothecary.
WEATHERLEY, J., North Shields, brewer and wine and spirit-merchant.
WILLIAMS, M., Neath, Glamorganshire, linen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 15 — We have had but moderate supplies of Grain since this day week. The weather, for several days past, has been very dry and hot.

Wheat met a slow dull sale this morning at much the same prices as last Monday.

Beans 1s. per quarter cheaper.

In prices of Barley, Malt, and Peas, no alteration.

We experienced a very dull, limited demand for Oats on Wednesday, but on Friday and to-day, a good part of the arrival has been cleared off at last Monday's prices.

In corn under lock nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new 38s. to 46s.
Old 48s. to 50s.
Red, new 36s. to 38s.
Old 40s. to 42s.

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| Lincolnshire, red. | 36s. to 41s. |
| White | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire..... | 36s. to 40s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 38s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. to 36s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | —s. to —s. |
| Chevalier | —s. to —s. |
| Malt | 41s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow..... | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English..... | 34s. to 38s. |
| Foreign | 34s. to 36s. |
| Gray or Hog | 30s. to 36s. |
| Maples..... | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 25s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 24s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 24s. to 25s. |
| Black | 25s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Ber- | |
| wick Potato..... | 26s. to 27s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Bauß and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Feed, new light | 19s. to 21s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed..... | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 22s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. . | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed.. | 13s. to 14s. |
| Brew..... | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 15.

This day's supply of Beasts, Calves and Porkers, was for the time of the year good, its supply of Sheep and Lambs rather great. The prime Beef, and prime small Veal, sold at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; but trade was, with other kinds of Beef and Veal, as also with Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 1,500 of the Beasts, about 1,100 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Homebreds, Shorthorns, Devons, and Welsh runts, were chiefly (say, about 1,200 of them) from Norfolk, the others from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly polled Scots, with about the same number of sheep, lambs, and pigs, byscamers, from Scotland; about 120, chiefly Shorthorns, Devons, and Welsh runts, from our northern districts; about 150, for the most part Devons, with a few runts, Herefords, Scots and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 60, chiefly Sussex Beasts, with a few Runts, Scots, and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder,

including about 40 lusty Town's-end Cows, &c. from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

At least two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, about a sixth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, supposed to number about 5,000, consisted of about equal numbers of Southdowns, new Leicesters, and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and casual crosses.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | to | 2 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 6 | to | 3 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 8 | to | 4 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | to | 4 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | to | 4 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 |
| Lamb..... | 5 | 0 | to | 6 |

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 27TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Normandy Farm, 25. June, 1835.

IN that state of complete depression, that, as I drag my limbs after me, I hardly feel the ground, or any thing that I take hold of with my hands; tasting nothing that I eat; going to bed without any distinct feeling that I want to sleep; and waking more tired than when I go to bed: having my poor mother with me, who is in that state in which she must be who had always hoped that she should not survive my ever-honoured father; and having my sister also, who has always had the same feeling: having her as the only comforter for my mother: having my father's faithful secretary now lying in a very doubtful state, produced by his anxiety and fatigue: under these circumstances, I think I am exonerated from fulfilling an engagement rashly made, to supply an address to the public such as this occasion calls for. The public demand immediately to be informed, what efforts will be made, what resolution there is at command, to maintain that position which has been so long maintained, and to continue to excite that attention which has been the glory of the illustrious dead, and which has now by his death changed the countenances of so many men from the expression of admiration to that of the deepest grief. This is the question which I am called upon to answer; but to do which I must cease for at least one whole day to be occupied with the thought

of things which are gone by, and must force my mind to the comprehension of matters to come; matters in which my father is to have no knowledge, no direction; in which I am to act without his advice, and in performance of which I can never have the reward of even a word from him! It is impossible for me to do this; and if it were essential to my existence, I must then cease to exist! Nor do I feel it safe; or at any rate respectful, to offer many observations to the world, in the state of mind in which I am. But, I am able to indicate in a brief manner, the designs which I have, for the fulfilling of any expectations, and for the meriting of that degree of approbation which such fulfilment shall procure me.

Considering the nature of this famous publication, that it was a thing more of honour than of profit; that it was of infinite service to great numbers of men, and was to them a great support; that it was a steady vehicle for unflinching truth; that it existed and circulated apart from all party, all intrigue, subject to no disguise of any sort, and freely communicated the real thoughts of one man, who sacrificed all considerations of every sort, to this his profession: considering these things, and considering that I am left to exercise my own discretion as to encountering the perpetuation of this arduous task; that I am expressly left by a will which in all respects (to my utmost ability) it is sacred for me to execute, and the executing of which ought to be the work of my life; considering by that will, my father has been pleased to desire that I

should act with regard to all his affairs precisely as if I were himself, and which he in his fatherly care has expressly done in order to prevent the possibility of those dissensions which sometimes arise between persons otherwise of the best disposition, by the division of cares: considering this his will, I say, I did not scruple to declare, that, with regard to the *Register*, his peculiar property, his own creation, the means by which friends and family are to be kept united, by which we can for the future commune together about him, though not with him; I did not scruple to declare, that I would carry this on, precisely in the form in which he had carried it on, drawing upon the mind which he has given me, and relying upon the firm resolution which I inherit from him, to observe truth, to make it worthy the indulgence of former readers.

At the same time, I know very well, that this work can never again be regarded in the same light. The first feeling of the reader who shall take it up, namely, his regret, can only increase; can only be rendered more keen, by what he shall read. The contrast will be such, that the continuing to read, in place of affording him any consolation, will keep alive all the most painful reflections. In short, there must and will be the feeling of disgust; a feeling which every one shuns subjecting himself to; there must be this feeling to be encountered by every one, however much it may be his desire to give his patronage, and to extend his good wishes to the survivors of his friend. All this I know very well; and I know it, too, for the best of reasons; and with tears in my eyes I know that the departed

author himself contemplated it, when he was endeavouring to leave here at this farm a mode of life solid and respectable for those whom he had brought into the world; and in doing which with so much earnestness I feel that his chief object was to lay a foundation below which they should not fall; I know that his object in taking a long lease and stocking a farm, was to leave a secure, because immoveable property; to leave a home and healthy occupation; I know that he left it as a vineyard to be digged, and in which it is therefore my first most obvious duty to dig.

Therefore, it is without any disguise, that I take upon me this undertaking; and, if it be necessary to be more explicit, I might avow that he was convinced of the inability of any one to supply his place, in addition to his parental anxiety not to entail on anyone the encountering of the perils he had always braved. But it is on this ground, and while fully impressed with my own insufficiency, that I cannot choose to shun those perils. Without placing myself in his chair, and acting as I think he would act; without making every exertion to possess the same friends he possessed; without deserving in some degree the approbation of those who are now absorbed in their gratitude to him, I must choose to cease to exist!

In answer to those of these friends from whom I have received the kindest letters, especially this day, I therefore beg to return this answer, that if any encouragement were wanting other than the motives I have endeavoured to express, it is the sentiments they have done me the honour to convey, of their hopes that for some

years at least my father's name might still be active for our country's welfare.

Before I quit this part of the subject I must repeat my conviction that, after experiencing the first sentiment of the irreparable loss, there are thousands of those in this nation who have the cheek now moistened, even as much as my own, that will in time to come hear of their former teacher, even with delight; they will like to read about him, and they will like to do this through the instrumentality of those who are left them by himself. They will give their cordial approbation to the continual expression of our gratitude to all those who have on this occasion evinced such a generous respect to the memory of that head and heart which reflect so much honour on England; and which gratitude I cannot omit here to signify as most deeply felt towards those literary men who have already distinguished themselves in this manner, and which I have heard from many mouths, though I have not attempted to look at a newspaper for the last fortnight. Nor can I avoid more particularly testifying this gratitude to the Editor of the *Standard*, whose conduct affects me the more, as it reminds me of a very late conversation with my father, in which he spoke of the talents of that gentleman with the most unqualified admiration.

The most painful words I have to utter must be those addressed to the people of Oldham! If it were not in writing, I could express nothing with regard to the people of that town; because I know, much more than any of them can know, the gratitude felt by my father himself to them. The people of Oldham, of one whole English town, may know, and their

descendants may know, that it was they who gave him the only pride he ever felt.

Who is there who ever heard him speak of that whole town, or of any individual in it, without one exception, without seeing his gratitude inspired to even a violent degree? It was not being a nominee; it was not being a successful candidate by any trick; it was really and truly a spontaneous reward conferred for all he had done: and, hence the value he set upon the seat which they gave him, and which, if he had obtained, if he had procured, in any other way, could have conveyed no gratification to a mind like his. If there had been any manœuvre, if there had been any contrivance of any sort; nay, if there had been even any management required, I believe that he would have valued that seat as nothing. But, it was conferred upon him in a manner such as to touch his heart of sensibility so close, that I am quite certain no affection was ever inspired such as he entertained for that town; and I call to witness his admiring friends, who have so often heard him speak of that people, but never without almost the tears in his eyes; aye, of that man whom danger nor hardship never softened, never made tremble. But, to his honour, and that of human nature, that is not the only town which has inspired him with the same tender sentiments; for at Coventry and at Preston the working people were just the same; only at those places, the tricks, which my father always disdained to suspect, defeated and filled with chagrin both those people and himself.

It is to the people of Oldham, however, that the history of his life more particularly belongs. The morals which it was

the business of his life to inculcate should be dedicated to them, who gave him the opportunity of showing the darling principle which always animated him. I repeat, that to show anything which was false; to show anything partaking of affectation; to avoid all show, was his predominant passion. It was his aim to show to the world a man, not only rising from nothing, but desiring to attain to nothing in worldly possessions, and yet to attain to and to preserve the respect of the world! I must tell the people of Oldham, that while I verily believe it would have broken his heart not to be elected the second time; yet, that it was as near his heart to be, at the same time, a plain farmer, merely a renting farmer, attending to his business like another man. He chose to be this as near to the scene of the days when he wore the blue smock-frock as possible; and it was the two stations together in which he delighted. Charmless, indeed, the latter would have been to him, without at the same time the possession of those honours; and the people of Oldham must know, that this striking circumstance, an unparalleled honour to the mind of man, is still more an honour to the heart of my father, as a moral intended for all mankind and for all ages. Going with him, as he was carried in a chair to see the fields, in the afternoon of the 17. June, a little boy in a blue smock-frock happened to come by us, to whom my father gave a laughing look, at which I thought I should have dropped, I knowing what was passing in his mind. He seemed to be refreshed at the sight of the little creature, which he had once precisely resembled, though now at such an immeasurable distance. I know he was then

thinking of Oldham, and feeling that he was lamentably so near the end which he had long, long ago, had the ambition to arrive at. After this, we went into his favourite field, where he desired me to fetch him a lettuce from a particular part; and, after looking at everything, and especially at some spring wheat which he received from Guernsey this year, and expressing great anxiety for it to be taken care of, he went and sat for an hour in his favourite meadow, from which he could see fields on both sides. There he saw three men together sowing seed, which he had intended should be done by one man. He sent for the two men who had been put to this by mistake, and then gave me very minute directions for the making of a road by these men; and, the recollection of the patient talk he had with me about this road, as it was the last thing which he gave directions about, will, I am certain, be the last thing I shall think of. After that, the Doctor came (whom I cannot mention without deep gratitude for his attention, and in whom my father had so much confidence), to whom he fearlessly said that he was "bad enough," and communicated with him in a manner so particular, and with such coolness, and at the same time sense of danger, that the recollection of it bewilders me. What! will anybody dare to tell me that I shall never see him again? am I to be tormented with any doubt? No: the Creator never made this creature to feel as he did at the close of that life, if there were no better life for him!

It is impossible for me to revise what I have written, and I will write no more. If I have written distinctly enough, I have noticed the three great holds upon

my father's heart, namely, his readers, his constituents, and his agricultural friends and correspondents. Upon the last I must add, that agriculture was a part of his profession; that it was his recreation, but, not idle recreation; that his recreations were never what is called pastime, for of all things which he detested was, absence of thought. His fondness for agriculture, which he pursued according to his means at all times, was apart of himself. While in Newgate, he wrote a letter to his farm, and received a letter, and the journal of the work done, with every other incident, every day of his life. When fleeing from Sidmouth and Castlereagh, the thing which he most prized, of all that himself, my brother John, and I took, was a pound of Swedish turnip seed; and, thousands of gentlemen in America can now show the effects springing from that pound of seed. While in the boat, going down the river at Liverpool, at 10 o'clock at night, in wind and rain and waves, my brother and I recollect how fast he held us, as he sat in the middle of the boat to preserve us! Running such dangers he never gave up agriculture, and never would under any circumstances: he knew it was the beginning of all things: that creation by the hand of man begins there: and, he was resolved to be at the head, to understand, to foresee, to direct and better the lot of man.

WM. COBBETT, Junr.

N.B. All Letters to be post-paid.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS CONCERNING MR. COBBETT.

THE readers of the *Register* will be anxious to know, and to have recorded in the columns of the *Register*, the opinions of the press respecting that great and highly-talented man, who, for thirty years and upwards, of most unwearied industry, unparalleled perseverance, and most matchless and stupendous ability, conducted this publication. Above all others of the daily papers the *Times* will be the object of curiosity with the readers of the *Register*; and, accordingly, we lay before them its announcement of Mr. Cobbett's death, and its opinions of that man, who, it must be borne in mind, was ~~not~~ *yet cold*, when that paper, as if determined to prove its pre-eminent title to the name, so long ago and so appropriately given to it by Mr. Cobbett, put forth the following cold-blooded and atrocious calumnies on their former political opponent, and also, with intolerable insolence, its insulting remarks on his followers.

(From the *Times*.)

A report prevailed last night in the House of Commons, during the short time that it sat, and was repeated elsewhere, that "William Cobbett was dead." Should this report, as we have reason to believe, prove true, we shall have more to say respecting the subject of it hereafter; at present we know not whether we should confine ourselves to the simple expression of regret; or, could he hear what we say, whether we might not rather speak of his decease as matter of congratulation to himself; that after a life of incessant change and tumult, he had at last come to a state of tranquillity and permanence; that after engagements, predictions, promises, each broken or breaking as others were taken up, he had escaped abruptly from further responsibility, when he was becoming too feeble to carry on any longer his practices with success; and it was totally impossible that he should abstain from them, as they had not only become his second, but were perhaps his first nature. Yet the world

was formed to be deceived, and his followers are of too coarse an intellect, and too circumscribed a mental purview, either to detect a new imposture acutely planned and audaciously asserted, or be taught caution by long experience. Still, Cobbett was a remarkable man. Poor fellow! It was almost among the last of his *Registers* which we read that he was promising himself a long life, through his active habits and abstinence from fermented liquors. The House of Commons, into which he ought never to have entered, and where he never made any figure, has perhaps hastened his death, if he be dead, as it has done that of others.

We have since learned that the report is true: we observe that his age was 73; his death, therefore, though unexpected, can scarcely be called premature.

FROM THE STANDARD.

No remarks are necessary in introducing to the readers of the *Register* the following elegantly expressed opinions of the *Standard*, only to request of them to bear in mind that it is a *rank Tory print*, but, being edited by a scholar, a man of genius, and a *gentleman*, it can afford to admire genius and talent, even though it be found in the ranks of its opponents. We shall say nothing further except to offer our unfeigned thanks to the gentleman conducting that paper for his uniform, steady, and often-repeated kindness of expression towards our kind and excellent friend who is taken from us.

Friday evening, June 19.

We have to announce, to-day, the death of one of the most remarkable men whom England, fertile as our country has happily been in intellectual excellence, ever produced. William Cobbett, Esq., Member of Parliament for Oldham, expired yesterday, at Normandy Farm, in the county of Surrey, in the 74th year of his age. The disease which has deprived the country of Mr. Cobbett, was an intestinal inflammation of but a few days' continuance, and we are gratified to learn accompanied with little pain to distract

a change made in a calm and resigned temper.

We but repeat upon his death what we have again and again confessed during his life-time, when we say that Mr. Cobbett was by far the first political writer of his age. No man has written so much upon public affairs, and we think no man has written so well. In the attributes of a severely correct and unaffected, a clear and a vigorous style, Mr. Cobbett was wholly without a rival, we venture to affirm, since the day of Swift; nor did this necessary staple of good writing want the ornaments of copious and striking illustration, or strong and well-connected argument. From the immense magazine of Mr. Cobbett's voluminous compositions may, without difficulty, be collected samples of the highest eloquence to be found in our language; while it would be nearly impossible for the most malignant jealousy to winnow from the mass a single dull or feeble article! And, let it be remembered, that nearly all was improvisation; the labour of a mind constantly employed in pouring forth its thoughts, without, during forty years, a day's, perhaps an hour's, opportunity for preliminary rumination, or subsequent review! This must have been a great mind; and undoubtedly Mr. Cobbett was a great man.

That the efforts of his genius were, during the last twenty-five years, too generally directed to evil purposes, we must be the last to dispute; but we deny that this misdirection is any impeachment of the eternal and universal truth of the proposition, that without moral there can be no intellectual grandeur. In our imperfect nature, all is mixed good and evil; and we cannot expect in man those qualities which we most love and admire, without their associate defects of corresponding magnitude. Men of limited powers may be, and commonly are, also men of limited defects; but, beside, the natural tendency of all power to abuse the constitution of mind, from which extraordinary vigour arises, has an original tendency to error. Great energy is ever, more or less, connected with a more or less impetuous violence; and the tendency of the imaginative faculty to seduce men into moral extravagance, and often

into a practical extravagance of conduct, is a threadbare common-place.

Of these unhappy failings of our mixed nature, Mr. Cobbett's history affords a remarkable example. Gifted with the most extraordinary powers of intellect, and the clearest original views of what is right and profitable to mankind—instinctively imbued, too, with generous and manly sympathies, more than half of the deceased gentleman's life has been engaged in a course of at least questionable hostility to the institutions of his country, and in a bitter warfare with all around, of all parties, about which there can be no dispute. There was much in the circumstances of Mr. Cobbett's early life, and in the state of society in our age, to account for, and therefore to excuse, this seeming paradox. Born a peasant, in a day of wealth-idolatry, uneducated and plain in his tastes and attainments, amongst a people of much fallacious and artificial refinement, the son of the Farnham cottager would originally feel his own intellectual superiority a perpetual prompter to despise the system in which he moved. Through life, a laborious man—uncharged with any expensive tastes or passions—and still, we fear, struggling to the close in narrow circumstances—he would find new reason, in his own experience, to condemn a state of society that awarded as chance should direct, or suppleness, the very brand of inferior intellect, should lead the golden prizes of affluence and attendant consideration, that ought to have been the meed of genius and industry.

The pride of purse persecuted him in America, and persecuted him no less in England, as it persecutes us all, and will continue to persecute, until, in the fulness of its cup, it shall be laid low. The purse-proud Americans were a democracy, and therefore in America Mr. Cobbett was a royalist. In England the vice is impartially distributed amongst all classes of the wealthy, and therefore in England Mr. Cobbett's resentment took a more definite, perhaps a more just direction, associating himself, successively, with whatever party most unequivocally prosecuted the war against wealth. This, we believe, to be the solution of whatever

seems inconsistent in the career of the deceased gentleman.

In his early education, too, and in the circumstances of his after-life, will be found enough to explain the temper, as they explain the direction of his political course. There is, undoubtedly, a discipline which strengthens the genius, while it polishes the manners, but this is a reasoning discipline; it is the regimen which, from childhood, teaches to control our passions and dispositions, not under the influence of fear, but from a sense of what is virtuous and becoming. Men trained in this discipline acquire an art of self-government, which qualifies them to exercise any power which they may possess over others, with a gentleness and consideration for human weakness, which no teacher but the early liberalized self-love can impart. There is, however, a discipline of another kind, which often breaks, though not always, intellectual power, but which is sure to unfit him who has been subject to it for the exercise of any power; this is the discipline of force. To this last discipline Mr. Cobbett was unfortunately subjected, during that whole period in which the formation of character is completed. There is no reasoning in the obedience of the farm-yard; there is no reasoning in the discipline of the barrack; and up to his thirtieth year, we believe, Mr. Cobbett suffered one or other of these forms of slavery. The very same cause which renders the harshly-reared orphan, a domestic tyrant—the foremost man, or the late private, a harsh officer—the military man of any class, a functionary almost too severe for civil life—the emancipated slave, the cruellest of slave-drivers; this same cause would naturally give to the polemics of a powerful disputant, all the intolerant asperity with which Mr. Cobbett's writings have been charged.

We think that, in most cases, the charge has been exaggerated. We have no recollection of any instance in which Mr. Cobbett has dealt *much too severely* with an individual; and, in his position, it was impossible that he could deal too severely with the parties and orders with which he was from time to time engaged. His first desertion of the Tory party has

been ascribed to a gratuitous insult offered to him by Mr. Pitt, who, with a superciliousness that clouded his great qualities, affected so much of aristocratic *morgue* as to decline the introduction of Mr. Wyndham's protégé; Mr. Wyndham being a person of higher genealogical rank than Mr. Pitt, and the person proposed to be introduced, Mr. Cobbett, being the man who, after Mr. Burke, had done incomparably the most for preserving the institutions and the honour of England, more, we do not scruple to say, than had been done by Mr. Pitt himself, from his unaided exertions. This is the common version of Mr. Cobbett's abandonment of Tory politics. We believe it is a correct one; it is, undoubtedly, confirmed by the marked and disgraceful neglect of Mr. Cobbett's services, during the interval from his return from America to the period of his change. A gentleman, placed in similar circumstances,—when we say a gentleman we merely speak of free birth and liberal education,—would for a moment probably have felt, as Mr. Cobbett felt under this insult, if it was offered, and this indisputable neglect; but he would have made allowances for the vulgar weaknesses of the great. He would have known, that all the people, great men, and particularly great statesmen, are the most timid; and that if they bestow the favour of their countenance upon fops and fiddlers, players and buffoons, in preference to men of more labourious habits, and more useful talent, and it may be of more moral worth, it is because they do not dare to anticipate the *fiat* of the vulgar public, in a case in which such anticipation might seem to commit them to sincerity and zeal in particular opinions.

A gentleman, too, even if he could not forgive Mr. Pitt, would have been too proud; were motives of conscience wanting, to allow that personal considerations should influence his political creed. This first error of his political life Mr. Cobbett owed in part, at least, to the humble circumstance of his birth and education. He was not a man, however, to do any thing by halves: having abandoned Tory politics, because he thought he saw the

fruit of these politics in Mr. Pitt's ungrateful, arrogant, and contumelious conduct, Mr. Cobbett fell to the opposite side, to which he was otherwise naturally attracted by his hostility to overgrown wealth. We should reprint a whole library of his *Register*, to show with what indefatigable vigour he warred against the manufacturing, the commercial, and the financial system of the empire; and all engaged in them. He seems to have had no original dislike of the aristocracy or of the Church; but the samples of the aristocracy with whom, as a liberal, he necessarily came in contact, early disgusted him with that order; and the Church, forty years ago, was very different from what it had been in the preceding century, and still more different from what, thank God, it now is. Indeed, the theory of right, into which Mr. Cobbett's long course of controversy had impelled him—a theory which almost limits the right of subsistence and enjoyment, to those who exercise manual labour, marks out every possessor of property beyond the necessities of life, whether that property be acquired or inherited, or its excess above bare competency, the result of merit or chance; this theory naturally marks out the aristocracy and the clergy, as well as the capitalist, for bands of usurpers. We need not say how fallacious the theory is. Next to preventing a perpetuation of augmented wealth, through restraints upon its dissipation—the fatal error of our time—the duty of the legislator is, to maintain property not merely in security, but in reverence. Mr. Cobbett saw, however, that the unfortunate disposition of the time was to promote the augmentation of wealth in few hands, and to keep it in those hands; and he directed his shafts accordingly with indiscriminate violence against the guilty cause and the innocent effect! He was, indeed, under a particular difficulty in this matter. He had originally committed himself against a paper currency by treating, as universal and permanent, its partial and temporary ill effects. He prophesied that such a currency could not be continued, and that a departure from it would necessarily lead to ruin. The first part of his prophecy was unhappily acted upon, and the

acting upon it went a great way towards realising the second.

But we must not get into this controversy again; and we have already gone far beyond what we had intended. We shall, therefore, conclude with a repetition of the opinion with which we commenced—namely, that Mr. Cobbett was one of the greatest men whom England has ever produced; that, as his powers were vast, his instincts were good; and that, if he had faults, as he had many, the circumstances of his birth, education, and manner of life, and the treatment he received from those who ought to have acted a different part, must bear the blame. He has left us, in his writings, some of the best models—a monument of industry unequalled, and of genius scarcely excelled.

Mr. Cobbett has left several children; among others, three sons, endowed, we believe, with a full share of the hereditary genius. It may be hoped, that, as these gentlemen possess advantages of education, such as their father never enjoyed, the literary reputation of the family will be continued.

(*The Standard again.*)

DEATH OF WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

MR. COBBETT died at ten minutes after one p.m., on Thursday, 18th inst., at his farm in Surrey. He had been labouring for some time under attacks of inflammation in his throat, and had become enfeebled by attending late in the House of Commons on three or four occasions. He was considered in danger on Friday and Saturday last, but on Sunday revived so much as to give great hope of recovery. On Monday he was better, and mended till Wednesday, when he desired to be carried round his fields. He then spoke with as much quickness on all the affairs that concerned his farm as ever. In the evening, however, he began to sink fast, and died as above, but in full possession of his faculties to the last. He leaned back and closed his eyes for ever, with the utmost composure. He was the third of four sons, George, Thomas, William, Anthony; and was born 9th of March,

1762, being at his death a little more than 73 years of age.

THE TIMES AGAIN.

This paper, either shamed into decency by the contrast of its cowardly malignity with the honourable and honest conduct of the *Standard*; or, perhaps, anxious that its character for tergiversation, for instability of conduct, for gross and palpable *pirouetting*, should not suffer in the estimation of such of its readers as delight in such curious characteristics, put forth, on the very next day after it had published the first article that we have given in this series, the following article, seemingly intended as an *amende*.

* * * * *

But take this self-taught peasant for all in all, he was perhaps, in some respects, a more extraordinary Englishman than any other of his time. "*Nitor in adversam*" was a motto to which none could lay claim with William Cobbett. Birth, station, employment, ignorance, temper, character, in early life were all against him. But he emerged from and overcame them all. By masculine force of genius, and the lever of a proud, confident, and determined will, he pushed aside a mass of obstacles, of which the least and slightest would have repelled the boldest or most ambitious of ordinary men. He ended by bursting that most formidable barrier which separates the class of English gentlemen from all beneath them, and died a member of Parliament, representing a large constituency which had chosen him twice. Cobbett was by far the most voluminous writer that has lived for centuries. He has worked with incessant industry for more than forty years, without, we verily believe, the interruption of so much as a single week from languor of spirit, or even from physical weakness. The first general characteristic of his style is perspicuity, unequalled and inimitable. A second, is homely muscular vigour. A third is purity, always simple, and raciness often elegant. His argument is an example of acute, yet apparently natural, nay, involuntary logic, smoothed in its

progress and cemented in its parts, by a mingled stream of torturing sarcasm, contemptuous jocularities, and fierce and slaughtering invective.

But we take leave of Cobbett. For years this journal was the favourite weekly victim of an animosity which we suspect to have been on his part more affected than real. We never deliberately injured him, as he must have known, and in his grave we should be sorry to offer him any injustice. He was a man whom England alone could have produced and nurtured up to such maturity of unpatronized and self-generated power. Nevertheless, though a vigilant observer of the age, and a strenuous actor in it, he lay upon the earth as a loose and isolated substance. He was incorporated with no portion of our political or social frame. He belonged neither to principles, to parties, nor to classes. He and his writings formed a remarkable phenomenon. He was an English episode, and nothing more, as greater men have been; for what is Napoleon, while we write, but an episode? As a portion of history he is extinct. He has struck root no where, not in Europe, not even in France, as Cobbett has not either in America, where his intellect first sprung to life; or in England, where it ripened into almost unexampled vigour."

FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

The Morning Chronicle, as the reader will perceive, stands quite *shilly-shally*, scarcely knowing whether to speak out honestly or not. It sees a vast deal to *blame*; and it also sees a great deal to *praise*, or, rather, to excite, not its *admiration*, but its cold, chilling *endurance*. It is evidently much less costive in *blaming* than in *praising*.

(Morning Chronicle, June 19.)

This powerful and original writer died yesterday, at ten minutes past one p.m., at his farm in Surrey, aged 73. He retained his faculties till the last moment, and died with perfect composure.

In an account of himself, to be found in the collection of the works of Peter

Porcupine, Cobbett states that he was born in 1766. As, however, we have derived the above particulars from his family, there can be no doubt of their accuracy; and it would appear, therefore, that he was inaccurately informed as to the particulars of his early life, on his return from America to England in 1801.

Cobbett was a self-taught man in the true sense of the word. His father possessed a small piece of ground at Farnham, in Surrey, and Cobbett himself was brought up as a common agricultural labourer. In 1783 he quitted his father's roof, and repaired to London, where he succeeded in finding employment in the office of an attorney. Having enlisted as a common soldier, he was sent to Nova Scotia, and attained the rank of sergeant-major. On the return of the regiment to England, he became involved as prosecutor in a court-martial, but did not await the issue. He left England for France, and sailed from a French port to the United States, where he maintained himself for some time by teaching English to Frenchmen. At that time the French, or democratic party in America, were loud in their abuse of England, and Cobbett was induced to espouse the cause of his mother country. He published a succession of pamphlets, under the assumed name of Peter Porcupine, written with great force and vivacity, some of which were reprinted at the time in England. He was convicted of a libel against Dr. Rush, and subjected to heavy damages. In 1801 he returned to England, and established a morning paper under the title of *The Porcupine*, in which he warmly supported Mr. Pitt. That paper, however, soon failed; and he soon afterwards set up *The Register*, which has been continued to the present time. Cobbett commenced his career as a public writer in England under very favourable circumstances. He was powerfully patronised by the ministry. Mr. Wyndham went even so far in the House of Commons as to declare that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him. His health was drunk at Tory dinners throughout the island. His letters on the subject of the Treaty of Amiens produced a great sensation both here and on the Conti-

ment. Of this production it was said by the celebrated Swiss historian, Muller, that it was more eloquent than anything that had appeared since the days of Demosthenes. It is generally understood that Mr. Pitt gave offence in some way to Cobbett; for, on his return to power, Cobbett lost no opportunity of attacking his ministry with great bitterness. Of Mr. Wyndham he long continued to speak favourably, but to him he became also hostile. From a Church and King man, Cobbett became, in 1805, a Radical. In 1810 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in Newgate, and a fine of 1,000*l*. From an idea that he would be deprived of his liberty, under an anticipated suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, he left England for America in 1817, whence he returned when the suspension terminated. It had long been a great object of his ambition to sit in the House of Commons; and after the passing of the Reform Bill he was returned for Oldham, through the influence of Mr. Fuller, an extensive manufacturer at Todmorden. By his death a vacancy takes place for Oldham.

We have merely noticed a few of the incidents in Mr. Cobbett's life. In fact he has been so continually before the public during the last forty years, and his *Register* is so complete a record of all that he has said and done—felt and thought, that there is no man, perhaps, of whom so little can be told that would be new to any class of readers.

Cobbett was perhaps the greatest egotist that ever lived; and as every thing that he did, and every sentence that he uttered, was important in his own estimation, he is the constant theme of his voluminous writings.

It would be vain to deny that William Cobbett was one of the most powerful writers that England has ever produced. He felt keenly and observed accurately, and he never failed to make a strong impression on his readers. His last *Register*, published on the 13th instant, is as animated as his first American pamphlet, published in the full tide of youthful vigour. The wonder is, how a man, writing every day for upwards of forty years, should never exhibit any symptoms

of coldness or indifference, but communicate to his pages a constant interest.

As an advocate he was without an equal. In that list of requisites—the statement of a case—he particularly excelled. He instinctively seized on the circumstances which favoured the views he wished to support, and he seldom failed to produce the impression at which he aimed. What he could not effect by direct statement, he attained by insinuation. He was shrewd beyond most men, and he could detect and expose a subterfuge more successfully than most men. But after all, Cobbett was not a wise man. We question if, in the whole course of his life, he ever set himself seriously down to discover the truth. He was a man of impulses. William Cobbett was the object towards which the thoughts of William Cobbett were constantly directed. Hence the constant changes of opinion, with respect to all subjects and all men. There is not perhaps a question which he has not by turns advocated and opposed—there is not a man whom he has not by turns praised and abused. Hazlitt supposed this change of opinion was the result of a fickleness of disposition, and that without this 'fickleness we should also have been without his freshness.' It is certain that it was always sufficient to be in the way of William Cobbett to incur his enmity and become the object of his abuse.

As a reasoner, in the proper sense of the word, Cobbett did not rank high. He never saw the whole of a subject, and his views were therefore always partial. But give him a special case, and he could make more of it than any man. His illustrations were peculiarly forcible and whatever he had to describe, he described well. His "Rural Rides" contains, perhaps, the very best descriptions of English scenery that ever were written. His descriptions of rural life in Pennsylvania, when he left England in 1817, are also admirable. Being an accurate observer, his language was always graphic. His style was always racy and idiomatic. In his earlier productions he was somewhat declamatory, and indicated a familiarity with French writers. As he advanced in years his language and style became more Saxon.

Though Cobbett upon the whole was a good speaker, he was not a good debater, and therefore was not in his element in the House of Commons.* He could get on well enough in a lecture, when he had all the talk to himself; but he could not bear opposition with temper, and he had not a command of resources sufficient for the exigencies of a discussion. What he might have been had he entered Parliament at an earlier period of his life we know not; but he was evidently too old at seventy years of age to cut a figure as a ready speaker. He made one or two good speeches; but he repeated himself, and always made the same speech. To a certain extent, indeed, his *Register* was liable to the same charge of sameness; but his happy illustrations and descriptions made you forget that you had heard the same opinions repeated by him a hundred times before.

He has left a widow and a large family. Two of his sons are at the bar, and are, we believe, exceedingly well liked. One of them wrote the well-known description of the turning up of the rats, quoted by the *Quarterly Review* as one of the happiest of Cobbett's effusions.

No man could have occupied the public so constantly with himself as Cobbett has done, without possessing great talents. Take him with all his faults as a writer, and he will still be an extraordinary man.

THE MORNING POST.

This paper, like the *Standard*, is too high-minded, too honourable, and too true to its love of justice, to allow itself to detract from the merits of his colossal political and literary talents.

DEATH OF MR. COBBETT.

This celebrated writer died yesterday at ten minutes past one p.m., at his farm, in Surrey, aged 73. He retained his faculties to the last moment, and died with perfect composure. It is not at the present that we wish to recollect the political

opinions and conduct of Mr. Cobbett. We feel as strongly, perhaps more strongly than those who have thought and acted in unison with the deceased, that his death creates a chasm in the politics and the literature of Great Britain which will not soon be filled up. His language, his thoughts, his peculiarities, his errors, in all the mazes and variations of a course the most devious and eccentric, were peculiarly and distinctively English. We are proud of the name of Cobbett as that of a writer and a man whom it is impossible that any other country than England could have produced; and we deem the present a fit opportunity to express our belief that an adequate estimate of his talents was never formed except by those who differed from his opinions.

FROM THE MORNING HERALD.

Mr. Cobbett, the member for Oldham, but much better known as the author of the *Political Register*, and other works of high talent and reputation, is no more. His death took place yesterday, at half-past one o'clock p.m., at his farm in Surrey. He retained his faculties to the last moment, and died with perfect composure. It is not easy to speak without prejudice on one side or the other of a writer whose life was passed in the midst of political conflict, and whose practice it was to express strong opinions in strong language, with but little regard to the feelings of individuals or classes of men. But though it may be difficult for the present age to pronounce with accuracy upon the merits of one who has occupied so much of the attention of society for a considerable number of years, that very difficulty is in itself an acknowledgment of the power which he wielded, and the impression which he made. Time, which has finished his career, will decide upon his character.

FROM THE PUBLIC LEDGER.

William Cobbett, to whom the heated atmosphere of the House of Commons, and the excitement consequent upon the performance of legislative duties, had already occasioned more physical suffering than had all the previous alternations he

* One person (and we have heard of but one besides this scribe of the Chronicle, and they most likely are one and the same person) had the hardihood to say that Mr. Cobbett's parliamentary career was a complete failure!!!

had undergone, of temperature and employment, either in England or America, has at length been prostrated by elements that have proved alike fatal to the vigorous and the feeble—to the intelligent and the obtuse—to the man of undoubted genius and the mere checkmate of power—to the young, the mature, and the hoary. He is no longer among the living master-spirits of the age, whatever their vocation, for evil or for good. He, who of late was heard, or heard of far and near, whose voice commanded silence, and whose pen enforced attentive observance, whether from veneration, or fear, or even vindictive feeling, is now fixed in the motionless torpor of death; and lies silent amid living and active millions, from among whom his parallel cannot be selected.

FROM THE MORNING ADVERTISER.

So much has been already written by almost every one of our contemporaries upon the merits and demerits—the excellences and deficiencies—the peculiarities and prejudices of the late William Cobbett, that it is almost a work of supererogation to attempt an additional and independent sketch of him. Still, at the risk of being deemed guilty of an improper intrusion upon the attention of our readers, we deem it but fair to give our own opinion of a man so remarkable in every respect, and to pay that last tribute to his genius, his talents, and his exertions, to which they are so justly entitled.

It has been foolishly remarked that England, and England only, could have produced such a man as Cobbett, because, as the writers aver, in England only could such humble birth have dared to aspire to, or have successfully accomplished, the distinction which he ultimately attained: but the very reverse is the fact. Any country might have given birth to a Cobbett, and in any country, civilized or demi-civilized—European or Asiatic—Cobbett would have risen to distinction. Circumstances might not have turned the current of his genius to questions of politics, but the restless character of his temperament, the

native vigour of his mind, his unwearied industry, temperance, and perseverance, would have discovered ample fields for useful, as well as for successful and honourable distinction. He was, however, an Englishman, and England has a just right to be proud of him. Born and bred at the plough-tail, with but little of that education which is now the birth-right of millions, he became one of the first, if not the first, prose writers of his age:—disciplined in the camp, in the capacity of a private soldier, he surmounted all intervening difficulties, and died the representative in Parliament of a numerous and enlightened constituency. What effects an early and accomplished education might have produced upon such a mind we have no means of judging with accuracy; but we are strongly inclined to believe that what he might have gained in scientific accuracy thereby he would have lost in originality and vigour. The most beautiful and delightful of all his works—or rather, we should say, the most delightful of all the works that ever proceeded from the pen of any writer in modern times—we mean his "*Rural Rides*,"—a work which ought to be extracted from the *Register*, and reprinted in a separate volume, and at a cheap rate, with all possible speed—are precisely of that character which education might have spoiled, but which it could not have improved. Observation would have been sacrificed at the shrine of some grammatical accomplishments; and the almost inborn love of nature, and of nature's works, perished on the threshold, through a less effectual means of gaining a knowledge of them.

As a politician, Cobbett was liberal, but not comprehensive—patriotic, but not profound. We question much whether he ever studied the principles upon which good government must always rest—his power in this department of science, as well as his apparent delight, being rather that of exposing the errors and absurdities of others, in which he never failed, than in convincing his readers that he could substitute a better system; but as a political disputant he had no rival in his day. He was not only undeniably successful in stating his own case in such

a manner as to convince the reader that he had laid an immovable foundation, but whatever the false nature of his position, or the amount of force brought to bear against him, he never failed in driving his opponent from the field, divesting him of his armour, and exposing the nakedness of his figure to scorn and derision. His sarcasm was biting and unmerciful. He laughed with a fiendish joy at the discomfiture of his opponent, and rioted with savage delight over the mangled remains of his victim. With equal enthusiasm, however, be it also remarked—nay, with equal exaggeration—did he glory in those whom he admired. In them all perfection was centred—from them all good emanated—from their approbation only could honour flow—by their exertions only could the country be benefited and saved.

In popular assemblies the plain, unvarnished, but vigorous style of his eloquence made him eminently successful as an orator. In the House of Commons, however, he was comparatively powerless—his influence was impaired from the moment he entered the walls of St. Stephen's, and the reason is obvious: he was there flung amongst men more experienced in debate, more accustomed to the usages of the House, and therefore more successful in the manner of communicating their sentiments to a fastidious and polished, rather than an enlightened auditory. No man in either House possessed equal powers of close observation, searching inquiry, and accurate analysis; and being accustomed to pour forth his opinions in a style of native, unadorned purity, it was scarcely to be expected that on the verge of seventy he could, if he would, adopt the mere trifling embellishments—the mannerism which, as in *PERL*, works such wonders in the Senate House. Besides, *COBBETT* being more accustomed to write his thoughts than to deliver them orally, was more distinguished for the force than the flippancy of his arguments. But of all the speakers, successful exclusively in indiscriminate public meetings, he was the only one who in the House of Commons, even partially realized the popular expectations.

Of political economy with the sole exception of the currency, with which he was intimately acquainted, and on which he entertained sound notions, he had scarcely any knowledge. The science was unsuited to his genius, and did not, it is to be inferred, sufficiently attract his attention to render him a convert to its principles; for there can be no doubt that had he devoted a portion of his time to its study, he would not only have become thoroughly convinced of their truth, but have materially promoted their diffusion by the simplicity of his style, and his almost unequalled powers of illustration.

As a writer he had no equal in his day and generation, either in fecundity, in continuity, or in power. Week after week not only brought forth its *Register* of politics and morals, in unimpaired vigour; but volume succeeded volume in such variety and profusion, that the wonder is not that he died at the age of 73, but that he should not have died thirty years before. His life was one of perpetual excitement and perpetual labour; and yet such were his habits—and such his method of conducting all his operations, that he could boast of the enjoyment of more leisure than falls to the lot of those who have not a tithe of the results to which he could have referred, as the fruits of his labour!

Altogether, he was the most remarkable man of his time; and thought he pages of his "*Register*" may cease to be read, except for the purpose of reference, and his opinions on many matters sink into oblivion, as the failings of a great mind, his non-political works will remain a monument of his talents and genius which no envy will be hardy enough to question, and no enmity be able to overturn. Let the evil that he did perish with him—the good be remembered—for it was excellent in kind, and incalculable in extent.

DEATH OF MR. COBBETT.

(From the *Freeman's Journal*.)

This heading will meet the eye of every friend of Ireland, of every admirer of gigantic intellect, exercised, though

sometimes erroneously, yet always in favour of the oppressed, with sincere sorrow. We regret that a press of matter, which could not be displaced, prevents our noticing this unexpected, and by us lamented, event, as our feelings urge, and as the life, the writings, the services, and the name of the immortal dead deserve. However, the author of the *Political Register* needs no posthumous eulogy to endear his memory to the people, for whose welfare he devoted the mighty energies of his great mind; and as to his monument, he has long since erected that for himself in his almost countless works—all of them able—many of them replete with the beauty of fine morals and the sweetest graces of sentiment and diction. In another column will be found extracts from the London journals of Friday on this subject. There is one article, the best, and (with all the Toryism of the writer) the ablest, and most generous and impartial of them all, which we have not, however, room for to-day. It appears in the *Standard*, and shall, please God, be inserted in this journal to-morrow. The *Chronicle* and *Sun* are pretty fair; the *True Sun* is more so; the *Courier* is more harsh, and, in our opinion, totally misrepresents Mr. Cobbett's mental capacity. As to the vile *Times*, it speaks like one not sure of its enemy's being dead, and, therefore, deterred by fear of legal consequences from the reckless indulgence of its brutal malice.

DEATH OF MR. COBBETT.

(From the Dublin "Morning Register.")

"Poor Cobbett is no more! 'Take him for all in all we ne'er shall look upon his like again.' We need not offer a tribute to those matchless talents which all appear to allow that he possessed; but we knew something of him privately, and we believe him to have had many estimable qualities for which the world gives him little credit. This, at least, must be said of him, that he was most regarded by those who best knew him, and that, as a head of a family, he was an object of unaffected love and veneration never surpassed. There are ten thousand acts of unaffected benevolence and disinterested friendship to be told of him. Infirmities of

temper he had, and they were not a few; but they were all his faults. It has been sometimes alleged of him that he could be corrupted by money, and that he was, in most instances, moved by motives of personal gain. This is the most injurious aspersion that was ever cast on his character, and we believe it to be the most entirely groundless. He was accessible to the impulses of vanity; he was too often moved by his dislikes and resentments; but there was in his nature nothing that was base or mercenary.

HAZLITT'S CHARACTER OF MR. COBBETT.

"He is not only unquestionably the most powerful political writer of the present day, but one of the best writers in the language. He speaks and thinks plain, broad, downright English. He might be said to have the clearness of Swift, the naturalness of Defoe, and the picturesque satirical description of Mandeville; if all such comparisons were not impertinent. A really great and original writer is like nobody but himself. In one sense, Sterne was not a wit, nor Shakspeare a poet. I have tried half a dozen times to describe Burke's style without ever succeeding; its severe extravagance; its literal boldness; its matter of fact hyperboles; its running away with a subject, and from it at the same time, but there is no making it out, for there is no example of the same thing anywhere else. We have no common measure to refer to; and his qualities contradict even themselves. * * * His egotism is delightful, for there is no affectation in it. He does not talk of himself, for lack of something to write about; but because that some circumstance has happened to himself which is the best possible illustration of the subject; and he is not the man to shrink from giving the best possible illustration of the subject, from a squeamish delicacy. He likes both himself and his subject too well. He does not put himself before it, and say, 'Admire me first;' but places us in the same situation with him, if, and makes us see all that he does. There is blind man's-buff, no consciousness, no awkward ventriloquism,

no testimonies of applause, no abstract, senseless, self-competency, no smuggled admiration of his own person by proxy; it is plain and above-board. He writes himself plain William Cobbett, strips himself quite as naked as anybody would wish; in a word, his egotism is full of individuality, and has room for very little vanity in it. Mr. Cobbett is not a *make-believe* writer. His worst enemy cannot say that of him. Still less is he a vulgar one. He must be a puny common-place critic indeed, who thinks him so. How fine were the graphical descriptions he sent us from America! How well he paints the gold and scarlet plumage of the American birds, only to lament more pathetically the want of the wild wood-notes of his native land! The groves of the Ohio that had just fallen beneath the axe's stroke live in his description," and the turnips that he transplanted from Botley "look green" in prose. As a political partisan, no one can stand against him. With his brandished club, like Giant Despair in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, he knocks out their brains; and not only no individual, but no corrupt system, could hold out against his powerful and repeated attacks; but with the same weapon, swung round like a flail, that he levels his antagonists, he lays his friends low, and puts his own party *hors de combat*. This is a bad propensity, and a worse principle in political tactics, though a common one. If his blows were straightforward, and steadily directed to the same object, no unpopular minister could live before him. Instead of which, he lays about right and left, impartially and remorselessly, makes a clear stage, has all the ring to himself, and then runs out of it, just when he should stand his ground. He throws his head into his adversary's stomach, and takes away from him all inclination for the fight; hits fair or foul, strikes at every thing; and as you come up to his aid, or stand ready to pursue his advantage, trips up your heels, or lays you sprawling, and pummels you when down, as much to his heart's content as ever the Vanguesian carriers belaboured Rosinante with their pack-staves. He pays off both scores of old friendship and newly-acquired enmity, in a breath, in one per-

petual volley, one raking fire of "arrowy sleet" shot from his pen. However his own reputation, or the cause, may suffer in consequence, he cares not one pin about that, so that he disables all who oppose, or who pretend to help him. In fact, he cannot bear success of any kind, not even of his own views or party; and if any principle were likely to become popular, would turn round against it, to show his power in shouldering it on one side. In short, wherever power is, there is he against it: he naturally butts at all obstacles, as unicorns are attracted to oak trees, and feels his own strength only by resistance to the opinions and wishes of the rest of the world. To sail with the stream, to agree with the company, is not his humour. * * * Mr. Cobbett speaks almost as well as he writes. The only time I ever saw him he seemed to me a very pleasant man; easy of access, affable, clear-headed, simple and mild in his manner, deliberate and unruffled in his speech, though some of his expressions were not very qualified. His figure is tall and portly. He has a good sensible face, rather full, with little grey eyes, a hard square forehead, a ruddy complexion, with hair grey or powdered, and had on a scarlet broadcloth waistcoat, with the flaps of the pockets hanging down, as was the custom for gentlemen farmers in the last century, or as we see it in the pictures of members of Parliament in the reign of George I. I certainly did not think less favourably of him for seeing him.

FROM HETHERINGTON'S DISPATCH.

DEATH OF MR. COBBETT.

It is with regret indescribable we announce the death of this celebrated man. Mr. Cobbett was not an ordinary man for whom an ordinary posthumous notice will suffice. He filled too large a space in the public mind, and exercised too great an influence over it, to be disposed of in the paragraph way. He was, of all living characters, the one which best merited the epithet "extraordinary,"—an epithet eminently due to him, not only by reason of the singularity of his talents, but on

account of the still greater singularity of his life and history. A copious and impartial memoir of such a man is a duty which the public have a right to expect at our hands: such a memoir cannot be the work of a moment, and will require no small share of our space to do justice to the individual. We must, therefore, postpone this duty for our next publication, when our readers may expect to find full and ample justice done to the talents, services, and character of the far-famed author of the *Political Register*. At present we will only observe, that his death has left a void in society which, to use the celebrated words of Burke, applied to Dr. Johnson on a similar melancholy occasion, "*not only nothing will fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up.*"

FROM THE GLASGOW CHRONICLE.

Our readers will regret to learn that Mr. Cobbett died on Thursday morning last. He was in the 74th year of his age. For some months his health had been declining, but the disease which terminated his extraordinary life was of only a few days' continuance, and, being accompanied with little pain, left him to view his approaching dissolution with calmness and resignation.

Cobbett was undoubtedly the plainest, the clearest, most effective writer that ever lived. The compositions of Swift and De Foe, who of English authors come nearest to him, are far inferior to his. Bayle, whose readiness and perspicuity have no rivals among French authors, is outdone in his forte by Cobbett, and has no pretensions to Cobbett's force of argument and exuberance of striking illustration. Plutarch, the most perspicuous of Greek authors, is not to be compared to him as an impressive reasoner; and no Roman author can be named who has any resemblance to him. The best parts of his writings have regularly appeared in this Journal.

No one ever found it necessary to re-peruse any passage of which Mr. Cobbett was the author, in order to comprehend its meaning; every sentence, every word, conveyed pointedly and at once the precise idea sought to be inculcated.

Mr. Cobbett, after displaying the energy of his character by instructing himself in the arts of reading and writing, while a private soldier in Canada, began his career as a public writer, when he was yet a very young man, in the United States of North America. American parties exhibited at that time nearly the same features as they do now, being composed of Federalists on the one side and Democrats on the other. But to the youthful Englishman they presented themselves under the interesting aspect of being patronized on the one hand by England, his native country, and on the other by France, which he had been taught to regard as England's natural and most inveterate enemy. It was easy to see where his assistance would be rendered in such a contest, and his denunciations of the French or Democratic party were marked by all that vituperative power by which his writings have been ever since distinguished. Having been fined for a libel on Dr. Rush, he returned to England. His eminent talents had attracted the attention of Mr. Wyndham, and under the auspices of that statesman he began a daily paper bearing the name of "*The True Briton*." But Mr. Cobbett did not possess that readiness of resource which is necessary in the conducting of a daily journal. He found that time was necessary to inflame his imagination, and he therefore gave up the "*True Briton*" and began the *Register*. When Addington made peace with France, in 1802, Mr. Cobbett went along with his friend, Wyndham, in denouncing the Administration, and the silly Minister received from Mr. Cobbett's pen a chastisement to be compared to nothing but the knout.

Combined operations against Addington had the effect of bringing back Mr. Wyndham to some of his former Whig principles, and he thus entered on a friendly footing with Fox, the great leader of the Whig party. Mr. Cobbett, whose friendships as well as whose enmities were at all times strong, influencing to a considerable extent the operations of his judgment, went along with Mr. Wyndham in his intercourse with the Whigs, and as a natural consequence he imbibed gradually their liberal principles. But the

impetuosity of his temper did not permit him to stop here. Having once become a Reformer he could not by any means halt midway; he joined the party then acknowledging the leadership of Sir Francis Burdett, and, though he did not advocate universal suffrage till 1816, he might be said at this time to have become, in every essential, a Radical Reformer.

His strong and vigorous mind had now obtained a complete grasp of the great question of Reform; and from that period till the day of his death, his giant efforts were directed in favour of that object. But it cannot be denied that he suffered himself from time to time, in the heat of so arduous a struggle, to become estranged from many who were as anxious as himself to promote the success of the cause, and that, impelled by the strong feelings which nature had implanted in him, he turned upon some of the best friends of liberty of whom he had imbibed an honourable opinion, with a fierceness of recrimination approaching to ferocity. His conduct, in this respect, begat a want of confidence in his political sincerity which nothing could compensate, and, persisted in as it was to the latest hour of his life, deprived him of that place in the respect of the people which he really merited, and which he otherwise would have enjoyed. His attack upon Fox was the first blow which he struck at his own reputation in this way, and even his denunciations of his former friend and patron, Sir F. Burdett, though in a great degree justified by the late conduct of that once popular man, served materially to lower him in public estimation. In short, he was a complete Ishmaelite in the political arena, "his hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against him"; but still, while he was branded by the Tories as a leveller and an anarchist, and feared by the Whigs as a dangerous friend, he brought a degree of intellectual vigour and persevering industry, to the aid of constitutional reforming principles, such as no other man has ever displayed, and such as were sufficient to give a character to the age in which he lived.

FROM THE SUNDAY TIMES.

DEATH OF MR. COBBETT.

The pen of this great political writer has been suddenly arrested by the hand of death. His last *Register*, published on Saturday, the 13. instant, betrayed no signs of feebleness in either mind or body. It was characterized by all that freshness and vigour of thought and fancy which have made that unrivalled publication maintain an unflagging interest with its readers for the period of four and-thirty years!—a feat unexampled in the literary annals of any age or country.

Thus, calmly and silently, in singular contrast with the stormy turbulence of his eventful life, has passed into eternity the spirit of the greatest political reasoner this world ever saw. Standing aloof from all parties—with a sort of dogged independence, refusing either to give or to accept aid from friends or quarter from enemies, he became the common foe against whom all the missiles of party war were directed, the hunted victim; whose strength and dexterity alone saved him from from being caught in the toils. He seemed, indeed, fitted to be the *Proserpina* of politics, by the magic of his single pen raising the whirlwind of political strife, that he might play the master spirit of the storm. Denounced as a traitor by the Whigs and Tories, and the object of unceasing envy and detraction by the Radicals, no sooner has the spark of animation fled, than all parties let fall their weapons, and rush forward in generous rivalry to see who shall first pay the honours due to worth and genius.

The admissions made by the *Standard*, as to the treatment of Mr. Cobbett by the wealthy and titled, are creditable testimonials as to the manly character of that journal. Perhaps it has never occurred to any public man to have been so lavishly abused as the object of our memoir. The impartial scales of history will now determine how much of the exaggerations of prejudice and falsehood went to weigh down the balance of contemporary judgment against him. The grand charge against him was his inconsistency, and from this inconsistency was inferred his want of political sincerity.

a quality which is synonymous with political honesty. His invariable answer to the cry of inconsistency was, that he alone remained unchanged amidst the backslidings and tergiversations of others, against whom he was compelled to turn his pen as they fell off from the true faith. The *Times* newspaper, in its rancorous hostility to the deceased, has exhausted every term in the vocabulary of abuse, in its denunciation of Cobbett's ingratitude, falsehood, malignity, &c., towards Sir Francis Burdett. But does not the *Times* itself stand upon precisely the same sort of defence as to its conduct to Lord Brougham? The *Times* pretends to have discovered that it was mistaken in its estimate of Lord Brougham's powers of mind, and particularly of his sincerity, and therefore it claims it as a matter of duty to the public to unmask an impostor. This is precisely the language of Cobbett as to Sir F. Burdett, and so on to the end of the long list of those whom he has by turns scourged and caressed. We do not mean to sift the merits of this apology, but the *Times* at least, the persevering and unmeasured vituperator of the deceased politician, may retire from the controversy. Animal temperament, caprice, the eccentricities of genius, which no more affect the general character than the spots upon the sun's disk detract from the sensible brilliancy of that luminary, may enter into the account of what is termed 'Cobbett's inconsistency.' It is scarcely worth stopping to inquire. The *Standard* has vindicated the consistency of his character in one respect, his seeming hatred of the rich. We will defy his most ingenious detractor to deny, on the other hand, the noble, persevering, and sleepless consistency of his efforts in behalf of the poorer orders of his countrymen, and of that labouring class to which it was, to his latest breath, his boast that he belonged, and to which, regarding his wonderful acquirements, the unrivalled capacity of his mind, and the singular vigour and classical beauty of his pen, qualities centred in the person of a self-taught English ploughman, it ought ever to be the boast of our country that he did belong.

No man, by the mere virtue of his pen,

ever rose from so humble an origin, to fill a space so wide in the daily thoughts, as it were, of the world. The only education he received from his father, a small farmer, consisted of the mere rudiments of reading and writing. He assisted his father in his agricultural occupations in the capacity of a plough boy. To this period of his life, when, unshackled by worldly cares, he went in pursuit of wild animals, or ruminated upon the phenomena of external nature, seeking, with a spirit of philosophical inquiry, to penetrate the causes of what he saw, he often recurs in his writings as the most delightful period of his existence. The restraints of the parental roof, and a truant disposition, led him, about the year 1782, to make a start in the world upon his own account. Being at Portsmouth, he endeavoured to obtain employment upon ship-board, but was unsuccessful. He then came up to London, and for some time was engaged as an attorney's clerk. His views expanding beyond the confined limits of a pettifogger's practice, he enlisted in a marching regiment at Chatham, then under orders of embarkation for Nova Scotia, in North America. Such was his diligence, punctuality, and intelligence, in the execution of his military duties, and so exemplary his studious habits of life, and particularly the rigid example of temperance which he set, a virtue rare in those days in any class of Englishmen, but especially so in the class to which he belonged, that he was speedily promoted to the rank of corporal, and then over the heads of thirty sergeants older than himself, he being then *under twenty years of age*, advanced to the post of sergeant-major, without, as he says, exciting the envy or hatred of any one of his rivals. The tacit acknowledgement of the propriety of his promotion over the heads of so many of his seniors he attributed, and no doubt with justice, to the universal opinion that prevailed in the Regiment of his superior fitness, and his superior moral and mental endowments. Upon this subject he speaks, in his "Advice to Young Men," in the following terms:—

"Before my promotion, a clerk was wanted to make out the morning report

of the regiment. I rendered the clerk unnecessary ; and, long before any other man was dressed for the parade, my work for the morning was all done, and I myself was on the parade, walking, in fine weather, for an hour perhaps. My custom was this: to get up, in summer, at daylight, and in winter at four o'clock ; shave, dress, even to the putting of my sword-belt over my shoulder, and having my sword lying on the table before me, ready to hang by my side. Then I ate a bit of cheese, or pork, and bread. Then I prepared my report, which was filled up as fast as the companies brought me in the materials. After this I had an hour or two to read, before the time came for any duty out of doors, unless when the regiment or part of it went out to exercise in the morning. When this was the case, and the matter was left to me, I always had it on the ground in such time that the bayonets glistened in the *rising sun*, a sight which gave me delight, of which I often think, but which I should in vain endeavour to describe. If the officers were to go out, eight or ten o'clock was the hour, sweating the men in the heat of the day, breaking in upon the time for cooking their dinner, putting all things out of order and all men out of humour. When I was commander, the men had a long day before them: they could ramble into the town or into the woods ; go to get raspberries, to catch birds, to catch fish, or to pursue any other recreation, and such of them as chose, and were qualified, to work at their trades. So that here, arising solely from the early habits of one very young man, were pleasant and happy days given to hundreds."

The discouraging circumstances under which he persevered in making himself master of the grammar of his native tongue, are told in a style of originality and graphic description that cannot fail to unite, in admiration of the Spartan simplicity of the man—an admiration equally strong of the writer. He says:—

"I learned grammar when I was a private soldier on the pay of sixpence a day. The edge of my berth, or that of the guard-bed, was my seat to study in ; my knapsack was my book-case ; a bit of board, lying on my lap, was my writ-

ing-table ; and the task did not demand anything like a year of my life. I had no money to purchase candle or oil ; in winter-time it was rarely that I could get any evening light but that of the *fire*, and only my *turn* even of that. And if I, under such circumstances, and without parent or friend to advise or encourage me, accomplished this undertaking, what excuse can there be for *any youth*, however poor, however pressed with business, or however circumstanced as to room or other conveniences ? To buy a pen or a sheet of paper I was compelled to forego some portion of food, though in a state of half-starvation ; I had no moment of time that I could call my own ; and I had to read and to write amidst the talking, laughing, singing, whistling, and brawling of at least half a score of the most thoughtless of men, and that, too, in the hours of their freedom from all control. Think not lightly of the *farthing* that I had to give, now and then, for ink, pen, or paper ! That farthing was, alas ! a *great sum* to me ! I was as tall as I am now ; I had great health and great exercise. The whole of the money, not expended for us at market, was *two-pence a week* for each man. I remember, and well I may ! that upon one occasion I, after all absolutely necessary expenses, had on a Friday made shift to have a half penny in reserve, which I had destined for the purchase of a *red-herring* in the morning ; but, when I pulled off my clothes at night, so hungry then as to be hardly able to endure life, I found that I had *lost my half-penny* ! I buried my head under the miserable sheet and rug, and cried like a child !"

In bringing under the mental vision of the reader those scenes which he thought fit to introduce, in illustration of his arguments, Cobbett possessed a power fully equal to that of Defoe, with this circumstance in favour of the former, that he was a far greater master of the English language—could wield it with greater facility—with more power, and always with greater plainness, and occasionally with a far higher purity and grace than even that singularly gifted writer. The passage we have just quoted, told with un-

rivalled simplicity and vigour, is in itself a picture. We actually see the manly figure of the youthful soldier "burying his head beneath the miserable sheet and rug" in an agony of disappointed hunger, the confession of the weakness is in itself a trait of character. Of the value of his learning thus acquired he speaks with a justifiable egotism :—

"How many false pretenders to erudition have I exposed to shame merely by my knowledge of grammar! How many of the insolent and ignorant great and powerful have I pulled down and made little and despicable! And, with what ease have I conveyed upon numerous important subjects, information and instruction to millions now alive, and provided a store of both for millions yet unborn!"

Of a man so well known, who has become familiar as a personal friend to the reading world by the literary labours of nearly half a century, it would seem almost impertinent to enter, with anything like minuteness, into a narrative of his history, or an examination of his peculiar qualities as a writer. The few extracts that we have hastily selected from his works are intended to convey, to such as knew him not, some idea of his peculiar modes of thought and feeling, and of his manner of giving expression to them.

To those who knew him these passages will recal already-cherished impressions, a pleasing occupation of the mind under the melancholy circumstances which have given rise to the composition of this brief memoir. Apart from politics, in which, according to our notions, having ploughed up the mental soil of his countrymen, he has cast abroad more seed of the right sort, which is even now fast coming into crop, than any fifty political writers of any time or country—apart from the disputed territory of politics, the writings of William Cobbett contain some of the soundest precepts of morality, urged with a force that is perfectly irresistible. His "Advice to Young Men, and incidentally to Young Women, in the Middle and Higher Ranks of Life," is a faultless code of moral conduct that should be in the hands of persons of all

ages and stations. In his domestic relations of life, as a husband and a father, his writings abound with the most just and touching sentiments.

TO THE LABOURERS OF ENGLAND, ON THE PROJECTS FOR GETTING THEM OUT OF THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY.

Kensington, 25. June, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,—The London newspapers tell us, that the newspapers in the country are full of "forebodings as to the designs of the labourers"; and the "*Morning Chronicle*," of the 25. June, having told us this, adds these words: "There is an article in the *Kent Herald*, of Thursday, which is worthy of particular attention. Dearly, do we fear, will England yet rue the having, of late years, legislated only for the higher classes, and abandoned the lower to every description of tyranny." This *Morning Chronicle* is a paper on the side of the Ministers, and, therefore, it says what it pleases: if I, who am on the side of no men in power, were to write this, I should be prosecuted for it. However, why does not this paper give us this famous article from the *Kent Herald*; and why does it not give us some of those dismal forebodings of the country newspapers with regard to *your designs*? I, however, want no information upon the subject, for I know your designs, and I highly approve of them; namely, *first*, to secure for yourselves, in return for your labour, a belly-full of meat and bread; and *next*, to obtain some good wholesome beer, to wash them down; and also to obtain good and decent clothes, and clean bedding, such as your grandfathers had. These are your designs, and God send that they may be accomplished, instead of being the subject of "*ominous forebodings*." But now, upon these projects for getting a part of you out of the country. Those that are for these projects say, that you are *too numerous*; that you breed too fast; and that there is not work enough for you; and they say this at the very moment when the farmers, all over the country, are complaining that they shall not be able to get in the har-

vest without the assistance of Irish labourers ! I have often proved that there is plenty of employment for you ; that the farmers wish to give you that employment, but that they have not the money to give you ; and this has also been stated recently by Lord Stanhope before a committee in the House of Lords. The cause of the farmers not having money enough to give you is, that they are compelled to pay tithes and taxes to an enormous extent ; and you want higher wages than you otherwise would want, because you pay taxes on your malt, hops, sugar, soap, candles, tobacco, and, in short, on every thing that you consume ; while the numerous enclosure-bills have taken from almost the whole of you the means of keeping cow, or pig, or goose.

I have frequently told you, that there is a man of the name of MALTHUS, who is a church-parson, who was the great inventor of the doctrine, that it is your breeding so fast that is the cause of your misery. This man has long been a great favourite with the greater part of the law-makers and ministers ; and it has recently come to light that he has been and is in the pay of the Government, and that he has been receiving and is receiving a hundred pounds a year for his literary services. That which he has received would have wholly maintained nine or ten labourers' families. Such transactions as this form part of the cause of your misery ; but, though this is as clear as daylight to me and to every man of sense in the kingdom, still the schemers are at work to get some of you away ; to get some of you out of that country in which you were born, while they suffer swarms of Italians, Jews, and Germans, hurdy-gurdy grinders, broom-sellers, and Scotch pedlars, to swarm over the land, like lice upon the body of a diseased animal. They suffer all these to swarm, and wander whither they like, and are busy about nothing but getting out of the country those who till the land and make the clothes and the houses. Swarms of pensioners and sinecure-holders, paid out of the taxes ; swarms of retired clerks, and military officers, and doctors ; swarms of idlers, of all descriptions, they suffer to remain, and wish to get rid only of those

who do the work, and who, if necessary, are able to defend the country. In a former number I endeavoured to amuse you, under the form of a farce, with an exhibition of the folly of these people. Upon the publication of that farce, a man calling himself EDWARD LUDLOW, who is a partisan of these getters-rid of the people, wrote me a very abusive letter, at the close of which he put to me five questions relative to population. I answered these questions, which contained the doctrine of the whole crew ; and those questions, together with my answer, I will now lay before you. I pray you to read the whole with great attention, and to hand it about from one to the other ; and when you have read this, I shall have other, and, to you, still more important matter to lay before you.

“LUDLOW'S QUESTIONS.”

“ 1. Stock a farm of 1,000 acres, of the richest pasture land, with one breeding pair of the ox, horse, and sheep tribes of animals ; leave them to multiply, in obedience to the unstrained instincts of nature, and will they not multiply until the said pasture is unable to maintain the augmented numbers otherwise than in a state of the most severe privation under which animal life can possibly exist ?

“ 2. Would not the same result inevitably occur if the whole island of Great Britain were of the richest pasture, and similarly stocked ?

“ 3. To keep down the mouths on his pasture to a level with its capacity to feed them, does not the grazier have recourse to various violent means ; such as slaughtering the animals of all ages, removing them away from his land, incapacitating them from breeding, by separating the sexes, and by other means ? And if he were not so to do, would not his farm inevitably in time be overstocked ?

“ 4. Is not the multiplication of all classes of animal nature, biped and quadruped, or man and beast, governed by the very same laws or principles ?

“ 5. If the aforesaid violent means of physical prevention, applied as afore-

"said, to the multiplication of *four-legged creatures*, cannot be applied to that of *two-legged creatures*, will not the latter inevitably overstock the country, unless their excessive multiplication be prevented by some moral restraint thereon?"

"When you show that you clearly understand the preceding very simple questions, and the proper answers to them, I may probably propound some others which may lead to the elements of the momentous, complex, and beautiful science, that treats of the multiplication of the human species, viewed with reference to its highest attainable state of well-being."

"You are at liberty to publish this letter, but I guess you will take good care to do no such thing."

"EDWARD LUDLOW."

"COBBETT'S ANSWER."

Now, *Nasty philosopher*, I answer the *four first* questions with a YES; but the *fifth* I answer with a NO. Here we have, then, the *grand argument* of the shallow and nasty beasts! Here we have the *basis* of their "momentous, complex, and beautiful science." The nasty creatures know, that nobody can deny the truth of their observations, as they apply to *stock, kept upon a farm*; and not being able to *discriminate* between that case and the case of a *nation*, they think that their conclusion is unanswerable, and they rush on to it with all the eagerness and glee of a conceited fool who imagines that he has discovered some hitherto-hidden idea that he is bringing forth.

If the mind of this fellow were not as stupid as it is nasty, he would have perceived that there is *no analogy* in the two cases; that a *nation*, or *people*, have to *provide for their own wants*, have to *create* by their own skill, care, and toil, that which they eat, drink, wear, and are warmed and lodged with; whereas, the *stock upon a farm* have their *wants provided for by others*; they *create nothing*; they use no skill, no care; they labour not at all; but have every thing provided for them by the skill and labour

of man, and the labour of those other animals that man calls in to his assistance.

It is curious to observe how this nasty-minded fellow, resting upon the propensities and tendencies of nature, flies off, at once, for an illustration, into a state *wholly artificial*, and talks of the multiplication of animals in *this state*, instead of animals in a *state of nature*, where they have to *provide for their own wants*, and to seek for the means of their *own defence and preservation*. What! nasty, impudent, and stupid beast, you want to show us how fast animals would increase, if left to the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*," and as a *proof of it*, you cite what would be the increase of a flock, guarded during the day by the shepherd and his dog, folded at night, and pampered upon grass, clover, and turnips, created for them and almost put into their mouths, by the labour of men and horses! You are a pretty beast to reason upon analogy! you are a pretty beast to show us what would be the effect of leaving animals to the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*!"

To make your argument of analogy worth a straw, you ought to have gone for an illustration, not to flocks and herds, tended and fed and nursed and physicked by the hand of man, but to those untamed animals which acknowledge no owner, and which provide for their own wants and their own protection. Of these the sparrow, the rook, the rabbit, the hare, the pheasant, the wood-pigeon, the partridge, and some others, are, in part, provided for by man; yet it is not without great difficulty that some of them can be made to increase. But the foxes, the badgers, the otters, the weazels, the stoats, the pole-cats; why do they not over-run the country? They are *killed* by man and other animals; aye, now and then one, but not in so great a proportion as men are killed in various strifes, and by accidents arising out of their state in civil society. And why do not these animals (all great breeders) cover the land, then? They are left to the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*;" aye, but they are also left to *get their own living*; to work for what they eat. *Mice and*

rats, indeed, absolutely demand cats and traps to "*check the population*" of them; and, *why?* because the food on which they live is *provided for them* by the hand of man. Take that artificial provision away, and there will be no need of cats and traps to keep them down. And *magpies*, now, why do not they fill the woods and devour us? Who ever kills a magpie? The most artful of birds, the most vigilant, so nearly a match for the hawk, that the latter never attacks him. Seldom in his nest molested; and yet, this is rather a rare bird. And why? Because he is compelled to pass his time in watchings and in labour. *Feed* the magpies, and take care of them, and they will be as plentiful and as insolent as pensioners, and you must soon begin to eat them (sweet morsels!), or to kill them at least, or they will fill the air with their chattering. I found, at Barn-Elm, a dove-house with about *fifty pair* of pigeons. I let them *get their own living*: in the *three years* they did not give us *fifty* young ones, and their population fell off, at last, to about *fifteen pair*. I had a little pigeon-house at Kensington, set out with four pair, that soon began to take enough young ones for a *pigeon-pie once a week*: and yet, in about two years, they increased to such numbers, that I was compelled to slaughter the whole by shooting, and to begin again. But here they were fed three times a day abundantly, and whenever they went from home it was for diversion, and not to seek food. Here was "*surplus population*"; and here was the cause. These lazy devils at Kensington got all the food and none of the work; and therefore I was compelled to "*check their population*," and finally to destroy them.

The blackbirds and thrushes sometimes rob a man a little, but the tom-tits, goldfinches, nightingales, swallows, martens, hedge-sparrows, and peckers, and numerous other birds, live wholly on worms and buds and insects and seeds of weeds. There is never any overstock of them, though nobody kills them; but there would be an overstock of all of them, if man were to feed them, and to provide them with nests and protection, and were

never to destroy any of them. My little farm-yard at Kensington, contains, at present, two cows, a bull-calf, two old sows, five male pigs, and seven females, all these about three months old, two cocks, ten hens, and about seventeen pigeons. Here, if I were to let them all remain in their natural state, to pursue the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*," and to go on calving, pigging, and hatching, there would be a goodly assemblage in a short time: there would be a "*surplus population*" indeed! But, then, I must continue to *feed them all*: I must continue to draw from my garden subsistence for them, *from the fruit of my care and the labour of my men* in the raising of the cabbages, turnips, mangel-wurzel and corn on which they all live. Upon this, and this alone, I ground my right to "*check their population*," by killing the calf as soon as he is fit, by taking the milk from the cows, by *altering* (as the Yankees call it) and, afterwards, killing the pigs, by taking the eggs from the hens, and by taking the young pigeons from their nests and putting them into pies. If I were to leave them to provide for themselves, their population would need no checking; and if they were to be so situated as to be able to *get their own living*, they would hardly *breed too much*, because their numbers could increase only in proportion to the subsistence that they obtained, and that, too, *without injury to others*; for, if they committed such injury, they would be destroyed in proportion to the amount of that injury; and this destroying would keep their numbers within due bounds.

It is exactly the same with human beings, who, *if they labour*, never CAN breed too fast, because *they create* food and clothing and other necessities in *proportion to their numbers*, and because, indeed, the subsistence *must precede* the population. But if there be a government to step in and wrest the subsistence from those by whose labour it is created, and hand it over to others who, like my farm-stock, create nothing, then the poor souls that do the work must suffer from want. This is the situation of England at this moment; and here is the real foundation and motive of all that we hear

about "*surplus population*." Those who labour, those who create all the food and all the raiment, seem, at last, resolved not to live any longer in a state of half starvation; and, therefore, those who live in idleness on the fruit of their labour, are using all sorts of endeavours to make us believe that the working people are *too numerous*, and these devours are worrying the Government to death or to adopt some scheme for thinning their numbers, not caring a straw about what the *country* must thereby lose in point of resources and strength. These idlers are, in one respect, not like my farm-stock, for they *yield nothing in return* for what they devour. They are like the nags and pleasure-fillies, who, finding the clover run short; petitioned the master to sell off, or kill, some of the cart-horses, of whom they alleged that the population was "*surplus*." "Oh, no!" said the master, "if there be not enough for all, I must get rid of *some of you*; for you create nothing, and without the cart-horses, we shall all be starved together."

There may, indeed, be a real "*surplus population*" of *idlers*; and this is the case in England now; a real surplus of nags and fillies; these are crying out for a diminution of the number of the cart-horses, and, contrariwise to the farmer, our Government is listening to the clamour of these luxurious idlers, and seems to be as busy as bees in contriving schemes for checking the breeding and getting rid of those who do all the work and create all the resources of the country, while, at the same time, that same Government does not one single thing to check the breeding, or to get rid of those who live in idleness out of the fruit of the working people's labour, and who are mere *consumers* and *wasters* of the nation's resources.

Let us *try* this a little, as the Yankees say; let us resort to an illustration, and see if we cannot find a better one than that of this nasty *feelosofer*, "EDWARD LUDLOW," who, by-the-by, does not tell us *where he is to be seen or heard of*. "If EDWARD" should happen to know "JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq.," who is a member under SIR GLORY, for the city of Westminster, and who, along with

his master, was so pelted with cabbages and turnips, at the election in Covent-garden, last summer; if "EDWARD" should happen to know "John Cam, Esquire," that will be just the thing; for then he will have the illustration complete. *John Cam* married a JULIANA HAY, who was a *pensioner* from her infancy. There were two broods of these Hays standing on the pension list; but one will be enough for our purpose.

'Grant, dated 1807, to James Earl of Lauderdale and others, in trust for
' Mary Turner Hay, per year 100l.
' Dorothy Frances Hay 100
' Hannah Charlotte Hay 100
' Elizabeth Hay 100
' James Hay 100
' Juliana Hay 100'

Now it is very clear that "EDWARD LUDLOW's" doctrine would apply here; for here the parties *create* nothing. I will not compare such delicate ladies to "*stock upon a farm*"; but "*like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin*." They do no work, they create *nothing* useful, they make come neither food nor raiment nor fuel nor bedding nor houses; therefore *they* may easily be *too numerous*; because they do not, like the working classes, create subsistence in proportion to their numbers; they draw their subsistence, or, rather, *the exciseman draws it for them, out of the fruit of the labour of others*, just as the farmer brings the food to his pigs out of the fields which have been ploughed and sowed by him and the horses. Such people, therefore, if left to follow the "*unrestrained instincts of nature*," and if fed in proportion to their numbers, must soon actually cover the face of the earth, and devour up everything upon it.

But suppose that LADY JULIANA had not had the exciseman to draw subsistence for her from the fruit of the labour of the *Scotch people* (it is a Scotch affair), how would the case have stood then? She must have *worked* for what she ate and wore; she might at this moment have been weeding in the corn, and by-and-by haymaking, reaping, and then hop-picking, and in the winter, spinning and knitting. In that case, she would have *created as much as she consumed*; she

would have been no *surplus*; and if she had *increased* there would have been no harm, because her increase would, in the usual course of things, have brought "*a proportionate increase of subsistence.*" Let "EDWARD LUDLOW" go and ask JOHN CAM (if he be acquainted with him) whether this be not sound doctrine; and when he is about it, to make the illustration more ample, he may ask the *Squire* how the case stands with regard even to the *Squire himself*, who is one, they say, of a family of TEN CHILDREN, and whose father has, as "*Commissioner of Nabob of Arcot's Debts,*" (O Lord!) received about fifteen hundred pounds a year for nearly, or quite, the last thirty years; and, of course, *about forty-five thousand pounds on the whole.*

Here again the doctrine of "LUDLOW" applies: here is "*surplus population:*" here, if the parties were left to the "unrestrained instincts of nature," they would certainly devour up the earth itself in time. But if these ten persons were not thus provided for out of the fruit of other people's labour, they might now be all engaged in occupations in which they would, in some way or other, be *producers* of food, clothing, houses, ships, or some other things necessary to man; and then the addition that they would make to the population would be *no surplus*; because they would, by their labour, cause a proportionate addition to the food and other things necessary to man, and necessary to the support of the power of the country.

The conclusion, then, is this: that of those *who create useful things* by their labour, either of hands or head, there never can be too many in any country; because they will create subsistence in proportion to their numbers, and there will be less population in a given space of unproductive land than in the same space of productive land, because the subsistence must exist before the new mouths can come; but that, of those *who create nothing useful*, there may be, as there is now in this country, a great surplus population, and this may be so prodigious as to produce something very nearly approaching to general famine, as is the case at this moment in Ireland, whence the idlers bring away so much as to leave

not a sufficiency even of the accursed root to keep the producing classes from starving.

To bar all cavil upon the subject, let me add, that I do not include amongst the *idlers*, lawyers, doctors, or teachers of any sort, as far as they be necessary in a country; nor the makers and administrators of the laws; nor soldiers, nor sailors, *necessary for the defence* of the country. These *assist* those who create and who convey from hand to hand the things created by securing to them protection and peace, and the enjoyment of the things created. The owner of the land is no idler; for the land is necessary to all; and without an owner it could not be advantageously used. But those who draw their subsistence from those who labour, without adequate services in return; *these are the idlers*; and they do not deserve to be put upon a level *with stock upon a farm*, because these we, first or last, turn into meat, shoes or coats; whereas the idlers, like the vermin that suck our blood, or those that eat up our victuals in our cupboards, are, in their lives, our torment, and, in their deaths, our disgust.

There, nasty "EDWARD LUDLOW;" now go and put forth your scheme for sending the working-people away, or for "*incapacitating them from breeding;*" and then go to some farm-yard, in the north of Wiltshire, and, as the reward for discovering your "*beautiful science,*" have your brains knocked out by the milk-maids against the posts of the cow-cribs.

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

INSOLVENTS.

IMESON, H., Tooley-street, Southwark, ironmonger.
SMITH, J., Aldmondsbury, Gloucestershire, carpenter.

BANKRUPTS.

BELLINGER, W., Millbank-street, Westminster, butcher.
BRADDOCK, J., and S. Barnes, Oldham, Lancashire, machine-makers.
BRITAIN, J., Kingston-upon-Hall, hop-merchant.

CARTER, T., Berwick-street, Soho, tailor.
 CORTIORN, J. M., March, Cambridgeshire, sheep-salesmen.
 GAGE, J., Dulverton, Somersetshire, carpenter.
 GOUGH, R., Congresbury, Somersetshire, land-surveyor.
 GRAY, W., Lambeth New-market, and Lambeth-marsh, cheesemonger.
 HEWES, P., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, grocer.
 INMAN, W., Birmingham, wire-worker.
 LEA, C., Hailgton, Flintshire, miller.
 PARKER, H., Chichester, wine-merchant.
 PICKFORD, T., Whitechapel, rectifier.
 POWELL, H., Newington-butt, linen-draper.
 PRIESTLEY, C., Fishergate, near York, glass-manufacturer.
 STABLE, S. M., Fenchurch-street, wine-merchant.
 TAPSCOTT, G., Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, currier.
 WHITE, T., Kingston-upon-Hull, grocer.
 WILSON, T., Barnard's-inn, Holborn, money-scrivener.
 WOOD, J. M., Norwich, painter.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

KIBBLE, J. and J., and Co., Glasgow and Dalmonachfield, Dumbartonshire, printers.
 STAINES, H. B. B., jun., Lauricston, Glasgow, tea-merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23.

INSOLVENTS.

HUTTON, J., Piccadilly, baker.
 WATTON, J., Upper Bedford-place, surgeon.

BANKRUPTS.

CLARK, W., Kingston-upon-Hull, hop-merchant.
 GREENWAY, J., Plymouth, merchant.
 HANCOCK, E., Sheffield, hackneyman.
 LEE, P., Winchester, scrivener.
 PEARSON, C., Greenwich, manufacturing-chemist.
 SIMMONS, G., King's-cross, St. Pancras, surgeon.
 SMITH, R., Gravesend, Kent, bricklayer.
 TURNER, G. E., Cheltenham, auctioneer.
 WRIGLEY, J., Knowl, Yorkshire, woollen-cloth-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 22.—We had but a moderate supply of Wheat fresh up this morning, for which we experienced a ready sale at last Monday's prices.

The supply of Barley, Beans, and Peas, short, the prices steady.

We have had a further large arrivals of Oats since this day week, the great bulk from Ireland: the trade was very dull to-day at a reduction of 6d. per quarter from last Monday's prices.

In Corn under lock nothing doing.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new | 38s. to 46s. |
| Old | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old | 40s. to 43s. |
| Lincolnshire, red | 36s. to 42s. |
| White | 42s. to 45s. |
| Yorkshire | 36s. to 40s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick | 36s. to 38s. |
| Fine white | 38s. to 40s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch | 40s. to 40s. |
| Irish red, good | 32s. + 32s. |
| White | 36s. to 38s. |
| Rye | 30s. to 32s. |
| Barley, English, grinding | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling | 28s. to 32s. |
| Malting | —s. to —s. |
| Chevalier | —s. to —s. |
| Malt | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new | 36s. to 38s. |
| Harrow | 38s. to 40s. |
| Peas, White, English | 34s. to 38s. |
| Foreign | 34s. to 36s. |
| Gray or Hog | 30s. to 36s. |
| Maples | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small | 24s. to 25s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed | 23s. to 24s. |
| Yorkshire, feed | 24s. to 25s. |
| Black | 25s. to 26s. |
| Northumberland and Berwick Potato | 26s. to 27s. |
| Ditto, Angus | 25s. to 26s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. | 26s. to 27s. |
| Potato | 27s. to 28s. |
| Irish Potato, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Feed, new light | 19s. to 21s. |
| Black, new | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign feed | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish & Pomeranian, old | 20s. to 22s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. .. | 22s. to 24s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed .. | 13s. to 14s. |
| Brew | 16s. to 18s. |

SMITHFIELD, June 22.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stocks was, for the time of year, both as to numbers and quality, moderately good. The prime Beef and Lamb sold somewhat freely at an advance of about 2d. per stone; the middling and inferior kinds of Beef and Lamb, as also Mutton, Veal, and Pork, rather tardily at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 1,000 of the Beasts, fully 700 of them Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Homebreds, and Welsh Runts, were chiefly (say about 800 of them) from Norfolk, the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 350, chiefly Shorthorns, Runts and Devons, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from our northern districts; about 150, a full moiety of which were Devons; the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Runts and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts;

about 300, chiefly horned and polled Scots, by steamers from Scotland; about 40 Runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 50 Irish Beasts, and as many Town's-end Cows, from the milkmen, stall-feeders &c. near London.

Fully two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, & about equal numbers of the white-faces and Southdown crosses; about a sixth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About two-thirds of the Lambs, the whole of which numbered about 5,000, were new Leicesters of various crosses, the remainder about equal numbers of Southdowns and Dorsets, with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and of other casual breeds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

| | s. | d. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2 | 0 | to | 2 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 4 | to | 2 |
| Middling Beef | 2 | 6 | to | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton | 2 | 6 | to | 3 |
| Prime Beef | 3 | 8 | to | 4 |
| Ditto Mutton | 3 | 6 | to | 4 |
| Veal | 3 | 4 | to | 4 |
| Pork | 3 | 0 | to | 4 |
| Lamb | 5 | 0 | to | 6 |

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